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Trajectory of Indo Political Movements and Indis Nationalism in the Dutch East Indies

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the Indo political movements in the Dutch East Indies during the early 20th century, focusing on the Indische Partij and Insulinde organizations and their quest for Indis nationalism. Using a historical method and sociological approach, particularly Neil J. Smelser's theory of collective behavior, this study analyzes the Indo community's role in the Indonesian national movement. The implementation of the Dutch Ethical Policy, which produced nationalist intellectuals among indigenous people, and the strengthening of racial segregation in the Dutch East Indies, led to concerns among the Indo community. E. F. E. Douwes Dekker, concerned about Indo people as Indiers, developed the concept of Indiers and Indis nationalism through the organization known as the Indische Partij. The formation of Indische Partij then sparking collective behavior to oppose the Dutch East Indies government in the form of political activism. Together with Soewardi Soerjaningrat and Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, they were known as Tiga Serangkai and helped mobilizing the Indische Partij masses to fight for freedom from Dutch control and helped mobilizing the Indische Partij masses to fight for freedom from Dutch control. The Indische Partij disbanded after the Dutch East Indies government deemed it subversive and exiled the Tiga Serangkai. The Insulinde organization emerged as the Indische Partij's successor, with Douwes Dekker and Tjipto participating. However, the Dutch East Indies government's rejection of Insulinde's legal application led to its dissolution and signaled a turning point in the trajectory of Indis nationalism.

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INTRODUCTION

The Dutch East Indies experienced fundamental changes in the 20th century. The Dutch Ethical Policy, announced in 1901 by Queen Wilhelmina, aimed to advance the colony through irrigation development, immigration, and Western education for the indigenous people. These efforts were part of the Netherlands's ethical responsibility to develop the colonized territory and people of the Dutch East Indies based on the Western model, comparable to the French *mission civilisatrice* or the English white man's burden (Derksen, 2011). Education programs from the Dutch Ethical Policy proved to be counterproductive for the Dutch East Indies's colonial government. Western education gave rise to intellectuals among the indigenous people. These intellectuals fought for prosperity and education for all people to oppose colonization; they called for progress through modernity for the indigenous (Sumarno et al., 2019). The indigenous intellectuals actualized their aim through establishing organizations for those with similar vision. Ideas for progress then evolved into the first sparks of nationalism (Abdullah, 2017).

In writings of Indonesia's history of nationalism, the narration tends to be presented as dichotomies. The relations between the colonizers and the colonized are illustrated under a romantic and elitist light. When dichotomy is used to view Indonesia's colonial era, as stated by Pradipto Niwandhono, then this view withholds other parts of the colonial history. One of these parts is the history on cultural engagement, which included other factions whose important role was to connect other factions (Niwandhono, 2011). The Indo people is a faction which has existed since *Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie* (VOC), comprised of individuals born out of interracial relationships. In the Dutch East Indies, the Indo people were commonly born out of relationships between European men and Asian women, and had various labels, such as *mistiezen, liplap, kleurlingen*, and *Indo-Europeanen* (Lombard, 2005). Throughout the 19th century, many Indo children were illegitimated by their fathers and lived in poverty. They were then known as Indo-

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paupers, and, around late 19th century, were considered a socio-political problem requiring improvement by the Dutch East Indies colonial government, and a marginalized group within the Dutch colony (Koks, 1931). In the colonial view, children born of interracial relationships, particularly from concubinage, were regarded as the result of European moral degeneration carrying the undesirable traits of their Asian mothers. They were seen as a danger to the Dutch imperialism because their 'inherited' traits (Pattynama, 2015).

In the early 20th century, the Dutch East Indies was described as having rapid development, rampant imperialism, and subject of strict laws to maintain order within the colony. Advancements in transportation technology and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 facilitated the flow of migration from Europe to the Dutch East Indies, while also helped in implemented the Dutch Ethical Policy. European administrators, doctors, and engineers arrived to modernize the Dutch East Indies viewed interracial children with contempt. Therefore, many European women also arrived in the Dutch East Indies. The subsequent arrival of European women transformed the colony into a Eurocentric society based on racial segregation and social stratification (Pattynama, 2015). These racial sentiments and the increasing process of Europeanization fostered a collective awareness and solidarity among marginalized Indo people (Wertheim, 1947). This solidarity manifested into the Indis spirit or a sense of *Indische* or *Indieness* never seen before, and subsequently brought forth organizations catering to this spirit. This spirit also stoked the fire of the emancipation movement fighting for the place of the Indo people in the Dutch East Indies equal to full-blooded Europeans. In its development, the emancipation of the Indo people evolved into a national movement aiming to actualize multiracial nationality and citizenship among the indigenous national movement (Niwandhono, 2011). This prompted the formation of Indo organizations such as Indische Bond, Indische Partij, and Insulinde to fight for Indo interests. These Indo political movements have become an integral part of the changing social and political landscape of the early 20th century Dutch East Indies.

Historical studies that specifically examine the existence and role of the Indo people in the Indonesian national movement remain scarce. In historical narratives, colonial relations are often presented in a simple dichotomy between colonizer and colonized, thereby obscuring the position of the Indo people, who occupied a complex middle ground. As descendants of both Europeans and Asians, they developed a political consciousness and a nationalist movement distinct from both groups. Therefore, this study aims to analyze the Indo movement within Indonesia's history of nationalism with sociological approach on the Indo people's collective behavior. Studies on movements aiming to fight the colonial power in the Dutch East Indies analyzed through a sociological approach have been presented before by Rachman (2018), of which discussed the national movement within various organizations, such as Sarekat Islam, Indische Partij, Insulinde, as well as Indische Social Democratische Vereniging (ISDV) using the Smelserian approach (Rachman, 2018). Meanwhile, the Indo people's role in the wave of national movements have been explored by Niwandhono (2011), focusing on development of nationalism within the Indo people, of which the author labelled as Indis nationalism (Niwandhono, 2011). Based on these studies, historical research on the existence and role of the Indo people within Indonesia's national movement has not been done. This study uses the sociological approach based on the research question: "how is the movement of the Indo people within the Dutch East Indies analyzed with historical methods and sociological approach?"

METHOD

This article uses the historical method and sociological approach, particularly Neil J. Smelser's theory of collective behavior. A complex event can be seen in parts and incidents creating a correlation from various factors, such as economic, social, political, and religious. In relation to the Indo movement, there are several determining factors that have influenced the emergence and development of this movement. These factors were structure conduciveness, structural strain, generalized belief, precipitating factors, and mobilization of participants for actions. The use of sociological approach in this article does not make it a mere sociological study but combines it with the historical method to create a cohesive and comprehensive narration, as well as expanding the paradigm within historical studies (Kartodirdjo, 1966). Contemporary reports from government commissions, such as *De Pauperisme-Commissie*, or the Poverty Commission, as well as organizations such as Indische Partij and Insulinde are also used in this study. For data completion, many secondary sources, such as books and articles, discussing the Indo people, Indische Partij, and Insulinde are also used.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Position of the Indo People in the Early 20th Century

The living conditions of the Indo people and several full-blooded Europeans (*totok*) in the Dutch East Indies were deteriorating, causing the Dutch colonial government to establish De Pauperisme-Commissie, or the Poverty Commission in 1902 to investigate the poverty among the Europeans in the Dutch East Indies. The Dutch colonial government has previously established a similar commission in 1872. In a Poverty Commission 1902 report, the implementation of liberal economic policies in 1870 caused an increase on the wave of European immigrants to the Dutch East Indies to "snatch the bread out of Indo-European mouths" (Van Rees, 1902). Furthermore, the Poverty Commission added the Indo people's condition within the Dutch East Indies in their findings, as described below.

> *Men miskenne het feit niet, dat het tegenwoordig geslacht der Indo-paupers voor een deel althans uit het vroegere is voortgekomen; het vroegere, dat niet in staat werd gesteld zich geestelijk te ontwikkelen, omdat intellectueele verheffing toen nog weinig gewaardeerd werd en de Compagnie geene aanleiding had daaraan veel ten koste te leggen; niet in staat gesteld echter tevens om zich op manueel gebied op te werken en als bekwaam ambachtsman zich eene plaats in de Europeesche maatschappij te verzekeren, omdat het exclusief karakter van den eertijds zoo bloeienden Nederlandschen handwerksstand te Batavia en elders dezen nagenoeg uitsluitend deed samenstellen uit door de Compagnie in het Moederland aangeworven ambachtslieden*.
>
> *(….) 's Lands dienst bleef grootendeels voor hen gesloten; de handel kwijnde; vertier was er niet; de landbouw van nietinboorlingen had weinig te beteekenen; industrieele ondernemingen waren er niet en de handwerksnijverheid was, na den ondergang van den voormaligen Europeeschen ambachtsstand, van lieverlede overgegaan in handen van Inlanders en Chineezen* (Rees, 1902).
>
> (We should not ignore the fact that the Indo-pauper generation emerged no less than from the previous generation, which was not in the position to improve themselves culturally, because, at the time, the intellectual development was still lowly regarded, and the Company had no reason to fulfill this development; (an Indo) was neither in the condition to be employed in fields requiring manual skills and place himself within the European people as a skilled craftsman, because the exclusive characteristics of handicraft previously luxurious in Batavia and other areas was almost all comprised of craftsmen recruited by the Company in the motherland (the Netherlands).
>
> (….) Most service provided by the government cannot be accessed by them; trade suffered; no activity; non-residents do not have a significant role within agriculture; no industry; and, after the fall of European craftsmen, the craftsmanship slowly fell to the hands of Inlanders and the Chinese (Rees, 1902).

This condition was also connected to lackluster insufficient education for the Indo people and the landowners' tendency to hire full-blooded Europeans, which directly harmed the Indo people (Van Rees, 1902). In the labor sector, the Dutch Ethical Policy also constrained the Indo people. Western education provided to the indigenous people gave way for them to fill positions previously provided for Europeans and the Indo people, especially administrative positions within privately owned companies and the Dutch East Indies government (Baay, 2017). The constrain of the Indo people within the colony caused tension within their lives, especially concerning their livelihood. This tension gradually accumulated and became an important cause for the Indo people's resistance movement from the Dutch East Indies colonial government (Ormrod, 2014). A description of poverty estimations within the Indo-Europeans of the Dutch East Indies can be seen in 1902's *Rapport Der Pauperisme-Commissie*. Residents in this data were "disadvantaged Europeans and the equalized population". However, the data did not describe the poverty within Batavia and its surrounding areas, which were the biggest settlements of the Europeans (Van der Veur, 1955).

Table 1. Poverty Percentage Among the Europeans in Java and Madura in 1902

No.	Region	Poverty Percentage
1.	Semarang	13.3%
2.	Banyumas	12.6%
3.	Pasuruan	14%
4.	Surakarta	15.4%
5.	Madiun	16.7%
6.	Kedu	18.8%
7.	Madura	17.3%

Source: *Rapport der Pauperisme-Commissie,* 1903.

Based on **Table 1**, the average poverty percentage in Java and Madura numbered under 20%, with the highest percentage being Kedu on 18.8%. The Poverty Commission estimated the overall number of Europeans and the Indo

people living in poverty was 9,381 souls (Van Rees, 1902). Nevertheless, this poverty percentage did not clearly illustrate the number of Indo-paupers compared to the entire population of the Indo people. Furthermore, the data included former European soldiers who fell into poverty (Baay, 2017). Around the same time, Henri van Kol, a Dutch engineer, voyaged into the Dutch East Indies to directly observe the situation of the people in the colony (Mukhti, 2020). Van Kol stated that, in its entirety, there were 75,833 Europeans in Java and Madura, with 51,379 being Indo-Europeans. Van Kol explained that 17,000 among them were Indo-paupers, making them 22% of the total European population in Java and Madura, as well as 33% of the total Indo-European population in the Dutch East Indies (Van Kol, 1903).

The constrain faced by the Indo people prompted solidarity among them. This solidarity was born out of the same suffering felt among the Indo people, especially those of the proletariat (Smelser, 2011). The imperfect social structure within the colony also influenced the start of the resistance movement among the Indo people. The marginalization of the Indo people within the social class of the colony in the late 19th to early 20th century then prompted them to mobilize the masses into political parties. This mobilization was a form of a facilitated collective action of the Indo people as a group discriminated by the Dutch East Indies colonial government (Smelser, 2011).

The Advance of *Indiërs* and Indis Nationalism

Various changes that put pressure on the position of the Indo people in the Dutch East Indies eventually led them to need an organization to fight for their rights and status in the colony. An Indo journalist named G. J. Andriesse stated that there was a difference between the Dutch who came to the Dutch East Indies to seek wealth and then returned to their homeland, known as *trekkers* or expatriates, and those who considered the Dutch East Indies their permanent home, known as *blijvers* (Van der Veur, 1955). Andriesse stated that these expatriates from the Netherlands were egotistical individuals who embodied the patria's efforts to prevent people of European descent from building their own society in the Dutch East Indies. Colonial domination had hindered the *blijvers* from managing their own land. The lack of higher education in the Dutch East Indies further exacerbated this situation, as it contributed to the marginalization of the Indo community for several generations (Niwandhono, 2011).

To counter this problem, Andriesse then suggested that the Indo community form an association, which Andriesse called the Indische Bond, to provide equal rights for both the Indo and indigenous peoples in managing their affairs in the colonies. For Andriesse, Java was as much a homeland for the Indo people as it was for the indigenous people (Van der Veur, 1955). The statement indicates the existence of a nationalist conception regarding the society of the Dutch East Indies, which is seen as a single collective and opposes a common adversary, specifically the '*totok*' Dutch people who came from the patria to temporarily reside in the Dutch East Indies as expatriates (Niwandhono, 2011). The Indische Bond (IB), which emerged on October 4, 1898 in Batavia, later became the first socio-economic organization to accommodate the interests of the Indo community in the Dutch East Indies, with the aim of advancing the interests of its members and providing both material and moral support for European residents in need in the Dutch East Indies. Membership was open to all Europeans living in the Dutch East Indies without exception, which set this organization apart from the ideas of Andriesse (Van der Veur, 1955).

In its implementation, IB carried out moderate emancipation in the form of developing small-scale agriculture to address poverty among Europeans. The plan was later deemed a failure, and IB began to focus on developing practical-oriented education to increase employment opportunities for poor Europeans (Niwandhono, 2011). The popularity of IB gradually declined along with the rise of awareness among the Indo community, which later encouraged the emergence of another non-political organization on October 29, 1907, called *Insulinde*. This organization was founded in Bandung with the aim of improving the conditions of the Indo people in the Dutch East Indies and was open to all Indos aged eighteen or older who recognized the Dutch East Indies as their homeland. Plans to merge the IB with Insulinde later emerged in 1911, but these plans were never realized (Baay, 2017). The IB was then reorganized in March 1912 under the guidance of Karel Zaalberg, editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*. Membership was then opened to anyone who was a resident of the Dutch East Indies, with the aim of meeting the needs of European residents born in the Indies. IB then became an organization exclusively dedicated to the interests of the blijvers of European descent. These changes did not bring significant progress to the IB, which, in the view of one of its members, Ernest François Eugène Douwes Dekker, remained moderate and failed to fight for the political rights of the *blijvers* (Van der Veur, 1955).

The resistance movement of the Indo people entered the political stage through the efforts of Ernest François Eugène Douwes Dekker, or Douwes Dekker, an Indo who was also a relative of Eduard Douwes Dekker, author of the novel *Max Havelaar*, also known as Multatuli. Douwes Dekker was born in Pasuruan in 1879 from a Dutch father and a German-Javanese mother. Douwes Dekker showed signs of concern for the indigenous people when he became interested in the indigenous workers of the sugar and coffee plantation where he worked. There, Douwes Dekker directly witnessed how the indigenous workers were treated harshly and unfairly, and empathized with these workers, as he himself was an Indo. In 1900, Douwes Dekker decided to volunteer for the Second Boer War in South Africa. Douwes Dekker was then captured and imprisoned in Ceylon for 2 years but returned to Java in 1903. He became an editor for various publications, such as *Soerabaiaasch Handelsblad*, *De Locomotief*, and *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* (Van der Veur, 1958).

His experience in the Second Boer War increased Douwes Dekker's antipathy towards the Western colonialism and imperialism. Many of his writings illustrated his strong opinions, such as the writings published in *Nieuwe Arnhensche Courant* and his novel *Het Boek Siman de Javaan*. One of his well-known articles was *Hoe kan Holland het spoedigst zijn koloniën verliezen?*, or *How Can the Netherlands Rapidly Lose Many of Its Colonies?* published in May, 1908. In the article, Douwes Dekker criticized the Dutch Ethical Policy, stating it was as uncaring as a policy can be, and could not stop the political chaos in the Dutch East Indies in the end. This political chaos was avoidable if the Dutch East Indies were given autonomy from the Netherlands colonial government (Van der Veur, 1958).

Douwes Dekker had previously joined Indo organizations, such as *Indische Bond* and *Insulinde*, to help stoke the fires of revolution in the Indo people. Both organizations, however, were perceived as less radical. Douwes Dekker then decided to establish a political organization to pour his aspirations as an Indo and resistance fighter (Van der Veur, 1958). Indische Partij (IP) was officially established in Bandung on September 25, 1912 (Van Dijk, 2007). IP's creation became a precipitating factor in the form of "dramatic event" pushing and lighting the collective action among the Indo people in opposing the Dutch colonial government (Smelser, 2011). IP's membership was not only open to the Indo, but also to the indigenous and Chinese peoples. Douwes Dekker, along with Soewardi Soerjaningrat and Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, IP's other well-known figures, were known as the Tiga Serangkai (Baay, 2017).

To attract the attention of the Indo, Douwes Dekker stated that those born out of interracial relationships had a high standing, including the Indo, who was a union between two worlds. Douwes Dekker also stated that the Indo are closer to the indigenous than the Dutch, and the Indo's role in the resistance movement was vital to help "liberate the Eastern fellows from the clutches of the West" (Van der Veur, 1958). IP became the first political party in the Dutch East Indies with the concept "the Indies for the Indies," implying that the Dutch East Indies should break free from the shackles of the Netherlands and belong directly to the Indies people. IP's establishment, as stated by Douwes Dekker in a meeting in Bandung, was "a war declaration," and was "a shining light fighting against darkness, good against evil, civilization against tyranny, and the colonial tax-paying slaves against the colonial tax-collecting government" (Shiraishi, 1990). IP's strong belief of its Indo members equality to Indies citizens and responsibility to help their "Eastern fellows" in maintaining the Dutch East Indies's freedom from the chains of Dutch colonialism was their key reason of existence (Smelser, 2011).

As an organization open for all members of society, Douwes Dekker made the effort to create solidarity by using the term *Indiërs* (people of the Indies). All ethnicity was grouped under the label *Indiërs*, making IP's movement a national one. This national movement was parallel to one of IP's goals, based on their charter, which was to advance Indies nationalism (*het aankweeken van een Indisch nationalisme*) (Buning, 1917). The concept of *Indiërs* managed to interest many, especially the Indo-paupers. D. A. Rinkes, acting as *adviseur voor Inlandsche zaken*, or advisor for indigenous affairs, stated in his reports that Douwes Dekker's Indo supporters came from the middle class to the proletariat (Rinkes, 1913).

In his writing for the magazine *Het Tijdschrijft* on May 15, 1912, Douwes Dekker explained the *Indië voor de Indiërs* or the Indies for the Indies propaganda further.

> Now, Sir, do you know of our political program? With three words it may be described: 'Indies for us!' We are those who reside here (*blijvers*), we are those who moved our hometown to this country (*kolonisten*), we are the indigenous! For us, this land is our birthright. The Indies for the Indies! (Douwes Dekker, 1912).

Through the *Indiërs* concept introduced by Douwes Dekker, the Indis movement splintered into two factions. The first faction was the radical nationalism movement following Douwes Dekker's ideas supported by the lower crust of the Indo people. The second faction was the Indis movement maintaining its emancipation goals within a colonial relationship framework. This second faction held true of the Indis identity as something European and believed in the need of a union with the motherland to maintain the position of the Indo people in the middle of indigenous emancipation (Niwandhono, 2011). The concept of the Indis nationalism introduced by IP, as well as its goals to erase interracial borders, increased IP's popularity. In March 1913, IP's members were reportedly reaching around 7,000 members, with 5,500 being Indo. Most Indo members of IP were workers within the lower ranks of railways, dock workers, and so forth. This proletariat base in Semarang reported that the members within the city were 18% of the entirety of the membership, with 19% of IP members in Semarang coming from the working class, of which many were members of the railway union *Vereniging van Spoor en Tramsweg Personeel* (VSTP) (Niwandhono, 2011).

Despite its high popularity, IP's resistance movement only took place for a short time. The Dutch East Indies colonial government worried that IP's movement endangered the colonial rule, noting that IP's concept of independence, as well as its own purpose for a common ground for people of various groups, could one day negatively influence the indigenous people, who were then still loyal to the colonial government. In April 1913, after regarded as a subversive organization by the colonial government, IP dissolved itself. Douwes Dekker, with Soerjaningrat and Mangoenkoesoemo, were then exiled to the Netherlands. Some Indo members joined Insulinde, making it IP's successor for the Indo (Van Dijk, 2007).

Insulinde: The Successor of Indische Partij's Nationalism Spirit

Insulinde was an Indo organization emerging in the early 20th century. Since its conception in 1907, Insulinde had evolved into an open socialist organization for everyone outside of the Indo people, as well as "any resident of the Dutch East Indies". The movement to translate socialist literature into Malay was performed after a congress in Semarang to attract the masses from all corners as much as possible. The members also began to use the term comrade when conversing with fellow members (Van Dijk, 2007).

In 1914, the Indische Sociaal Democratische Partij (ISDV) under the leadership of Henk Snevliet, agreed to affiliate with the Insulinde. This affiliation did not last long. The different outlook between them, with Insulinde desiring for freedom and prosperity of all people by entering contract with Japan by using the concept of "Asia for Asians" and ISDV envisioning the Dutch East Indies's freedom by transforming the capitalist society into a socialist one with a democratic government, caused them to separate in June 1916. Insulinde then tempered its radicalism and satisfied its goals through parliament rules, especially since its announcement of the establishment of the *Volksraad* or the Indies People's Council as a 'means for aspiration of the people' (Van der Veur, 1955). Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, another figure from Tiga Serangkai and Indische Partij, was previously exiled by the Dutch government and subsequently granted permission to return to the Dutch East Indies in 1914 due to health issues. Following his return to the Dutch East Indies, Mangoenkoesoemo launched propaganda to boost Insulinde's popularity, which, increased the membership up until 6,000 through 1917. When *Volksraad* was established in May 1918, 2 Insulinde members were then chosen for membership positions within *Volksraad*: Mangoenkoesoemo and J.J.E. Teeuwen. They strengthened Insulinde's position within the politics of the Dutch East Indies (Van der Veur, 1955).

Insulinde's popularity then increased after Douwes Dekker returned to the Dutch East Indies on July 6, 1918. Douwes Dekker then became deputy secretary of the central management for Insulinde and editor-in-chief for *De Beweging*, a publication of Insulinde (Niwandhono, 2011). To circulate the concepts of Indis nationalism he pioneered in *Indische Partij*, Douwes Dekker toured the Java Island. This propaganda was spread through Douwes Dekker's speech titled *Een Natie in de Maak* (A Nation in the Making). The circulation was supported through Insulinde's publications, *De Beweging* and *De Indiër*, as well as other Malay-written publications, such as *Soeara Rakjat, Kemadjoean Hindia,* and *Pahlawan*, in the Java Island. When visiting Surakarta in May 1919, the Dutch East Indies colonial government took notice of the propaganda. Douwes Dekker was placed under observation of the colonial government, and, after his discharge, decided to officially step down from his position in Insulinde (Van der Veur, 1955). Tiga Serangkai's role in pioneering IP, as well as Mangoenkoesoemo and Douwes Dekker's direct participation in Insulinde, indicated their capabilities in leading and directing the masses participating within Indische Partij and Insulinde. As leaders, Mangoenkoesoemo and Douwes Dekker each held significance in orienting the resistance of the Indies towards the Dutch East Indies colonial government (Smelser, 2011).

In a national congress held in 1919 in Semarang, Insulinde altered its organization structure into a double-headed partition, with the branch comprised of the Indo people known as Nationaal Indische Partij (NIP), and the branch comprised of the indigenous people as Sarekat Hindia (SH). NIP-SH's goals were like IP's, which was to foster love for the homeland for all *Indiërs*, to achieve cooperation based on equal rights and citizenship and to prepare the Dutch East Indies as an independent nation (Blumberger, 1939). In the end, NIP-SH did not last long. Despite its many commonalities with IP, from its aims to its ideology, NIP-SH in turn developed into a resistance movement for the indigenous people than for the Indo (Niwandhono, 2011). Furthermore, NIP-SH also failed to maintain its position within the coming years due to the Indo-Europeesch Verbond (IEV) established in 1919. When NIP-SH's application for legal recognition on April 10, 1923, was rejected by the Dutch East Indies government, a counteroffer of dissolution was given instead. The counteroffer was accepted by NIP-SH's management, which marked the end of Insulinde's efforts as the successor the national spirit pioneered by IP (Van der Veur, 1955).

CONCLUSION

The implementation of the Dutch Ethical Policy in the early 20th century caused the formation of many national intellectuals from the indigenous people and strengthened the racial tension and segregation within the Dutch East Indies, which caused concern for the Indo people. E.F.E. Douwes Dekker, an Indo involved with the plight of the Indo people, then developed the concept of *Indiërs* and the Indis nationalism, which he then circulated through Indische Partij (IP), which set ablaze the collective behavior within the Indo people to resist the Dutch colonial government. Douwes Dekker, along with other figures within IP, such as Soewardi Soerjaningrat and Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, were known as Tiga Serangkai. They managed to mobilize the masses within IP, most of which were Indo, to fight for their aspirations and to break the Dutch East Indies free from the clutches of the Netherlands. IP then dissolved after the Dutch East Indies labelled it as a subversive organization, and Tiga Serangkai was also exiled. Insulinde was then established as IP's successor for the Indo, with Douwes Dekker and Mangoenkoesoemo participating still. However, the Dutch East Indies's rejection of Insulinde's application for legal recognition caused the organization to also dissolve. The development of Indo political movements shown how colonial policies, such as the Dutch Ethical Policy, inadvertently fostered the growth of nationalist sentiments among indigenous and mixed-race populations, leading to increased racial tensions in heterogeneous society and challenges to colonial rule.

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