



Evolution of Minahasa politics: The shifting outlook of ‘United Minahasa’ in the context of Indonesian nationalism in 1927

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Article Info

Article history:

Received 11 March 2024

Revised 5 June 2024

Accepted 7 July 2024

Available online 21 August 2025

Keywords:

insight Indonesian nationality,
national movement,
unity language

Abstract

The developmental movement, led by young generations and influenced by different factors, is a significant force. In this context, party politics in Minahasa has experienced substantial growth and evolution, showing the dynamic trends observed in Java with the transformative nature of national movement. This is a tangible example of political education for society, particularly the intellectual race. Therefore, this study aims to examine the factors leading to a shift in the outlook of “United Minahasa” in the context of Indonesian nationalism in 1927. Christopher Lloyd and Marc Bloch conduct analyses using structuralist and historical methods. The analyses comprise four stages, namely, formulating problems and historical observations related to sources of Minahasa regional organization, critiquing historical records or testing data from available sources, generalizing data relevant to the problem, as well as analyzing causes and effects related to the problem. Additionally, data collection includes investigating literature or documents, such as related studies and published books. The analysis methods comprise steps such as generalization and appropriate categorization in line with the problem. The results show that national movement has changed orientation and scope without focusing on the regional level. In the context of national movement, Minahasa people in and outside Manado area, have appreciated the period through regional organizations. Consequently, the adoption of Indonesian nationalist perspective allows the cultivation of a mature, and independent outlook. This paradigm shift is related to the vastness of the nation, including a population with diverse ethnicities, languages, religions, and customs.

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Introduction

Indonesian national movement is a term used to describe the process of the struggle of people to achieve and maintain independence. National movement took place between 1908 to 1945 and was divided into the formation, radical, and survival periods. In this context, various organizations were developed to raise national awareness, voice the aspirations of people, and oppose colonial policies. The historical movement is closely related to the resistance against imperialism and colonialism by Western nations in the archipelago. Initially, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and English nations expanded trade to the Eastern world, while engaging in colonialism in the areas. This situation showed the capabilities of the archipelago's previous kingdoms, which had extensive experience in domestic and international shipping and trading. The mastery of the nations resulted from internal competition and wars initiated by Western imperialists. Internally, disputes were reported among the kingdoms regarding shipping and trading. Some local leaders also required assistance from Western imperialists to strengthen defense and resist fellow rulers. This contributed to the early control of trade areas by certain kingdoms in the archipelago.

The dominance of Western imperialism led to resistance efforts without unity among local leaders. Various movements, led by local leaders and people, attempted to counter the influence of imperialists, particularly during the association with *Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie* (VOC). VOC, which became the Dutch colonial government on January 1, 1800, experienced bankruptcy on December 31, 1779. Therefore, the territories previously under the control of VOC were transferred to Dutch colonial government. From the early 19th century onwards, Dutch colonization unfolded tangibly, asserting control over the region and Indonesia. Business against or opposing colonial politics continued even though a significant shift in mastery occurred at the beginning of 19th century from VOC trade. Moreover, unity and cohesion were lacking since there was no organized effort among leaders from various regions.

Political changes, which led to different cleavages prompted the Dutch colonial government to make alterations in policies towards the colony's inhabitants. A portion of Indonesian youth was used to equip themselves with knowledge and technology following the demands of the time.

Young men, particularly in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, became the driving force behind the changes that marked the beginning of national movement. Progressive insights became the catalyst for renewing the lives of people under the shackles of Dutch colonialism. According to Anderson (1988), the evolving perspective of the youth was crucial as potential assets for the nation's development while recognizing the burdens faced in society, such as addressing educational, recreational, and occupational needs. The youth, deeply influenced by the ongoing changes, experienced new perspectives that formed nationalist awareness.

The growth of national movement is influenced by internal and external factors. Internally, the youth were motivated by witnessing the suffering of people due to Dutch colonialism, and recollecting past glories during the kingdom eras of Sriwijaya and Majapahit. The islands and diverse populations were united into a strong union due to these factors.

Internal factors include the impact of education influenced by Dutch policies, known as Political Ethical birth race scholar. Externally, the victory of Japan over Russia in 1904–1905 played a significant role since subsequent modernization efforts led to rapid progress (Pertiwi, 2013). In this context, the development of nationalist organizations in countries such as India, China, the Philippines, and Turkey shaped the youth's role as the driving force (Hardi, 1988).

Some organizations formed with tribal or regionalistic motives, were driven by public interest, focusing on social, economic, religious, and cultural aspects. Generally, there was an evolution in response to the changing spirit of the times which transitioned from a harmonious nature to becoming more actively part of social or economic matters.

According to Ricklefs (2010), many new regional organizations were developed after 1909 based on tribal identities. Students of School Tot Opleiding Van Inlandsche Artsen (STOVIA) in Batavia, where Budi Utomo was created in 1908, also led to the formation of several new organizations. These included Tri Koro Dharmo (1915), which became Jong Java in 1918, representing Javanese youth. Other movements were Jong Sumatranen Bond, representing Sumatran youth (1917), *Studerenden Vereeniging Minahasa*, a unity student association for Minahasa (1918), and Jong Ambon for the youth of Ambonese (1918). Similar organizations included Sarekat Ambon (1920) and Pasundan, representing Sundanese people (1914), intended as a kind of Budi Utomo for Sundanese people. In 1921, Roti and Savu people established Timorsch

Verbond to defend the interests of Timorese. Meanwhile, Betawi (1923) actively tried to advance the rights of the ‘original’ citizens of Batavia. Pakempala Political Catholic Java, representing the unity of religious Javanese Catholics (1925), served the interests of a minority group. These reflected the excitement for organizing and showed the strong influence of tribalism and socialism. Besides the organizations, Ricklefs (2010), associations in the area were formed by Minahasa people. For example, Magelang and Semarang formed “Union Minahasa” and “Rukun Minahasa” in 1909 and 1912, respectively. These associations and harmonies had branches in Java and regions such as Manado, to ensure well-being of the public, focusing on political struggles (Leirissa, 1997).

Due to the change in the spirit of national movement era, the growth and development of party politics followed the dynamics of the movement in Java. This is a natural part of Political education process for society, particularly for the intellectual race in Minahasa. Political education process has influenced the movement of intellectual races in Minahasa, South Sulawesi, Magelang, Semarang, and Jakarta.

According to Ricklefs (2010), the perception influencing political, social, and religious organizations must be considered. For example, Indonesian Islam is prominent because of the diversity, as evident in Sunni and adherents of the Shafi’i sect, which was founded in the Middle East.

The conduit for educating the intellectual stratum and broader society is facilitated by engagement in party politics, rather than solely through formal education. During the early 20th century, numerous political parties or “sarekat” were formed, but lacked substantial influence over the framework of the Dutch colonial government. However, the movement of the era was not devoid of merit and contextual realities of the time were examined since the role remained largely unrealized (Leirissa, 1997).

Due to awareness of Political conditions, Indonesian Association, led by Hatta and Sjahrir, changed the strategy (Leirissa, 1997). The association was advocating for objectives that transcended the Political structure of the colonial regime. In this context, the ideological position was centered on the concept of “Free Indonesia,” national aspiration apparent in both the title and substance of the magazine targeted at the students in the Netherlands (Rose, 1991). However, there was a realization to create a specific political condition in insight into the struggle for independence.

Movement leaders were aware of the characteristics of colonial government following the need for a

drastic change to create an “Independent Indonesia.” This task required awakening the public will and offering alternative solutions (Leirissa, 1997). Subsequently, the development process of local organizations transformed into political parties, showing the dynamics among ethnic groups to become free from colonial shackles.

The dynamic is not well represented since the history of Indonesia tends to focus only on a small part of the struggle. This is particularly evident in the organizational history of Minahasa region, which plays a positive role in opposing colonialism by enhancing “unity” among ethnic groups. Therefore, this study analyzes the process of change in Minahasa regional organization, transitioning from a tribal to an Indonesian national outlook.

The transition was evident in the original Minahasa organization in the form of “rukun” or “unity,” which transformed into “United Minahasa” in 1927 with Sam Ratulangi as a critical figure. Based on historical fact, the analysis was titled: “Regional Organization of Minahasa During National Movement: A Case Study of the Change in Tribal Orientation from ‘United Minahasa’ to outlook of Indonesian Nationality.

Literature Review

The problem of social regional or tribal organization at the beginning of the 20th century has been addressed by various sources, such as Ricklefs (2010) in *Modern Indonesian History*. However, Ricklefs (2010) pointed out the nature of tribal organizations without elaborating in a specific way. In Minahasa, Henley (1992) and Leirissa (1997) also wrote different papers related to the topic. According to (Henley, 1992), the “United Minahasa” (1909–1927) featured tribal nationalism, which was referred to as “Minahasa nationalism”.

Leirissa (1997) stated that the alteration of tribal perspective in the public sphere was primarily shaped by the social factions of the military and intellectuals. The second group’s role determined the movement and direction of the shift in ethnicity and insight into nationality. The roles included the military circles of Magelang in May 1909, establishing Minahasan organization known as “United Minahasa” (Leirissa, 1997).

According to Suebu (1994) in “Insight into National Education,” the increasing territorial or regional maturity and independence should strengthen the coaching of national outlook. This provides space and opportunity for the development of increasing territorial or regional maturity and independence, considering the vastness of

the country. Additionally, the public's life is composed of a nation with various ethnic groups, languages, religions, and customs.

In another work entitled "Dynamics of Indonesian Nationalism," Leirissa (1999) features an article with the topic "Nationalism and Regional Position: The Case of Minahasa," describing the dynamics of Minahasa with the support of missionary traditions and Western education (Leirissa, 1999). The implementation of Political Colonial Dutch government differs from other regions because there is no known system of a kingdom or sultanate. Therefore, public affairs are governed by leaders of sub-sub tribes and those associated with the church or mission. In this context, the role is taken over by the Dutch colonial church known as *Indische Kerk*.

There is a similarity between Minahasa and other regions regarding the formation of institutions known as the *Volksraad* (People's Council) to distribute political aspirations. The *Volksraad* was studied by Tamon (2000) in the work titled: 'From Minahasa One to Minahasaraad (Minahasa Council) from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century.' Before the formation of Minahasaraad, there existed a tradition representing democracy in the formation of government and customary leaders, such as the Ukung and Walak chiefs (Naviah, 2022).

The organization known as a 'guardian council pakasaan' (*raad der Doopshoofden*) accommodated the growing aspirations of the public (Tamon, 2000). Other works also played a part in the colonial politics of the Dutch government in controlling public affairs. Therefore, some individuals attempted to resist Minahasa inclusion in the colonial order of the Netherlands. The incident has been discussed by Najoan (2001) in the work titled 'Twapro in Upheaval: Politics in Minahasa (1946–1949)'. The issues considered include the motivation of Twapro leader movement and the impact on Indonesian pro-independence groups (Mahabbah, 2023).

The causal factors of movement were the interests of Minahasan who fought for well-being and status as members of Koninklijk Netherlands *Indische Lager* (KNIL) and employees of Dutch government. This motivation led the people to join an association called 'Twaafde Provincie,' abbreviated as 'Twapro'. Additionally, Twaafde Province formulated an ideological party to make Minahasa the 12th province of the Netherlands (Najoan, 2001).

The organization known as Appearance in Ambon is actively engaged in resisting Dutch colonialism across various regions. In Maluku, the resistance is channeled through the platform of Sarekat Ambon (SA).

The historical struggle has been extensively examined and documented by Terry (2001) in "Struggle AJ Patty In Ambon (1920–1924)." The study draws conclusions showing that Sarekat Ambon, under the leadership of AJ Patty, adopted an ideology rooted in the principles of Douwes Dekker's *Indische Partij*. This ideology liberates the residents of Dutch East Indies from the shackles of colonial rule. Even though the objective of SA was to enhance the economic well-being of the population, independence from colonial rule was not the immediate priority (Terry, 2001).

The conditions experienced by society in Minahasa and inner Ambon were accepting or opposing the changes by groups with insightful nationalist outlook, as explained by Tamon (2000), Najoan (2001), Terry (2001), and Burdam (2001). The results refer to the thinking or the "alliance" theory of de Jong (1998), where United East India Company (VOC), founded in 1602, followed a business-building pattern. Meanwhile, the relations established were congruent with the feudalistic structures prevalent in the region and the historical dynamics witnessed in Mataram until 1749. Based on Dr JCvan Leur's insight, the theory of de Jong suggests no social change during VOC period. Therefore, the connection between VOC and Mataram, which followed the feudalism pattern of Java, was disconnected in 1743. In this context, VOC relations with the regents in Pesisir followed the pattern of feudalism (de Jong, 1998).

The dynamics of nationalism started with the tradition of supporting zending, as stated by Leirissa (1999). There is a work written by Burdam (2001) on "Conflict Autonomy Church in Minahasa (1915–1979)," which forms resistance from the educated and intellectual Minahasa race against the collaboration between the Dutch colonial government and *Indische Kerk*. In April 1993, the struggle included the organization "Pangkal Setia," which led to the founding of Density Church Protestant Minahasa (KGPM) in Wakan village, South Minahasa. After the establishment of KGPM, Kerbestuur *Indische Kerk* and Dutch colonial government in Batavia formalized the founding of Evangelical Christian Church (GMIM) in the inner Zion complex of House Bethesda Tomohon Hospital in September 1934 (Burdam, 2001).

According to the sources, an interest is shown in analyzing the evolution of social and regional organizations in Minahasa. The focus lies on understanding the trajectory of regional organizations and the ideological shifts during national movement. The development of the organizations initially reflected a regional-centric perspective. However, a transformative process was carried out to adopt a broader nationalist

outlook under the leadership of Ir. Sukarno, who led Indonesian National Party (PNI).

This study diverges from previous literature based on the historiographical overview. The focus on Minahasa regional organizations and the underlying factors contributing to shifts in national consciousness is not considered in Minahasa Unity. In contrast, David Henley (1992) reported Minahasa nationalism without examining the supporting factors that served as a conduit for transitioning to Indonesian national consciousness. Leirissa (1999) perceived the dynamics from the support of missionary traditions and Western education, which led to challenges regarding regional positioning. Dutch identity was not conferred on people even though missionary efforts contributed to Christianization and education.

Methodology

The implementation study uses Structural method developed by Christopher Lloyd as a social structure and incident factor. Therefore, change or collective behavior is caused by internal factors, which are integral to the social structure (Lloyd, 1993).

This study focuses on Minahasa environment, exploring the history concerning geography, social aspects, and culture. In this context, the Minahasan people are depicted as individuals who think and act to transform or reproduce the social structure. Meanwhile, the method of the study follows Bloch's historical approach. According to Bloch, there are four stages in historical study and writing, namely, formulating the problem and conducting observations of historical sources, critiquing history, and testing data from discovered sources, generalizing data relevant to the identified problems, as well as searching for the cause and effect of the studied and written problems (Bloch, 1989).

The data are collected through the study of literature and documents. The process includes examining the results of studies and published books on the problem under investigation. The study follows Marc Bloch's historical method (1989) using observation and critical data testing from the sources used. The analysis method comprises grouping data by generalization and appropriately categorizing the problem. The cause and effect are explored by formulating problems and observing historical sources in line with the identified problem or historiography. Subsequently, the selected data are compiled into factual narratives based on the problem.

Results and Discussion

United Minahasa and the Process of Change Outlook

In the early 20th century, there was an increase in interest regarding well-being of Minahasa people and the advancement of the region. This increased interest led to significant transformations in organizations established during the Dutch colonial period in urban centers such as Java and Manado. In line with other regional organizations in the broader national movement, Minahasa enhanced social cohesion, promoting solidarity among fellow individuals. Meanwhile, 'Get Along Minahasa' or 'United Minahasa' shifted objectives towards political engagement, starting from the 1920s. This evolution also influenced the trajectory of other tribal organizations, including Serekat Islam, PNI, Indonesian Movement, and Greater Indonesia Party. In the subsequent movement, nationalist perspective of Ir. Soekarno influenced Minahasa regional organization. This influence was evident through the prominent role played by Sam Ratulangi, the main figure of Minahasa Unity.

Sam Ratulangi is known as one of national figures who fought to improve insight in the region, specifically in Minahasa during national movement (Figure 1). Sam Ratulangi, the most widely known Minahasan, was born in Tondano, on the central plateau but relocated to Holland in 1912 to study education and becoming president of Indische Vereeniging (Indies Association) in the Netherlands. In 1927, Minahasaraad elected him to the central Volksraad (People's Council) in Batavia. Moreover, several prominent Minahasan figures founded the political party Persatuan Minahasa (Henley, 2007). "Si Tou Timou Tou", a famous philosophy was coined by Sam Ratulangi (Pangalila et al., 2024). The philosophy shows that humans live to humanize others (Pangalila et al., 2018).

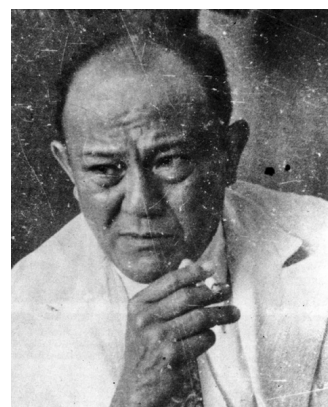


Figure 1 Sam Ratulangi
Source: Henley (2007)

The development of mass organizations and politics opened branches in Minahasa regions (Figure 2), apparently pushing the Dutch colonial government to engage more in governing the aspects related to the reality in public life. This thinking was realized in 1918 with the formation of Volksraad, and AL Waworuntu (chairman of United Minahasa). Meanwhile, Laoh was selected as a representative of people in the council (Ingleson, 1988). In Minahasa and Manado areas, the Dutch colonial government established Minahasaraad and Gemeenteraad with a large number of native members and foreigners, respectively. People were allowed to voice concerns in the respective regions through two councils. However, the boards could not adequately fulfil the role of representing people (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1982).

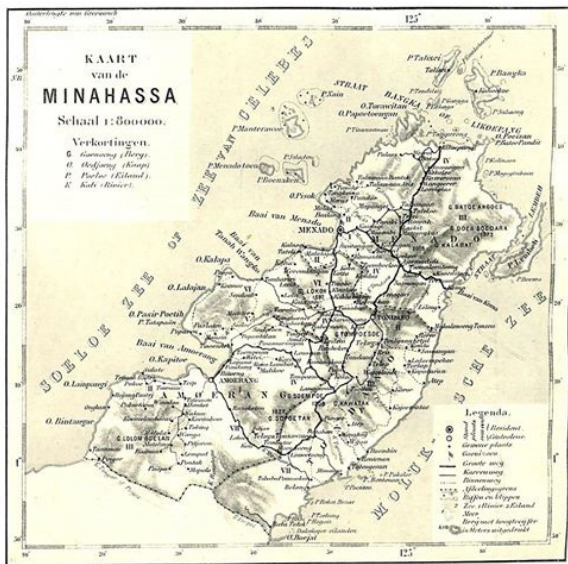


Figure 2 Map of regions in Minahasa
Source: Minahasa.net (2015)

Social and well-being issues were addressed due to the inadequate role of the boards, specifically Minahasaraad. Despite the free election method of Volksraad members, the council was not perceived to represent the views of people (Leirissa, 1999). In reality, the power of Dutch colonial government was strong in maintaining control.

The establishment of branches of political organizations originating from Java commenced at the outset of the 20th century. This initiative commenced with Sarekat Islam and extended to include Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which obtained significant support in Manado. However, following PKI inclusion in the failed rebellion of 1926, the adherents were

exiled to Boven Digul (West Irian). In Minahasa, Mr. Isaac Tjokrohadisurjo became an important figure in the dissemination of ideas on Indonesian nationality and independence. In a remarkably brief period, several young men were successfully engaged in Tonsea to propagate the outlook on nationality.

A gathering convened at the residence of Wensen Tengker family in Girian-Tonsea led to the formation of a group. This group adopted a disposition similar to a “study club” in Java and Sumatra (Leirissa, 1997). According to the accounts provided in WJ Kereh’s memoir (1996) and stated by Leirissa (1997), analogous study clubs were also established in various locales in Minahasa. Due to Political constraints imposed by colonial rule, efforts to coordinate the clubs were hindered to prevent the collective fruition.

The well-known Algemeen Studieclub Bandung became PNI and a significant part of the movement joined PNI branch, led by GE Dauhan and Max Tumbel (Leirissa, 1997). This example showed that the educated class followed developments in Java as the center of struggle during the movement.

Minahasa clan was subjected to a period of increased education and strategic planning when confronted with the necessity for decisive actions since the youth movement remained under constant scrutiny by the Dutch colonial administration. This oversight extended to individuals, newspapers, and magazines, which were restricted regarding the discussion of topics related to national movement. Despite the supervision, there were persistent opportunities for educated individuals to convene. An important moment occurred on October 28, 1932, when a group organized a ceremony commemorating The Youth Pledge at the City Hall (Gemeente) in Manado. During the significant event, Sofie Kornelia Pandean, a young woman, delivered the text of The Youth Pledge (Leirissa, 1997).

The radicalism of the movement was reported as a reaction to the policies of the Dutch government. In December 1932, the government arrested the leaders of the Max Linu group in Sonder, who were imprisoned for several years in Amurang. Similarly, several radical youths who were planning to overthrow the legitimate government in Tondano, such as Alfius Rumondor, Wim Kaeng, Aris Joseph, and Adolf Rumondor, were arrested (Lisangan, 1995). The groups did not break apart since some individuals continued the struggle. This was evident on December 22, 1932, when several youths in Leilem raised the red and white flag. However, the flag was quickly lowered on the orders of the Great Law of Kawangkuan (Leirissa, 1997).

The radical movement was suppressed by the Dutch government, using methods such as the arrest and prosecution of PNI figures such as Sukarno, who was declared guilty. Leaders including Hatta and Sjahrir in Indonesian National Education (PNI Baru), were also declared guilty and accepted imprisonment. However, special punishment, including 'exile' from Java was received through special rights granted by the Governor General. In this context, Sukarno went to Flores and moved to Bengkulu (Ingleson, 1988), while Hatta and Sjahrir were sent to Digul and moved to Banda Neira (Mrazek, 1996).

Due to the Dutch government's actions against figures in the movement, leaders in Indonesian politics shifted from radicalism in the 1930s. The shift included the transition from "non-cooperation" to a "cooperative" movement. The change was crucial as various regional organizations joined forces to create "New Indonesia Party (PIB)" or Parindra. Additionally, national outlook continued to be developed and disseminated by the members (Leirissa, 1985).

Change in characteristic movement from the party on a national level influences Minahasa. The "non-cooperation" movement, which existed in 1921, also shifted to "cooperative". Parindra, the propagator of the characteristic movement has a branch in Manado, with G. Maniku as the leader. In Minahasa, HN Taulu is the leader in Kawangkoan, with JP Mongula leading in Tombatu. Similarly, the "Indonesian Movement (Gerindo)," formed after the dissolution of PNI in 1930, has a branch in Manado, with GE Dauhan and Many Lengkong as leaders (Lisangan, 1995).

Combined Indonesian Politics (GAPI) is developed as a receptacle in the region when political organizations in Java are subjected to a fusion. The development surprised Minahasa, particularly on November 23, 1937, when a meeting was held, preceded by the singing of Indonesia Raya and the simultaneous hoisting of the red and white flag (Leirissa, 1997). The organizational movement continued to follow every change in political organizations. Therefore, the changes in the struggle are also carried out in Manado and Minahasa in the context of the movement for nationality. The expansion of outlook on nationality started with United Minahasa through the thoughts of Sam Ratulangi. According to Leirissa (1997), Sam Ratulangi played a decisive role in providing a new direction for people. This role acted as a bridge to transition from a tribal outlook to a broader insight while firmly rejecting colonialism (Leirissa, 1997).

The success of political education from various organizations spreading the Political outlook on

Indonesian nationality resulted in widespread resistance to colonialism. The initial insights also influenced the thinking and character of the people's struggle organizations as a consequence of colonialism. This started with the formation of study clubs in Tonsea, Sonder, Tondano, and other places. After the apparent formation of struggle organizations, such as Parindra and Gerindo, Minahasan youth became active in the branches.

During the occupation of Japan, certain activities and movements were forbidden. However, several radical youths became teachers at a semi-military school opened in Tondano for the practice of leadership cadres. In this context, Wangko F. Sumanti and KE Sompi served as school leaders, with Japanese teachers such as Dr. Senduk, CM Pantouw, GK Dauhan, ED Johannes, and Mr. Hidayat (Leirissa, 1997).

These youth groups, with nationalist outlook, included members who conflicted with Indische Kerk party regarding the autonomy of the Protestant church. Some were leaders in "People's Power Committee," including GE Dauhan, a former PNI and Gerindo figure, with prominent movement exponents such as BW Lopian, Frits Kumontoy, CP Hermanses, Max Tumbel, Jo Jokom, Dr. WJ Ratulangi, Dr. Senduk, JI Permata, and Kusnodaupojo.

The commitment to nationalism is unquestionable in establishing church autonomy with the intellectual insight of Minahasa race. After the integration with the teachers and church figures, the conflicts intensified, as evidenced by the founding of KGPM in 1933. Therefore, the development of regional organizations was influenced by changes in Political landscape, in line with nationalist politics such as PNI. 'Minahasa' identity, as a typical ethnic characteristic, was defended and fought for in Greater Indonesia.

Factor Supporter Change Outlook United Minahasa

The growth and development of "organization social regionalism," is studied and discussed to gain insight into the historical struggle and the shifts towards a broader perspective in the context of Dutch East Indies. The apparent growth and development of party politics with national movement dynamics shows a genuine political and educational process.

The meanings of "politics" and "education" should be outlined to analyze the growth and development of regional organizations transitioning into party politics and realizing the outlook of nationality at the beginning of the 20th century. In the broadest context,

politics is defined as the method used to achieve a particular objective, such as political education. This comprises the wisdom and intended actions of statehood or government affairs, including the determination of form, tasks, and scope of state affairs. Different rules and laws are used to implement policies and actions, which may differ in democratic, liberal, authoritarian, dictatorial, Macchiavelistic, or ethical methods (Marbun, 1996).

From the definition, educated Indonesians in the early national movement needed time to socialize or provide political education to the public, guiding the nation towards a shared perspective in line with the ideals of independence. The policies and political activities of organizations or entities are consistent with specific goals, leading to variations in the implementation. Meanwhile, diversity contributes to the appearance of various interpretations of politics. According to Budiardjo (1972 as cited in Leirissa 1997), the term “politics” refers to a multitude of activities in a political system in the process of determining and implementing system objectives. The decision-making process regarding the objectives includes the selection of alternatives based on a set of criteria.

General policies can be identified in relation to the arrangement, distribution, or allocation of existing resources from the selection process. To carry out political policies, power and authority must be possessed to resolve possible conflicts (Leirissa, 1997).

In political activities, power and authority are essential because politics concerns goals related to society and personal objectives. Therefore, politics includes the activities of various groups, such as parties and the affiliation of individuals (Leirissa, 1997). Considering the explanation of the meaning of political activities, the interest is an effort to realize a shared perspective, starting from ethnic groups and forming a unified national outlook. Dutch solid colonial power should be confronted, requiring a unified insight into the struggle in line with the development of the times. Different political parties or ‘sarekat’ were developed in the early 20th century, lacking the decisive ability to influence the structure of the colonial government (Leirissa, 1997). Therefore, this study examined the general conditions of movement where Indonesian nationality and educated Minahasa race gained strength through regional organizations. The organizations served as a bridge for engaging in political struggles and shaping party politics in line with the movement of intellectuals in Minahasa.

Motion Struggle United Minahasa Period of National Movement

The youth contributed to the promotion of nationalism to decrease regionalism and improve a unified assembly characterized by organizational principles. However, the realization of the aspiration remains elusive since many youths perceive a necessity for regionalist organizations. In this context, a significant event took place in Jakarta from April 30 to May 2, 1926, known as Indonesian Youth Congress or Youth Congress I. The event was attended by representatives of various youth organizations, except Jong Minahasa, to form a unified group with the following purposes:

1. Advance understanding of unity and nationality.
2. Strengthen connections among all national gatherings.

During the congress, the youths were recommended to prioritize nationalism and unity over personal, religious, and ethnic interests. However, at Congress I, no decisive decisions were made for national unity. On October 27, 1928, Congress II was attended by 750 delegates from various organizations, including Jong Minahasa, and more success was recorded. Sugondo stated, “Fight the Influence of Scatter and move forward towards United Indonesia loving.” The Dutch government, observing the youth’s enthusiasm during the congress, closely supervised Congress II with the army. Subsequently, the Youth Pledge, comprising oaths and statements, became more widely known.

Causality Change Outlook United Indonesian Nationality Minahasa

Outlook on Indonesian nationality provides space and opportunities for developing a progressively mature and independent territory. The essence arises from the country’s vast territory, including a diverse population of various ethnic groups, languages, religions, and customs. Outlook was formed as a product of Indonesian society’s historical and cultural background, consisting of various ethnic groups to establish an independent nation (Suebu, 1994).

Indonesia has experienced numerous cultural contacts between nations, tribes, and ethnic groups. These cultural contacts, facilitated by the archipelagic location have defined culture as an interactive process, allowing for integration between external elements and those originating from different areas. The direction is characterized by national Development conception of Wawasan Nusantara, emphasizing political, economic, social-cultural, and security unity to strengthen the culture (Suebu, 1994).

In the organizational steps of Minahasa people's struggle, such as "United Minahasa" (1909–1927), there was a manifestation of tribal nationalism termed "nationalism Minahasa" (Henley, 1992). According to Leirissa (1997), there was a process of shifting from a tribal to Indonesian nationality outlook in the community. The transformation primarily concerned the military and intellectuals in the early 20th century. Therefore, understanding the role of the groups is crucial for obtaining a clear shift from tribal to Indonesian nationality. These groups differed in social awareness but were integrated in many other matters, causing limited conflict. Colonial interests treated the two groups differently, with the military and intellectuals facing discrimination in the army and integration problems in the multicultural Dutch East Indies (Leirissa, 1997). The disparate treatment became a solid motivation to integrate the strengths of different public elements into an organization to fight for nationalism and position Minahasa in the context of the movement.

Conclusion

In conclusion, national movement was reported to change orientation and scope, such as regionalism, direction, and purpose based on the doctrine of independence and sovereignty. During the movement, Minahasa people appreciated the period and connected through organizational regionalism. In May 1909, Magelang people formed an organization among the military named "United Minahasa" to facilitate coordinated collaboration and deliberations on collective fates.

In 1912, J. H Pangemanan founded "Rukun Minahasa" to elevate the level of livelihood in Semarang through support for teaching and education, mutual help, as well as advancing the economy of people. Subsequently, in 1927, "United Minahasa" was founded in Jakarta, with Sam Ratulangi as a prominent figure. The organization was a fraction of Get Along Minahasa, another name for United Minahasa. The Dutch government prohibited military circles from participating in meetings with civilians. Therefore, the military personnel remained in Get Along Minahasa while civilians switched to United Minahasa. Even though the second organization had the same objective, United Minahasa developed into broader insights toward an independent Indonesia in 1928. Outlook was developed by Sam Ratulangi in United Minahasa organization and Minahasaraad.

The development of the organizational movement continued to follow changes in Java. Therefore, every change in Political organization's methods was carried out in Manado and Minahasa. The expansion of national outlook started with United Minahasa through the thoughts of Sam Ratulangi. Meanwhile, there was interest from educated individuals to realize the same view from the fellow race, starting from the ethnic group to form the formation of Indonesian national outlook. Space and opportunity were provided for developing a mature and independent regionalism. This was because of the diversity of the country, with a society composed of various ethnic groups, nations, languages, religions, and customs. In the movement "United Minahasa," nationalism showed tribalism. However, the change from a tribal to Indonesian national outlook concerned military and intellectual groups in the 20th century.

Conflict of Interest

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest.

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