EDUCATIONAL AND HISTORICAL LESSONS VIA ACHIEVEMENTS AND LIMITATIONS IN THE PROCESS OF STRUGGLE FOR AND CONSOLIDATION OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE IN INDONESIA (1927 - 1965)

AUTHORSHIP
Pham Thi Huyen Trang
Tan Trao University, Tuyen Quang, Vietnam.

ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9879-0562
Email: trangsp1987@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION
Indonesia - the world's largest island nation with tens of thousands of large and small islands, located between two continents: Asia and Oceania, connecting two oceans, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. With a strategic location - holding the arterial traffic routes on the sea, right from the Middle Ages, Indonesia has become one of the economic and cultural exchange centers of the region and the world. After conducting the struggle for national independence (1945), Indonesia has "transformed" strongly from a low-income country to a middle-income country and today it is the 16th largest economy in the world. Indonesia also became one of the major powers in the region when it joined the founding of ASEAN (8/8/1967) and affirmed its position in different forums around the world such as: G77 (Group of 77) ; APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation), G20 (Group of 20)... The study of the achievements and the impacts of this process on the socio-economic development in the later stages, and at the same time have profound scientific and practical significance.

The study of Indonesian history according to the regional approach has been studied by Vietnamese scholars in the past 20 years. Notable research projects include: Southeast Asia from the Second World War to the present (1945 - 1996), by Tran Thi Vinh (HANOI, 1995); History of Southeast Asia from the Second World War to the present (1945 - 1999), by Le Van Anh and Nguyen Van Tan (HANOI, 2005); History of Southeast Asia, by a group of authors Luong Ninh, Do Thanh Binh, Tran Thi Vinh (HANOI, 2005); Southeast Asia History from primitive to present day, by group of authors Luong Ninh, Do Thanh Binh, Tran Thi Vinh, (HANOI, 2015). In addition to giving an overview of the history of Southeast Asian countries, including Indonesia from the formation of the first nations to the present day. The authors also focus deeply on important historical milestones such as: the invasion and rule of colonialism, movements to fight against colonialism to gain national independence, the process of going to independence and policies and measures to strengthen the independence of each country, from there, sketch the common features, the similarities, creating the history of the region.

General studies on Indonesian history from a separate national approach can include: Brief history of Indonesia, by Vo Van Nhung (HA NOI, 1962); History of Indonesia from the 15th - 16th centuries to the 1950s, by Huynh Van Tong (HO CHI MINH CITY, 1992); Indonesia - The historical journey, by Ngo Van Doanh, (HANOI, 1995). The authors all present the development stages of Indonesian history, in which, the events are listed according to the length of history and do not go into detailed analysis of the events' effects on the process. history of this country. Therefore, the picture of Indonesian history, including the process of fighting for and consolidating Indonesia’s independence, are rebuilding a generalized way. Vietnamese scholars also pay great attention to the study of prominent events during the struggle for and consolidation of independence in Indonesia. These include notable projects such as: Indonesia’s struggle for independence and freedom (1942-1950), by Nguyen Van Hong, (HANOI, 1991); The road to save the country in the struggle for national liberation in some Asian countries, by Do Thanh Binh (National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1999); "Southeast Asia in the struggle against Japanese fascists (1941-1945): History and issues" by Tran Thi Vinh, Southeast Asian Studies, No. 5, 2005; "Indonesia’s path to independence", by Jan Pluvier (HANOI, 2005); The 20th-century national liberation movement - a new approach, by Do Thanh Binh, (Publishing House of Pedagogy University, Hanoi in 2005, reprint 2010); History of Southeast Asia, volume 4: Southeast Asia in the colonial period and the struggle for independence (HANOI, 2012). Through these books, the process of fighting for and
consolidating national independence in Indonesia is presented in a general way in the general context of the region, as well as in the movement for national liberation in the world. The authors all have a very new approach when not only analyzing historical events according to the process, but also drawing out the characteristics of the process of national liberation in each country, each area, from there, creating a comprehensive view of the history of the national liberation movement in Indonesia in relation to countries around the world.

For Indonesians, understanding the general history of the archipelago is relatively difficult because of the geographical distance between the islands, as well as the dispersion in the population distribution. Therefore, most of the research works focus on the history of Java - a densely populated place with a long history, as well as one of the centers of the process of fighting for and consolidating national independence. The following works can be mentioned: Mochtar Lubis with Indonesia - Land under the rainbow, Oxford University Press, United State, 1979; Set of 6 books: Sejarah nasional Indonesia, by two authors M. D. Poesponegoro and N. Notosusanto, Balai Pustaka, Jakarta, Indonesia; Sejarah nasional Indonesia: Masa prasejarah sampai masa proklamasi kemerdekaan by M. J. A Anshori, Penerbitan Mitra Aksara Panaitan, Jakarta, Indonesia, 2010. The authors mainly present a brief overview of Indonesian history through periods: Prehistory; The period of formation of feudal states; Dutch colonial period; Japanese occupation period; The period of consolidation of independence.

Unlike Vietnamese researchers, the vast majority of Indonesian researchers focus on the process of fighting for and consolidating independence in this country since the Japanese occupation of Indonesia (1942). Typical research works such as: Sejarah revolusi nasional, by N. Dekker, Balai Pustaka Jakarta, Indonesia, 1980; Twenty years Indonesian foreign policy 1945 - 1965, second edition, by I.A.A.G Agung Duta Wacana University Press, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, 1990; Genesis of power: General Sudirman and the Indonesian Military in Politics, 1945 - 49, by S. Said, Jakarta, Indonesia, 1991... From 1999 to 2014, authors PA Toer, KS Toer, E. Kamil also published the book series Kronik: Revolusi Indonesia, including 4 volumes (from 1945 to 1949), Kepustakaan Popular Gramedia, Jakarta, Indonesia. This is a series of books about outstanding historical events in the fields of politics - economy - culture - society, presented in the form of a chronicle. The book series is considered a very valuable resource, because the authors only provide historical facts, in the order of day, month, and year, but do not give any personal opinion, to ensure the most objective factor. With a thickness of at least 500 pages each, it can be said that this is the most complete and complete set of books about the Indonesian revolution in the years 1945 - 1949.

The study of Indonesian history is of great interest to Western scholars from both a regional and national perspective such as: Indonesia, by J.D. Legge, Prentice - Hall Inc., New Jersey; A history of modern Southeast Asia: Colonialism, Nationalism, and decolonization, by J. Bastin, Prentice - Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1968; A history of modern Indonesia, 1200 to the present by M. C. Ricklefs Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1981; A History of SouthEast Asia by D.G. Hall, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1997; A Short History of Indonesia: The Unlikely Nation? (A Short History of Asia series), by C. Brown (published by Allen & Unwin, Australia, 2004).

In general, studies on Indonesian history in both regional and national approaches initially refer to the process of invasion and colonial rule, as well as the process of struggle for and consolidation of the colonial rule. independence in Indonesia (1927 - 1965) at a general level. These are all useful works, indirectly related to the topic and are very valuable suggestions for the author.

The first research work on the process of fighting for and defending independence in Indonesia from the perspective of nationalism was Nationalism and revolution in Indonesia, authored by GMT Kahin, first published in 1952, Cornell University Southeast Asia Program Publications, Ithaca, New York. And supplemented, reprinted many times, the latest version was published in 2013. It can be said that the author has studied in detail about typical events and characters in the history. According to the Indonesian history of this period, the maturation of Indonesian nationalism is also associated with the forward movement of the national liberation movement. The process of fighting for and defending national
independence in Indonesia (from 1900 to 1950) is spent a considerable amount of time in the book by the author (13 chapters out of a total of 15 chapters of the book).

Different from Kahin’s general approach, Benedict Richard O’Gorman Anderson in Java in a time of Revolution: Occupation and resistance, 1944 - 1946, (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1972) goes into the analysis again, in-depth and revealing important points of the Indonesian revolution in the years 1944 - 1946. In which, the author has paid special attention to the vibrant revolutionary role of the Indonesian youth class for the young people. Important events such as: Declaration of independence on August 17, 1945, establishment of government, establishment of national army force... In particular, Anderson’s greatest contribution was that he showed the connection between the nature of Japanese governance policies with changing perceptions of the youth class’s place in the struggle for independence and social change. The book also provides a broader body of knowledge than any previous work on the origins of conflict between political parties and military forces. From there, it helps researchers have a comprehensive view of the political conflicts between these two forces during the years of struggle to consolidate independence in Indonesia.

In addition to the general studies of events during the struggle for and consolidation of independence in Indonesia, there are also studies on each of the prominent events in this process. These include: Indonesian National Revolution 1945 - 1950, by A. Reid, Longman Publishing Group, London, United Kingdom, first published, 1974; The Japanese Occupation of Borneo, 1941 - 1945 (Routledge Studies in the Modern History of Asia), by Ooi Keat Gin, Routledge, London, 2011; From Colonial to Guided Economy” in T.R. McVey (ed.), by Douglas Paauw, HRAF, New Haven, 1963; Indonesian communist under Sukarno: Ideology and politics, by R. Mortimer, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1974.

In addition, there are studies on the process of struggle for and consolidation of independence in Indonesia (1927 - 1965) associated with the life of President Sukarno such as: The life and times of Sukarno, by the author. CLM Penders, Oxford University Press, United Kingdom, 1974; Sukarno and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence, by B.Dahm, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1969, published by Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Important milestones and events in the process of fighting for and consolidating national independence are specifically stated from the perspective of leader Sukarno’s personal approach, and at the same time, his thoughts and decisions as well as his decisions. also analyzed objectively by the author. As a biographer of politicians, Dahm has placed Sukarno completely in the context of Indonesian history with the deep influence of Javanese culture to form an influential leader. the idea of unifying traditional Javanese cultural values with nationalism.

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, as well as research works directly related to the topic. In general, the research works have solved the following problems: Firstly, the authors have studied the history of Indonesia since its formation to the present from many different angles, clarifying the characteristics of Indonesia. characteristics of culture, religion, ethnicity... On that basis, the process of fighting for and consolidating independence in Indonesia (1927 - 1965) was also studied in both direct and indirect perspectives; Secondly, the authors have initially conducted research on some typical events related to the process of fighting for and consolidating national independence in Indonesia such as:

Japan's invasion and occupation process, Declaration of Independence on August 17, 1945, the struggle for independence in the years 1945 - 1950, measures and policies of the Indonesian government during the colonial period. liberal democracy (1950 - 1956) and the period of directed democracy (1957 - 1965). However, there has not been a systematic study on the process of fighting for and consolidating independence in Indonesia from 1927 to 1965. Especially the armed struggle activities, political struggle, governance, as well as achievements and limitations of the process of fighting for and consolidating national independence in Indonesia (1927 - 1945) are still a big issue that needs to be answered.
METHODOLOGY

The author has a multi-dimensional approach to a number of views of foreign scholars, scholars studying issues of ethnicity and nationalism to point out the path and way to Indonesia’s national independence and national independence. Analyzing measures and policies of the Indonesian government during the period of consolidation of independence (1945 - 1965).

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The author has a multi-dimensional approach to a number of views of foreign scholars, scholars studying issues of ethnicity and nationalism to point out the path and way to Indonesia’s national independence and national independence. Analyzing measures and policies of the Indonesian government during the period of consolidation of independence (1945 - 1965): First, liberate the Indonesian people from the yoke of the Dutch and Japanese militarists, ushering in an era of independence, freedom and national reunification.

On October 24, 1951, in his speech, President Sukarno affirmed: “We are a country deprived of sovereignty. So we did the right thing. We declare our independence with our own efforts, we have restored the sovereignty that was deprived 350 years ago. We have exercised and used the sovereignty of the entire people, chosen the polity we wanted, and established the republican and democratic state apparatus” (SUHKARNO, 1959, p. 5). Indeed, the end of more than 300 years of Dutch colonial rule and more than 3 years of Japanese military occupation, liberated the Indonesian people from slavery, and ushered in an era of independence, freedom and unification. The country is the most important and outstanding achievement of the process of fighting for and consolidating independence in Indonesia from 1927 to 1965.

Before the Dutch colonialists invaded and placed their rule, Indonesia experienced glorious and heroic history. Generations of Indonesians have endured through natural disasters and wars. They struggle, conflict internally and conduct foreign invasions. Indonesian history has witnessed the largest maritime empire in Southeast Asia - Srivijaya, which existed in the 7th century AD. It firmly controlled the Straits of Malacca and the South China Sea, all of western Indonesia, much of the Malay Peninsula and West Java, and conquered most of the rival states in Sumatra. By the 14th century, Majapahit also became the most powerful empire, influencing most of the other countries in Java. And by the 15th - 16th centuries, Indonesia had become a country with a very developed maritime trade, the trade expanded not only with countries in Southeast Asia, Northeast Asia and even further, South India and Western countries. But after the Dutch came to invade and place a yoke, with brutality, harshness and greedy exploitation, the Netherlands became one of the most cruel countries in the world when it turned Indonesia into “regions” dead sea”, “dead land”.

From prosperous kingdoms to colonies, people lost their freedom, their land was taken away, their income (crops) was coerced to the highest level and increased exponentially year by year, despite natural disasters, wars or crop failures. That is also the reason why, during more than 300 years of Dutch rule, the Indonesian people have not stopped fighting for independence, searching for suitable ways of struggle, to bring the struggle to victory. . In fact, after 1942, when the Dutch were defeated by the Japanese, the name Dutch East Indies ceased to exist, despite the presence of a Dutch East Indies government under Van Mook in Australia. For Indonesians, it marked the end of Dutch colonial rule in the archipelago.

The Japanese occupied Indonesia for more than 3 years, with sweet promises of independence and freedom for the people in the not too distant future. But in fact, compared to the Dutch, the material and human exploitation of the archipelago was on a larger scale and scale than that of the Dutch during the most terrible period of the “Carving
“System” in the world, nineteenth century. The Japanese army also turned Indonesia into a zone of direct rule with the division of the archipelago into three military zones, administrative division, religious division, political division, and unification. Therefore, continuing the struggle for independence and liberating the people from Japanese rule was also the top task of the Indonesian revolution during this period.

RESULTS
After declaring independence on August 17, 1945, Japanese rule also completely ended in Indonesia. A new constitution, a new state apparatus, a new President representing the strength and voice of the people appeared. Not only liberating the country, but also freeing the people from slavery, individuals can express their strong egos in the work of consolidating national independence. change, and everything becomes possible. In 1949, in a solemn ceremony at the Dutch palace, the Dutch had to officially recognize the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. By 1950, Indonesia had become a unified country, “the red and white national flag was waving triumphantly all over Indonesia; banners on walls and buildings were covered with the word merdeka (freedom); politicians made rousing speeches; the armed forces proudly marched past; thousands of people thronged the streets and squares, in an excited, festive mood, highly charged with expectations about a golden future” (PENDERS, 1974, p. 136).

Secondly, the economic, political, social and cultural life of the Indonesian people has been transformed in a positive direction

During the colonial period, under the Dutch colonial rule, and then the Japanese occupation, the Indonesian people had no economic, political and social interests. Therefore, the struggle for and consolidation of independence in Indonesia also aims to bring about positive changes in the economic, political and social life of the Indonesian people.

Politically, since the establishment of the unified state of Indonesia (1950), Indonesians have enjoyed basic civil rights: the right to participate in elections, the right to freely participate in official organizations political party, the right to participate in the state administrative apparatus. If in 1939, the number of Indonesians allowed to vote was only 2228 out of 70 million people (RICKLEFS, 1981, p. 204), by the time the first national election was held in 1955, 91.5% of voters registered to vote (about 39 million votes) (RICKLEFS, 1981, p. 303) and elected 257 representatives in parliament. The almost absolute number of voters also shows the Indonesian people's desire to own the country after more than 300 years of foreign domination. The number of people participating in the election also reflects quite honestly the people's trust in the parties in the National Assembly, and also shows the role of the people in the State.

Since 1950, the government has also placed Indonesian civil servants in many important positions in the administration and in the government. If in 1930 there was only 1 Indonesian civil servant representing 418 civilians, by 1950 there were 420,000 Indonesian civil servants working in the government of the Republic of Indonesia and by 1960 this number was 807,000 people with a ratio of 1 civil servant representing 118 civilians (RICKLEFS, 1981, p. 291).

Economically, soon after independence, the Indonesian government had new economic policies to overcome the inequalities between the Indonesians and the Dutch, bringing the economy under Dutch control. and the Chinese into Indonesian hands. The fields that were formerly owned by the Dutch people can now take back and grow whatever crops they want, be it food or commercial crops. The state also encourages the establishment of new businesses by Indonesians, which Sutter estimates, about 500 new companies were established each year in the early 1950s; local entrepreneurs make up 40% of these companies. These statistics represent a new dynamic in Indonesian economic life in the 1950s.

Thanks to policies to encourage the development of domestic commerce, a class of indigenous merchants has emerged with an important role in the Indonesian economy. During the 1980s, political scientist Richard Robison compiled a list that included the names
of 21 prominent indigenous Indonesian businessmen in the 1950s. The list included such well-known figures as: Agoes Dasaad, Soedarpo Sastrosatomo, Hasjim Ning, TD Pardede, Djojan and Djojoh, Eddy Kowara and Fritz Eman. Among them is T.D. Pardede (1916 - 1991) who established a business empire in Medan and is said to be the first to apply the "Made in Indonesia" trademark to his textile exports.

In terms of culture - society, the biggest change belongs to the field of education. If during the colonial period, the number of Indonesians being educated and literate was only a very low rate, then between 1953 and 1960 the number of entrants to primary schools rose from 1.7 million to 2.5 million (RICKLEFS, 1981, p. 290). State and private (mostly religious) and university-level secondary schools are everywhere, most in Java, and many have achieved high standards. In a speech at a university in Vietnam on June 26, 1959, President Sukarno was also touched by the achievements of the education sector: "Before independence, in Indonesia only about 750,000 children went to study in primary schools.

Today, in Indonesia about 10 million children attend primary school. Before independence, we only had a few thousand young men and women studying in high schools, now, in Indonesia, there are more than half a million young men and women attending high schools". The literacy rate of Indonesians also increased from 7.4% (1930) to 46.7% (1961), the literacy rate of men aged 10-19 also increased by about 76% (RICKLEFS, 1981, p. 290). These figures demonstrate a huge change in Indonesian education since independence. The use of the Indonesian language is widespread in the education system as well as in all public institutions, in the communication system and the media. Indonesian was firmly established, becoming the official language of the new Indonesian nation. The higher education level of Indonesians also leads to an increase in the publication of publications and books. Daily newspaper publication tripled (about 3.3 million copies) during this period (RICKLEFS, 1981, p. 291).

In the field of health and public health care, in 1950, Indonesia had only 1,200 doctors for a population of about 70 million people (KAHIN, 1952, p. 6). The amount of medicine is also very scarce, especially immunological drugs and antibiotics. So it’s not surprising that the country couldn’t fight the epidemic. In the early 1950s, the Indonesian Ministry of Health launched an emergency program that included control of infectious diseases (especially smallpox, plague, and cholera) and a campaign against epidemic diseases. especially malaria, tuberculosis, and leprosy. These measures resulted in a sharp drop in mortality, generating much optimism within the Ministry of Health that the country has made satisfactory progress in meeting key public health milestones despite a shortage of doctors. Between 1950 and 1955, Indonesia’s progress in public health seemed promising. During these years, bold plans were developed, such as Leimena’s Bandung Plan that promised dramatic improvements to public health.

It can be said that after Indonesia gained independence and reunified the country, there has been a rather positive change in people’s lives in all aspects. Although it has not yet reached a prosperous society as expected by many people, these positive changes have also made the economic - political - cultural - social situation of Indonesia in the years 1950 - 1965 far different. compared to colonial times.

Third, maintain national independence, contribute to promoting the movement for independence in countries in the region and around the world.

With an independent and active foreign policy, in the years 1945 - 1965, Indonesia not only maintained its independence, recovered the colonial lands that were also occupied, preserved the territory, but also strongly encouraged strong for the movement to fight for national independence in countries in the region and around the world.

As one of the earliest countries to declare independence in Southeast Asia, and one of the five founders of the Non-Aligned Movement, the voice of Indonesia is a huge cheer for the movement. struggle for independence in the region and in the world such as Vietnam, Korea, Asia-Africa countries.

In 1947, as soon as Indonesia signed the Linggadjati treaty with the Netherlands, President Sukarno said: "The Indonesian people, who have groaned for hundreds of years under the
brutal rule of imperialism, have taken up arms. gas stood up to repel the Dutch colonialists, so enthusiastically supported the Vietnamese people’s struggle for independence”. In May 1954, at the Conference of 5 countries in Colombo, Indonesia also voiced a demand for an end to the war of aggression in Vietnam. Press activities to propagate and cheer for the struggle to gain and defend independence in Indonesia were also very exciting. The People’s Daily (Harian Rakjat) published on September 2, 1958 affirmed: “Supporting the Vietnamese people in the struggle to expel the American imperialists from South Vietnam is also the duty of the Indonesian people”.

Through the Non-Aligned Movement, Indonesia also clearly expressed its support for the independence movement in Asia-Africa countries. Along with India, Indonesia is a tireless fighter for the independence of Asia-Africa countries, and these are also two champions of newly independent countries pursuing a “neutral” foreign policy. "come together. During the armed conflict on the Korean peninsula (1950 - 1953), Indonesia and India invited delegates from Asian and African countries to discuss the issue of resolving the war between the two Souths - North Korea. The meeting was very successful when delegates all agreed to bring the North Korea issue to the United Nations General Assembly to ask the organization to find a solution for North Korea.

In an article by Hatta in April 1953, it acknowledged Indonesia’s contribution as follows: "Indonesia’s efforts as a testament to its independent and active policy, in tune with the music of Asian countries - Africa, contributed to ending the war on the Korean peninsula" (HATTA, 1953, p. 444 - 445). During the 1950s and 1960s, Indonesia continued to be active in sponsoring "non-aligned" resolutions on anti-colonial issues and in support of the struggle for independence in Tunisia and Algeria, condemning the "racist" policy of South Africa and supporting the South African people to abolish the apartheid regime.

As for the Philippines’ actions to unite Asian countries to form a pro-Western, anti-Communist organization, Indonesia vehemently opposes it because it not only affects the country’s active, independent policy, but also influence the struggle for independence of other Asian countries. In the years 1950 - 1953, the relationship between Indonesia and the Philippines increased tension because the foreign policies of the two countries were completely opposite to each other. Although the Philippines invited Indonesia to join the anti-Communist organization, it still resolutely refused and made its position clear: “for the sake of us and neighboring countries, we refuse to accept it. join any national group against the Communists” (HANNA, 1955, p. 355).

Indonesia’s active contributions to the struggle against colonialism and the struggle for independence in Asia-Africa countries were made by Mr. Liu Shaoqi - President of the People's Republic of China (term 1959 - 1968) ) during his visit to Indonesia in 1963 commented: “We are pleased to see that Indonesia’s positive influence in international affairs is constantly growing, Indonesia’s status is constantly being enhanced... Republic of Indonesia has become an important force in the cause of fighting imperialism and colonialism, maintaining peace and security in Southeast Asia and around the world”.

LIMITATION
Besides the great achievements achieved, the process of fighting for and consolidating independence in Indonesia (1927 - 1965) still has certain limitations.

Firstly, there were frequent disputes and conflicts between political forces during the struggle for and consolidation of national independence in Indonesia (1927 - 1965). Those disputes and conflicts are expressed not only between different parties and classes, but also within the same party, the same class. The causes of disputes and conflicts stem from the fact that in Indonesia there are too many political parties, representing the ideologies of different classes, religions exist in a diverse and diverse way. Variations also complicate the process of fighting for and consolidating independence in Indonesia during this period. Therefore, although national leaders always emphasize national unity and unity to create strength to drive away the enemy, it is inevitable that internal conflicts must be resolved. Even among national leaders such as Sukarno and Hatta there are contradictions, stemming from the fact
that Hatta was influenced by Marxist ideology, while Sukarno wanted to blend Javanese cultural values, Islamic values and Marxist ideology into one. There were times when the two leaders shook hands together at decisive historical moments (Declaration of Independence on August 17, 1945), but their differences in ideological positions made them almost at odds in the decisions to strengthen national independence. Hien, D.T.N, Huy, D.T.N, Hoa, N.T (2021) also mentioned Marxist ideologies influences other countries in Asia as well.

Conflicts between political factions in the government have made the political situation unstable, and conflicts between political factions are inevitable. From November 1945 to the end of December 1949, the government made three cabinet changes to resolve conflicts between political factions. From the very beginning of Sjahrir’s first cabinet, the groups leading the networks split into two camps in view of the struggle against the re-invasion of the Netherlands. It is a group of leaders whose main goal of struggle is to achieve political independence (removal of colonial rule and replaced by a more democratic government) led by Sjahrir and Hatta, and the group that considers both socio-economic and political independence as essential goals (100% Independence) led by Tan Malaka and Subardjo. Sjahrir himself also disagrees with Sukarno’s view: “all efforts should be directed at establishing an Indonesian national state, which was a prerequisite for any true socio-economic development. National unity was of the utmost importance and a class struggle should be”, but he still supported Sukarno because of the President’s great appeal to Sjahrir’s political goals.

Sjahrir also used the diplomatic route with the West to force the Western countries to recognize their independence, but Tan Malaka strongly objected and established a Fighting Alliance (Persatuan Perjuangan) in early 1946 to oppose the negotiate with the Dutch. Although Tan Malaka’s rebellion was quelled, the government also faced difficulties when faced with internal conflicts. After the Linggadjati Agreement was signed (March 3, 1947), a wave of protests against Sjahrir erupted again, forcing him to resign on June 27, 1947, and Amir Sjariffudin’s cabinet came to power. Like Sjahrir, the Amir cabinet also sought to negotiate with the Netherlands to defuse rising tensions between the Netherlands and Indonesia. After the Renville agreement (January 1, 1948), many leaders of the PNI (Partai Nasional Indonesia) and MASYUMI (Partai Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia) considered it an agreement to sell the country and withdrew support for the Communist government. Republic Indonesia. This pressure forced the Amir cabinet to collapse, President Sukarno appointed Vice President Hatta as the new Prime Minister. However, the difficult economic situation, the fertile land and the main export areas falling into the hands of the Netherlands made the political situation more tense.

The conflict between the PKI (Partai Komunis Indonesia), then headed by Hatta, and the government culminated in the city of Madium in East Java in September 1948. The PKI took control of important positions, killed pro-government civil servants, and announced on the radio that a new National Front Government had been formed. The Hatta side accused the Musso side of being a rebellion against the state, and the Musso side accused the Hatta government of betraying the ideals of the revolution. The insurgents were brutally suppressed, about 6,000 people were killed, 35,000 members of the PKI were arrested and imprisoned.

Although the Hatta government was able to quell the uprising, it weakened and negatively affected the national unity and became the cause of the Dutch launching of Operation Crow to re-establish the country. occupied Indonesia. In 1958, a rebellion by PSI (Persatuan Sarekat Islam) and some members of MASYUMI announced the establishment of a rebel government in Sumatra, taking the name of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia (Pemerintah Revolucioner Republik Indonesia - PRRI). Government troops had to act decisively to punish PRRI: the air force bombed PRRI’s bases in Padang, Bukittingi and Menado, troops landed in Java... the rebellion was quickly quelled within a short period of time. within a month, but thousands of people had to die and this is an unforgettable pain in Indonesian history. The coup d’état night of October 30 and 1, 1965 went down in Indonesian history as a “bloody massacre of innocent people, including tourists, merchants and foreigners. There is no specific figure on the number of people killed, according to statistics, this number is around a few hundred thousand people” (PENDERS,1974, p. 189).
The elections were held in 1955 with the aim of finding the strongest political parties or alliances, eliminating the existence of too many parties, but the result of the election was exactly the opposite: the votes were widely dispersed in at least 28 parties, in which, PNI was the party that won the most votes with 22% of the total votes, MASYUMI 21%, Nahdatul Ulama 18% and PKI 16% (BROWN, 2004, p.177). A unified Constitution is not possible when the representative of Java occupies more than half of the seats in the National Assembly, while the representative of the outer islands is only MASYUMI. This conflict worsened when Hatta announced his resignation as vice president in 1956.[ Hatta is a Sumatran, and his existence has long been seen as an important guarantee of political balance. in Indonesia.]

Second, in the process of the Indonesian government implementing policies to consolidate independence, many socio-economic issues remain unresolved such as: unstable economic growth, imbalance, rising inflation, population growth and explosion.

After the agreement at the Hague Round Table Conference in December 1949, Indonesia became a unified state in terms of state, however, the economy encountered many difficulties: prolonged war devastated the economy, production activities were stagnated, the economy was poor, backward... to be able to erase the long-term consequences of colonial rule was a difficult and complicated career. On the other hand, the policy of culture-education only to serve the colonial government under the Dutch-Japanese era has turned Indonesia into one of the most backward Western colonies in Southeast Asia.

Agriculture is Indonesia’s main economic sector, contributing about 70% of the national income, but it is the economic sector that suffers the most. According to preliminary estimates, the losses that farmers have suffered amount to millions of guilders, specifically:

| Table 1. |
|-----------------------------------------------|
| **War damage to native agriculture** | **in million of guilders** |
| a) Loss of capital through lost plantings of perennial crops | 135 |
| b) Loss of harvests of perennial crops during the war | 720 |
| c) Loss of rice harvests during the war | 320 |
| d) Loss of harvests during the rehabilitation period of perennial crops | 255 |
| **Total** | **1.400** |

Source: Published by the Netherlands Indies government, 1947.

Indonesian commerce is still dependent on the Netherlands: the banking system is dominated by seven foreign banks; the country’s central bank - the Java bank, which holds the country’s foreign exchange reserves and issues the country’s currency is a private Dutch-owned company; inter-island transportation is the monopoly of the Dutch chain... In 1952, there were 4 Dutch companies responsible for handling up to 50% of consumer goods imported into Indonesia (BROWN, 2004, p.165). On the other hand, the Hague agreement also stipulates that Indonesia may not nationalize or appropriate Dutch-owned enterprises except in very limited circumstances and then receive appropriate compensation. In addition, since 1949, the Republic of Indonesia has also committed to repay a number of debts up to US$1,125 million[This debt has been since the Netherlands implemented a moral policy in Indonesia], of which 30 % must be paid in US Dollars.

During the years 1945 - 1960, the government pursued economic policies aimed at restoring to pre-war levels (before 1939) without regard to economic development coupled with social justice. The general picture of the economic policies of this period is that they are very similar to the kinds of policies that were implemented before the war and before independence, the Dutch and Chinese private sector were still at the helm of the economy, economy has not made a significant move towards the Indonesian private sector. Agriculture and trade appear to be the most dominant foreign capital (including the Netherlands, Europe, the US, and China), but it seems that government measures have not been fully implemented.

During the years 1945-1950, some Dutch land, especially in Sumatra, was recaptured by local farmers to grow food crops. After the Dutch recognized Indonesian sovereignty, the farmers hoped that the government would confiscate the Dutch land, nationalize it, and divide it
among the peasants. But due to the pressure of the Round Table Agreement, the government in Jakarta was unable to do this. In trade, the massive provision of licenses and credits, and the lack of checks on the competence of commercial companies controlled by Indonesians, has resulted in incompetent Indonesian traders having sell their licenses to Chinese merchants and become the backbone of their commercial activities.

Due to the above reasons, the economy recovered slowly and was not enough to meet the needs of government spending (paying civil servants, increasing the army to pursue the settlement of the West Irian dispute with the Netherlands, conflict with Malaysia) as well as domestic demand. Oil and rubber are two major sources of foreign exchange earnings for the country, but only enough to serve domestic consumption. From 1950 to 1956, people’s demand for gasoline increased by 64.5% and kerosene by 200.5% (RICKLEFS, 1981, p. 291). Meanwhile, oil companies such as the Dutch Shell Company and the American company Stanvac [full name is Standard Vacuum Oil Co] are still very strong in production in Indonesia with ships of hundreds of tons. Banks controlled by the British, Chinese, Dutch, and Chinese also control many rural credit cards. It is clear that although Indonesia has tried to break out of dependence on the foreign economy, the reality is that Indonesia is not yet economically independent.

In 1955, the economy was restored to pre-war levels. However, from 1956 onwards, the economic situation fell into a difficult and stalemate situation: although food production increased compared to 1950, Indonesia had to import 13% of the total amount of products. Imports of this country (BROWN, 2004, p. 173); inflation is increasing; imports increase and exports decrease. Cost of living increased by about 100%, prices escalated erratically. The wages of civil servants and workers are already low, affected by inflation, and the cumbersome administrative apparatus has become a burden on the economy. Compared with the years 1940 - 1945, although the living conditions of the Indonesian people are better, the economic policy did not bring about the common prosperity as many expected.

The economic crisis began to erupt in the late 1950s. While the government was trying to control inflation, on August 25, 1959, the rupiah was devalued by about 75%. The government required that all 500 and 1000 Rupiahs be reduced to one-tenth of their true value and monetary funds in the bank frozen (RICKLEFS, 1981, p. 323). The devaluation of currency in banks from 34 billion Rupiah to 21 billion Rupiah was a shock therapy for the economy and caused serious damage not only to Chinese businesses, but also to those businesses, the wealthy and local civil servants. The government had to allow the development of credit cards, and within six months, money was back at its old level and inflation was on the rise again.

The most prominent social problem is population explosion. If in 1950, the population of Indonesia was 77.7 million people, in 1955, this number was 85.4 million people, in 1961 it was 97.02 million people. Booming population entails many dilemmas such as: quality of life is affected, social evils, and most terrible is food shortage. On the other hand, population growth also entails the problem of job creation. Many people in the countryside have flocked to cities in search of work, putting pressure on large, densely populated cities. From 1945 to 1955, the population in Jakarta doubled, in 1961, the population here was 2.9 million people. Meanwhile, rural areas are sparsely populated and political activities often go unnoticed.

In general, in the process of national construction and independence consolidation, encountering limitations is almost inevitable. That is the general situation of most newly independent countries like Indonesia. In 1950, national leaders faced enormous tasks when the country had just gone through years of war and inherited the legacies of colonialism and fascism. The mounting difficulties the nation faced were summed up in President Sukarno’s lament:

“The deed to the house called Indonesia was now securely in our hands, but it was a badly damaged house. It leaked aplenty. Its windows, doors, roof, and walls were broken. Our economy, government, administration, transportation systems, communications, media, methods of production were all damaged. Even morally and mentally we needed repairs”. He also called this “This is a gigantic task, which needs our total energy, persistent willpower,
and an enormous amount of calculation and planning” (PENDERS, 1974, p. 111). Efforts to recreate the economy with the same production conditions as before the war also failed because the world of the 1950s was very different from the 1920s. Markets had changed, the balance of power had changed. As the economy changes, new demands are on the rise, trying to make the Indonesian economy move forward by recreating the past is not a particularly useful idea.

Third, during the years of the presidency, power was mainly concentrated in the hands of Sukarno, policies were made arbitrarily, 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.

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 that clearly shows the impatience, wanting to accelerate the industrialization process to make Indonesia a country, industrial development. That "too perfected but not feasible" strategy pushed Indonesia into a severe socio-economic crisis in the 1960s - 1965. 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 United States, 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.

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 United States 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 political disorder and 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 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.

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O processo de luta e consolidação da independência na Indonésia de 1927 a 1965 foi um processo cheio de espinhos e desafios. Este é um processo histórico especial e único não só para a região, mas também para o mundo. Não podemos encontrar um modelo de teoria socialista ou capitalista aplicado nesse processo, nem podemos ver a duplicação desse processo em qualquer outro país do mundo. No âmbito do artigo, o autor estudou as conquistas e limitações do processo de luta e consolidação da independência nacional na Indonésia (1927 - 1965) tendo em vista a história - política. A partir daí, indique um caminho, um caminho para a independência nacional da Indonésia - independência associada à harmonia nacional e à unificação.

**Palavras-chave:** Luta pela independência nacional. Consolidação da independência. Indonésia. Lições educacionais e históricas.

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El proceso de lucha y consolidación de la independencia en Indonesia de 1927 a 1965 fue un proceso lleno de espinas y desafíos. Este es un proceso histórico especial y único no solo para la región sino también para el mundo. No podemos encontrar un modelo de teoría socialista o capitalista aplicado en este proceso, ni podemos ver la duplicación de este proceso en ningún otro país del mundo. En el marco del artículo, el autor estudia los logros y limitaciones del proceso de lucha y consolidación de la independencia nacional en Indonesia (1927 - 1965) en vista de la historia - política. A partir de ahí, indique un camino, un camino hacia la independencia nacional de Indonesia, independencia asociada con la armonía nacional y la unificación.

**Palabras-clave:** Lucha por la independencia nacional. Consolidación de la independencia. Indonesia. Lecciones educativas e históricas.