

# THE NATIONALITY MOVEMENT IN GORONTALO

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## ABSTRACT

*Religion and nationalism are two terms that are closely related with one another. In Indonesia, the debate about religion and nationalism has narrowed down to two major issues: The first is the integration of religion and nationalism in the form of a religious state. The second is religious accommodation within the country. The Indonesian founding fathers have agreed to choose the accommodation model by making Pancasila as the foundation of the country, whose core is based on the universal values of religion, such as divinity, humanity, unity, deliberation and social justice. This research was conducted in Gorontalo city and applies qualitative method. Data collection was carried out using interview techniques and document studies. Interviews were conducted with informants ranging from religious leaders, historians, and academics. This paper aims to illustrate that the choice to accommodate religion in the country is the right action, given the national movement in Indonesia is based on religious movements. The independence movement in 1942 in Gorontalo was the culmination of the movement of nationalist movement such as Sinar Budi and Islamic-based organizations such as Syarikat Islam (SI), Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Sjafiiah, which had been carried out 10-20 years earlier.*

**Keywords:** Religion, nationalism, integration, accommodation, religious movement.

## INTRODUCTION

Why do the founders of this state, including their *Ulama* (Muslim leaders), prefer the form of a unitary state, instead of a religious state? Is not that the majority of the Indonesian population are Muslims? This question is such a classic question but still continues to find its context. In every phase of Indonesian history, there are always certain groups who keep questioning about this. As if, the role of the religious leaders behind the formation of this country was not enough to be the answer. In fact, later, religious movements emerged from certain groups who questioned national ideas and considered them to be contrary to religious spirit. They demand a state in the form of religion (Islam) and some

even wish for a universal Islamic state (popularly known as *khilafah* system).

The statement or question that challenges the relationship between religion and nation is not adequate to be answered theoretically but can be invoked to re-read the historical movements of the Indonesian struggle for independence in various regions. Looking back at the history of struggle is something that is very essential for today Indonesian young generation. They must understand that religion is a substantial foundation in the independence movement and the formation of a nation, that we now recognize as an Indonesian nation. Without the need to re-confirm, why this the founding fathers did not prefer a religious-labelled-country.

This study then attempts to re-write a story of independence movement from local perspective. The story illustrates when both Islamic and nationalist groups fight together to achieve the independence. In this place, there are important and interesting events at least for the people of Gorontalo. The event was a statement of Indonesian independence from the Dutch in the City of Gorontalo. Again, the statement of Indonesia's independence and it was not the independence of Gorontalo which took place three years before the National Proclamation of Independence, namely on January 23, 1942.

On that mentioned date, a large solemn ceremony was held in the square in front of the house of the Dutch Assistant Resident (Coern). The Dutch flag was lowered and replaced with the red and white flag. The song of Indonesia Raya was echoed by Gorontalo youth. The atmosphere of emotion burst in the minds of all the people. Nani Wartabone (Gorontalo national hero) stood in the middle and began to speak:

“Today, January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1942, we Indonesians are free from any nation's colonization. Our flag is red and white, our national anthem is Indonesia Raya. The Dutch government has been taken over by the national government.”

Nani Wartabone's voice echoed that was responded by the cry of independence by the people of Gorontalo. The long struggle of the people of Gorontalo has been paid for years. The neat struggle started by Nani Wartabone and the Gorontalo fighters ended sweetly. The red and white flag was raised, and the Indonesia Raya song was then announced. Later, a national government was formed which was known as the PPPG (Head of Gorontalo Government Leadership) led by Nani Wartabone. The formation of this government was a result of the Committee 12 meeting.

This event is one of the most interesting national milestones. Recognition of Indonesia as a nation was clearly stated in Nani Wartabone's short speech. In fact, at that time the Indonesian state did not yet exist. The government switched from the Netherlands to Japan. The events that

took place in Gorontalo showed that resistance to the Netherlands was a common resistance for the common goals. Although the Indonesian people had not been officially formed, Nani Wartabone was not feeling awkward to call himself an Indonesian, red and white as a symbol of struggle, and the song Indonesia Raya as the official song. Nani Wartabone and his friends did not proclaim the independence of Gorontalo but firmly declared it as an Indonesian state.

Nani Wartabone has been a very important name in social movements in Gorontalo. Nani Wartabone was also a Muhammadiyah cadre who had a very strong social movement perspective and managed to consolidate social movements against the Netherlands. Political activities in Surabaya, meet with national movement figures such as Moh. Yamin and Soekarno became his inspiration when he returned back to Gorontalo.

When he returned back to Gorontalo, he founded the Gorontalo Farmers' Union in November 1927. A year later, he founded the Gorontalo National Indonesian Party (PNI). Nani became anti-Western and sometimes even went extreme. For example, rejecting Dutch education which he considered adoring the superiority of Western nations. That was why, in 1932, Nani established a Muhammadiyah village school in Suwawa. A year later he also established the Muhammadiyah Cooperative Unit in Gorontalo (Habibie, 2004).

Nani Wartabone - carrying out cultural resistance by carrying out the “cadre” of the farmers through the peasant organizations which he made, political resistance through the PNI (Indonesian Nationalist Party), and fighting for education through Muhammadiyah schools. The peak of the social movement in Gorontalo occurred on January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1942. Nani Wartabone campaigned for armed resistance against colonial (Habibie, 2004).

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

What is nationalism? Ben Anderson (2002:8-9) proposes a good definition on this topic. For Anderson, nationalism is an

imagined political community with limitation and sovereignty. Nation is an imagined thing because the members of the nation did not know each other, never met each other, and even never heard about them. But, they live in imagination of their togetherness as one nation. For example, the Bugis people, somehow, never met their Papua brother. There is a long distance separated them. But, the both of these tribes felt and imagined that they are in one nation. That is a simple definition of nationalism.

The discourse according to Brubaker (2011) with regard to religion and nationalism can be viewed from four perspectives. First, religion and nationalism are phenomena that stand alone, as well as ethnicity. Second, religion can be used as an instrument to explain nationalism. Third, religion is part of nationalism. Fourth, it is the separation between nationalism and religion. The four perspectives of Brubaker which are mixed from various theories accumulated about religious and nationalism relations are comprehensive enough to see the presence or absence of (religion) religion in the country.

From the perspective of religious relations, furthermore, we can find three forms of state, secular, integration, as well as accommodation. The secular state adopts the first and fourth parts of the Brubaker perspective. Religion and the state are two separated entities. Religion has its own space which is not inherent with the state space. Not surprisingly, in a secular country, anti-religious policies such as banning religious symbols in public spaces are a reality. France, for example, has a regulation that prohibits its citizens from wearing religious symbols in public spaces. State of religion is based on the concept of theocracy. Religion cannot be separated from the state. Even religion must be an important foundation of state. In empirical experience, a religious state arises in a mono-religious or mono-cultural society. In the Arab and Middle East regions in general the countries formed are religious countries. The third form is accommodation, such as Indonesia. Accommodation state in principle is based on religious thinking. Religion

cannot be ignored in the state. Religion has a noble humanitarian concept that is very likely to be used as a moral foundation in religion. The problem is how to use religion symbolically in the state, in a multi-religious society, like Indonesia. The choice is that the state is not religiously based but accommodating the spirit of religion through Pancasila. This is the strategic and appropriate choice. All components of religion in Indonesia have an attachment that is equivalent to a so-called as Pancasila (Baso, 2015).

Karim (2015: 3-9) stated that there were only two forms of state, religion-state and civil state. The state of religion has ended, after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. State of religion is a limited to a state model in a particular system, namely a system of government that is only given by God specifically to a handful of people who are called noble apostles without expanding to them. In this sense, the state of religion is truly controlled by God through revelation to the chosen people. After the Prophet Muhammad, as the last prophet, passed away, this model of the political system, has automatically ended and it was cut off. After that, the companions of the Prophet Muhammad formed a civil state, or a state agreed upon through a social contract, without any direct control from God.

For Karim (2015: 9-10), naming a religious state after the prophetic era is an attempt by the authorities to enjoy the authority possessed by 'heads of state', as well as to give an impression to the public that the state and government are on religious rails and consistently guarding religion. In fact, the essence of what they call a religious state is actually a civil state, where God does not have total intervention as practiced in the era of the Prophets.

In Indonesia, in particular, the discourse on religion-based state is a fundamental issue. Muslim politicians who are members of Sarikat Islam, Masyumi demanded a country based on religion (Islam). This effort at least found results when the Jakarta charter was formulated by incorporating Islamic characteristics in the first

part of Pancasila, namely the supreme divinity and the obligation to implement Islamic Shari'a for its adherents. However, the discussion of the committee formulating the Pancasila finally agreed on the Pancasila with the current model as the best choice, where all religious groups are in the same position. Pancasila is an abstraction of universal values that are relevant to all religions in Indonesia.

Religious discourse and nationalism in Indonesia have always been linked, considering that the formation of the Indonesian state cannot be separated from the involvement of the Islamic community. Long before Indonesian awareness emerged in a formal form, there had been an awareness of nationality from the Indonesian *santri* who studied in Mecca. Nusantara students (from Java, Sumatra, Madura, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi) fulfilled Makkah and formed a community named *Jawi* people. According to Van Bruinessen (2012:3-9) these community was the largest group in Makkah.

In the 1860s, Malay became the second language in Makkah after Arabic. In 1934, a Malay-related conflict occurred in Makkah. Arabic teachers feel unhappy to the instructors from Malay who like to use Malay language. For this friction, two Malay scholars, Sayyid Muhsin Al-Musawa Al-Falimbani and Shaykh Zubaer Al-Filfulani founded the madrasa of Darul Ulum ad-Diniyah for prosecutors from the archipelago. The students who studied in Mecca have a very important role in the country, both in the formation of religious narratives that were moralist (not political movements), also strengthen national awareness that facilitates the work of Islamic politicians in the future.

In Aceh, the idea of Indonesia had been long discussed since the 19<sup>th</sup> century AD According to Tengku's writings in Mulik in 1288 H or 1871 AD, it can be found the prophecy of Sheikh Ibrahim bin Husain Buengca issuing about the emergence of the state of the Republic of Indonesia or Indonesian *Jumhuriyah* (Baso, 2015: 250-251). This means that the Acehese

Islamic leaders (especially Sheikh Ibrahim) had an understanding of Indonesian *jumhuriyah* long before the nationalist movement spearheaded by Budi Utomo. The Acehese *ulama* had made formulations of the state foundation which later became the formulation of the Indonesian *jumhur* state foundation. Baso (2015: 255) summarized the formulations of these scholars as follows; fair law, safe country, happy people, prosperous, covenant and true and firm advice. The *ulamas* no longer discussed the symbolic integration of religion and the state but rather the values of Islamic substance which must be used as a basis for moral state. This model was used by the Indonesian state, where religious symbols were not shown in formal as it is not religious countries, but the philosophical basis and ideology were taken from the universal values of religion and mixed into Pancasila.

In Central Sulawesi, Sayyid Idrus bin Salim (SIS) Al-Jufri was an iconic nationalist scholar from eastern Indonesia. SIS Al-Jufri was known as a scholar who enjoyed writing poetry in Arabic. One of the popular poems as follows, written in Bahasa Indonesia:

*Berkibarlah bendera kemuliaan di angkasa,  
daratan dan gunung-gunung yang hijau  
Setiap bangsa memiliki simbol kemuliaan,  
Dan simbol kemuliaan kita adalah merah dan putih  
Wahai Soekarno! Engkau telah jadikan hidup kami bahagia  
Dengan obatmu telah hilang penyakit kami  
Wahai presiden yang penuh berkah untuk kami  
Engkau hari ini laksana kimia bagi masyarakat*

(The flag of glory is flying in the sky,  
land, and green mountains  
Every nation has a symbol of glory  
And the symbol of glory is red and white  
O Soekarno! You have made our lives happy  
Your medicine had lost our disease.  
O president, who is full of blessings for us  
Today, you are like chemistry to society)

The poem of Guru Tua (popularly recognized as SIS Al-Jufri) reflected the support towards Indonesia's presence as a nation, with red and white as a symbol of pride. This poem was



written after SIS Al-Jufri hearing the news that Soekarno-Hatta had proclaimed independence on August 17, 1945. Two years before this incident, SIS Al-Jufri was under pressure from the Japanese in Indonesia. Madrasah Al-Khaerat (a madrasa founded by SIS Al-Jufri in 1930) was closed by the Japanese. SIS Al-Jufri was forced to teach “underground”. He chose to teach his students at night with candlelight, in order not to be suspected and be discovered by the Japanese soldiers. As a result, his vision later was disturbed (Yanggo, et al., 2013: 140).

SIS Al-Jufri’s commitment to the Republic of Indonesia was very strong. When DI / TII movement in which was pioneered by a man called Kahar Muzakkar in South Sulawesi began to penetrate the Central Sulawesi region, several students along with the Palu community asked for an opinion from SIS Al-Jufri. He firmly said that he will remain with and support the NKRI. Even when Permesta began to emerge in North Sulawesi, it spread to Gorontalo to the region of Central Sulawesi, the Guru Tua issued a declaration which opposed any threats that undermined the government of the Republic of Indonesia (Yanggo, et al., 2013: 141).

Steenbrink (2017) revealed that for Muslim leaders in the past, especially those who had performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, were building spirits that were frightening to foreigners in the archipelago. He cited the statement of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, the highest leader of British government in the East Indies as follows:

Every Arab from Mecca, as well as the Javanese who returned from the pilgrimage activity, were accepted as saints on Java, and the attitude of quick trust among lay people was such that they very often linked various supernatural powers to such individuals. Thus, it is not difficult for them to arouse the country to rebel. Muhammad’s scholars were almost invariably found to be most active in any rebellion. Many of them, generally mixed Arab and indigenous descendants, moved from one country to another on the eastern island and generally because of their intrigues and insistence that indigenous leaders were incited to attack or kill Europeans, as infidels and trouble-maker (Steenbrink, 2017: 117-118).

Thus, nationalism that had been developing in Indonesia was indeed a religion-based nationalism. Religious leaders and *ulama* became important actors in the formation and maintenance of the Indonesian nation. The presence of the *ulamas* on the stage of nationalism was important because the majority of Indonesians are Muslim and the position of the *ulama* in Islamic society is very high. It was the right step, when the committee formulated Pancasila involving religious elements from both Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah circles.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This research applies qualitative method. This method is employed to explain the history of local based national movement with regards to the January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1942 moment. This type of research produces descriptive data, a systematic, factual and accurate description of the facts, the characteristics and relationships between the phenomena observed and analyzed with a descriptive qualitative approach. The results of this analysis provide possible explanation of the object and subject of the study (Moleong, 2001).

This research was conducted in Gorontalo City. This location was chosen because the proclamation of Indonesian independence was declared three years before the proclamation of independence by Soekarno-Hatta in Jakarta in 1945.

Data collection used in this study includes interview techniques as well as document analysis. Interviews were conducted with informants from religious leaders, historians, and academics. The topics and themes used in the interview are: 1) the history of the national movement in Gorontalo, the Islamic leaders involved in the event; and 2) the history of developing Islamic organizations and their influence on the colonial resistance movement.

Document studies are carried out by searching for written data from the mass media, government reports, Dutch colonial reports, as well as scientific writings (undergraduate theses, master theses and dissertations) that all together support this research.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1942; the Peak of the National Movement in Gorontalo**

The nationalist movement has been presence in Gorontalo early 20 centuries. Several of (secular) national organizations and religious-national organizations have been there and struggle to form spirit and pride of nationalism, through education and social movement. But, the peak of nationalist movement was when civil army led by Nani Wartabone that resulted in the conquest of the Dutch army, on January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1942 (Habibie, et al. 2004).

The January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1942 event was the most monumental, most historic struggle of the Gorontalo people. The Dutch were conquered at that time and independence was proclaimed. This event could not be separated from the ability of Nani Wartabone to read the post-Pacific situation in 1941. This war marked the rise of Japanese power in Asia Pacific and weakened the Dutch forces in the area, including in Gorontalo for sure. Nani Wartabone is always updated his gratefulness through the radio that broadcasted everywhere which then starting to compose strength. Community leaders and movement figures are contacted. Under the leadership of Nani Wartabone, the people of Gorontalo found momentum to free themselves from Dutch colonialism (Habibie, et al, 2004).

The condition of the Dutch power in Gorontalo was further weakened when the Japanese forces succeeded in occupying Manado on January 11<sup>th</sup>, 1942. The Dutch in Manado fled to Poso and partly to Gorontalo. Their position in Gorontalo is also not safe. These Dutch soldiers intend to leave Gorontalo but first they destroyed all valuable assets in Gorontalo. This plan was revealed to Nani Wartabone through her best friend who worked as a police officer, Pendang Kalengkongan. Nani Wartabone immediately set up a force to prevent the Dutch from

burning Gorontalo. Dutch intentions seem to be really implemented. The first scorching earth was carried out by the Dutch by burning seven copra warehouses in customs (Apriyanto, 2006: 142-143). This incident upset Nani Wartabone. He immediately sent a letter to the Resident Assistant of Corn and Dacona, who requested that the Dutch stop the scorching action. If the Dutch continue their actions, the Gorontalo people are ready to fight (Apriyanto, 2006: 143).

On January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1942, Nani Wartabone and several of his colleagues met with the Dutch and threatened to kill them if the intention to burn Gorontalo really happened. This threat was responded by the Dutch by threatening to arrest Nani Wartabone (Habibie, et al., 2004: 55-56). However, the Dutch threat did not occur. The Dutch soldiers focused their attention more on Japanese troops who had taken control of Manado. It seems that they did not care much about the resistance movement compiled by Nani Wartabone.

The Netherlands also seemed to not buying the threat of Nani Wartabone. The scorched earth effort continues. One Kolilo motorbike and Nine copra warehouses caught fire on Thursday, January 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1942. Seeing this situation, Nani Wartabone and his friends decided to take a firmer action. They intend to arrest all the Dutch and take over the government. They immediately prepare themselves to take action. Nani Wartabone prepares all attacks since night and moves towards Gorontalo. A local literature (Tanggomo) reveals the preparation:

Mr Jonu (Nani Wartabone) pity / on Friday night provide weapons / gather people / ask for blessings / blessings from Allah / die in war / do not be feared / father is ready behind / when the day is late / the month arises / is ready in Suwawa / ready on the road.

The resistance of Suwawa seems to be less realized by the Dutch. Nani Wartabone and his troops moved at night to reach Gorontalo at dawn. Below is an important related quote

about the moment:

On that Friday morning, Nani Wartabone troops along with popular support departed from Suwawa to Gorontalo which was approximately 11 kilometers away. When the troops passed through other villages or villages, the people scattered out of the house and spontaneously joined forces with Suwawa.

All troops and other community groups such as China, Arabia and other regions are ready in the city (Gorontalo) in the morning. The Dutch were still at home and did not know that that morning they would be captured by Nani Wartabone's troops. Around dawn, the Nani Wartabone troops with the people from Suwawa and the area they passed arrived in the city of Gorontalo. Kalangongan and Ardani Ali's men from the police immediately joined (Habibie, et al, 2004: 66-67).

The movement initiated by Nani Wartabone himself who then started a mass movement. Nani Wartabone as a leader was able to arouse resistance from every Gorontalo people who were traversed by troops from Suwawa which numbered around 300 people. The indigenous police led by Pendang Kalengkongan and Mardani Ali defected and joined forces with Nani Wartabone. For the record, Kalengkongan is a friend of Nani Wartabone who works as a police officer as well as being an informant for Nani Wartabone. Koesno Danoepojo also played his role. Disguised as a farmer, he rode an old bicycle to the post office. The goal is to ask Pendi Kalengkongan (younger brother of Kalangongan Fire Fighting) to break the communication network outside the city (Apriyanto, 2006: 148).

After all the power was gathered and the war strategy was considered appropriate, Nani Wartabone and friends began to make the move. Below is the quote regarding the event:

"What was first conquered was the police's office where they arrested the Dutch Police Chief. Nani Wartabone reminded that police headquarters and cries were controlled by youth and the people. You better just give up. The (big) (Dutch) police chief wanted to pull out his gun, but Nani Wartabone rifle had been

pointed in his stomach. Immediately the young army forces stormed, grabbing a gun and attaching swords, knives and *keris* (traditional local weapon) to the Dutch body. He was immediately arrested.

From the troops fight scene, they headed to the control house with a man. This person was famous for his sharp and frightening eyes. Nani Wartabone with the young men approached her and was not afraid of the eyes of the invaders. The controller still asks: "why did you come here? What is the need? Go home soon!" His words had not finished yet, Nani Wartabone had pointed his gun, which was followed by the quick movements of the youth. There was almost an incident, but Nani Wartabone reminded: "No one should hurt him or his family. Dutch property must not be taken. Whoever violates this command, I will judge him. The controller was immediately guarded by several young men.

Nani Wartabone led another arrest of Peter. Mr. Peter, in this case, is a friendly person. He came out with his hospitality. Nani Wartabone graciously also said, "It's better that Mr. Peter just give up on us. And we will treat you well (Habibie et al., 2004: 67-68)."

The arrest of Dutch political figures in the city of Gorontalo caused noise from the Dutch. Some Dutch people who saw the unfavorable situation tried to escape using a truck. However, the situation of Gorontalo city had been besieged by the people. The Dutch truck was successfully chased and dismissed. But the passengers refused to go down. Nani Wartabone immediately fired his gun into the air as a sign of threat. Hearing the shot, the passenger of a truck car containing Dutch people came down and secured to the controller's house. Furthermore, he had been put in prison (Tuloli, 1993: 40).

The arrest process did not last long. Only about 2-3 hours. Not only because there were not many Dutch officials in Gorontalo, but the Dutch did not fight back when they got arrested. At 09:00 in the morning the arrest process was completed. There were 20 Dutch people who were arrested and sentenced into prison. Meanwhile, the Gorontalo people who

had been in Dutch detention were released. This victory was greeted with joy by Gorontalo students. Pay attention to the following quote:

At nine o'clock in the morning, all the arrests were over. The people were told to go through loudspeakers consisting of (made) of zinc rounded (made into round-pen). People came to the city center. Many people tears in joy and many people also shed tears because of the suffering they experienced during the Dutch East Indies administration (Tuloli, 1993: 41).

The euphoria of the Gorontalo people is mounting. They were gathered in the field in front of the assistant resident's house. The Dutch flag was lowered and replaced with the red and white flag. The song Indonesia Raya was announced by the students. Then, Nani Wartabone announced Indonesian independence (as quoted in the beginning of this article), not Gorontalo independence. Nani Wartabone used the word Indonesia, not Gorontalo. On January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1942, independent Gorontalo was declared free from Dutch colonial (Tuloli, 1993: 41; Habibie et al., 2004: 72).

This statement of independence is not a mere slogan of agitation. Nani Wartabone and his fellow soldiers planned to form a government to fill the vacuum of government left by the Dutch. The former *Wedana* (members of the Dutch government) were also invited to the meeting. Although there was a difference of opinion between the Nani Wartabone camp and the *Wedana* (who still looked forward to the Dutch), it was finally agreed to form a government agency called the PPPG (the Head of the Gorontalo Government Leadership). In this matter, Nani Wartabone become the highest leader, R.M. Koesno Danupoyo became representative. M.H. Boeloeati and A.R. Oientoe were as secretary and deputy secretary. While eight other members became members, namely Usman Monoarfa, Usman Hadju, Usman Tumu, A.G. Usu, M. Soegondo,

R.M. Danuwatjo, Sagaf Al-Hasni, and Hasan Badjeber. These 12 people are also known as committees of 12 (Apriyanto, 2006: 144). The results of the meeting's decision also mandated the Kalengkongan Fire Fighters and Ardani Ali as security executors. Ibrahim Mohammad became the leader of scouting (Habibie, et al., 2004: 76-77).

The task of committee of 12 is to safeguard and protect the safety of the people and the region from all actions that harm the people from any party, especially from the Dutch and Japanese (who have occupied Manado City) (Apriyanto, 2006: 144). Whereas the task of security is: 1) to discipline the community so that they are not afraid and chaotic, 2) maintain the possibility of parties using the opportunity to take revenge and damage, 3) reduce the Dutch Flag that still exists in Gorontalo and its surroundings, 4) establish security posts in every authority so that things that are not desirable do not arise (Habibie et al., 2004: 77-78).

A month after the independence statement, the Japanese came to Gorontalo. The arrival of Japan seemed like a courtesy visit. There was no sign that the Japanese intend to take over the government. The control of the Gorontalo government remained under Nani Wartabone's control. The situation changed six months later, Japan came as a new ruler. This was related to the increasingly strong position of Japan in the archipelago. Japan did not give Nani Wartabone the freedom to build strength. His movements were watched. Because it was considered dangerous, Nani Wartabone and several of his colleagues were arrested and taken to Manado. There, Nani Wartabone was tortured. Some of his friends died (Apriyanto, 2006: 144-145; Habibie, et al., 2004: 78).

The situation got better after Japan lost the Pacific war by allied forces. On August 15<sup>th</sup>, 1945, Gorontalo's power was handed back to Nani Wartabone. Nani Wartabone did not



know the situation in Jakarta at all. Even the proclamation of independence was only known by the people of Gorontalo on August 28<sup>th</sup>, 1945. Since then, Gorontalo's power has been mandated as part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Habibie, et al., 2004).

### **Sinar Budi, the Root of Nationality Movement in Gorontalo**

The roots of the nationalist movement have emerged in Gorontalo since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Boedi Utomo movement in 1908 in Java inspired a number of young Gorontalo children to form similar movements. Husain Katili, Saleha Mina, and Patihedu Monoarfa formed the Sinar Budi organization in 1912 which aimed to "gather all Gorontalo people in one struggle movement (Yusuf, 2011; Ministry of Education and Culture, 1978). Sinar Budi can be said as the foundation for the social movement that systemically fought against the Dutch which became the entry point for similar groups in the following years in Gorontalo. Nationally, Gorontalo youth are actively involved in the movement by forming Jong Gorontalo in Surabaya. Nani Wartabone was one of the movers, the most popular figure. One of the interesting points of Sinar Budi was the scope of the organization as it appeared in the local context.

The emergence of the Sinar Budi social organization in Gorontalo in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, showed that nationality 'fever' had been so strong in the archipelago after the emergence of Budi Utomo in 1908. Gorontalo, which was located far from the island of Java, caught up with nationalism 'fever' after the formation of Sinar Budi. One of the factors is that the people of Gorontalo needed a new mode of resistance, after the Dutch succeeded in stopping the resistance of the Gorontalo nobility and taking over political power on the earth of Gorontalo. Gorontalo, which was originally divided into several kingdoms, was acquired into one course, only Gorontalo. The best choice as an alternative mode of resistance

is to carry out social movements, for example those initiated by young people in Java named Budi Utomo. The educated youth adapted the mode by conducting advocacy movements to the people of Gorontalo, to build national awareness and fight against the Dutch colonial. And, Sinar Budi is the right place to draw up the strength of resistance with the new model of struggle against colonialism (Amin and Hasanuddin, 2012).

There is an interesting perspective about the presence of Sinar Budi in Gorontalo. Syarifuddin (2012) says:

"Sinar Budi aims to improve and uplift the situation and fate of the people who are depressed as a result of Dutch colonialism and Sinar Budi provides guidance and practical leadership styles towards improving living conditions and a better livelihood. At that time, Gorontalo people were still depressed by feudalism and bourgeoisie idea. Because the benefits of Sinar Budi can be felt, especially for the oppressed groups, then gradually Sinar Budi gets a very large number of followers and most of them are ordinary people. Some of the followers were not only from the proletarians, but also from the noble family and democracy supporters. Sinar Budi received a warm and overwhelming welcome from the community. Thousands of his followers flowed into Sinar Budi so the Dutch East Indies government began to be suspicious and nervous."

Sinar Budi was considered as a social movement in the perspective of Marxism. Feudalism and bourgeoisie point of view as other titles from Dutch colonial and royal parties were sued by "inward nobles" and proletarians. The issue of social resistance, economic movements, and the struggle for nationality was indeed an important issue among the movement members. But was the Sinar Budi movement enough to be seen as a proletarian resistance? It seemed irrelevant, considering Gorontalo was more 'colored' by a cultural and religious spirit rather than the class spirit. The presence of noble family as the driving figures of Sinar Budi had asserted that the Sinar Budi movement was a civil society-based national political movement (and also meant completing the national movement formation on a national scale)

against Dutch colonialism, as Budi Utomo with its cultural nationalism and the Sarekat Islam with nationalism and Islam. The resistance carried out by Sinar Budi was a resistance in forming a national identity, the console of the people, and economic independence, and not class resistance.

Another interesting information about Sinar Budi was found in the North Sulawesi Regional Awakening History book, compiled by the researchers from the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture in 1978. This book records a few notes about Sinar Budi as an organization that played a significant role at the social, economic, cultural and political levels. Sinar Budi is said to have important and significant purposes, namely:

- Fight for equal rights with other nations
- In socialization, you must work fluently in Malay (Indonesian)
- Endeavor to establish Loris associations, namely money associations as a place to educate ways of organizing
- Likewise in the way of dress, how to get along, and decency

The purpose of Sinar Budi above illustrated that equality of rights and Malay nationalism was the foundation of his ideology. The imperative of fluency in Malay was a cultural movement that is useful for building the spirit of nationalism, as articulated very clearly in the 1928 Youth Pledge by Budi Utomo.

In that era, Sinar Budi received a rousing welcome from the people of Gorontalo: Thanks to these efforts, within a short time Sinar Budi got a place in the hearts of the people so that its members had reached thousands of people. The rapid progress achieved by this light caused anxiety among the colonial government. In addition, the colonial government approached the leaders of Sinar Budi, mostly from local aristocratic figures with the intention of stopping their activities. But driven by a high national awareness to improve the fate of the people, the colonial government's approach failed

(Depdikbud, 1978: 89).

### **Spirit of Religious Movement behind the National Movement in Gorontalo**

The Sinar Budi movement seems to be "fertile ground" for the emergence of the next religious-based social movement group, namely Sarikat Islam (also Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama). The Sinar Budi movement began to fade because Dutch penetration and politics became a spacious road for Sarikat Islam in Gorontalo. Roadshow of H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto to the island of Sulawesi (Makassar-Manado and Gorontalo) gave effect to the formation of the Sarekat Islam in Gorontalo.

There are two versions of the establishment of the Sarekat Islam branch in Gorontalo, first in 1916 and second in 1923. Researchers from the Department of Education and Culture (1978) mentioned that in 1916 as the year of H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto's arrival and at the same time the establishment of Sarikat Islam in Gorontalo. The following is the quote:

"In 1916, H.O.S Tjokroaminoto as the leader of Sarikat Islam came to Gorontalo together with Mohammad Djafar, who just happened to be returning from Yogyakarta to treat his sick eyes there. He held a meeting with the intention to establish a Sarikat Islam branch in Gorontalo. The meeting was held in Ipilo village (in the city of Gorontalo) in the house of Kadli Husin Pou. So many visitors at that time caused the house where the meeting collapsed due to people jostling over the house. The Sarikat Islam meeting led by Tjokroaminoto at that time succeeded in forming a leader namely Bouti Pakaja as Chairperson with the title the President, assisted by two other people namely Bahu Panigoro (Head of Village Molosipat) and Zakaria Saleh Lama (village head of Kayubulan in Pole)" (Depdikbud, 1978: 89).

Another version came from a Japanese researcher, Ehito Kimura as follows:

"PNI and Partindo were secular nationalist organizations, but Islam played a key role in the nationality movement in Gorontalo. By this time, Sarekat Islam, an Islamic political party, had reached Gorontalo, having been introduced to the region by the 1923 visit from H. Umar Said Cokroaminoto, leader of the organization. Cokroami-

noto and others saw Islam as a way of opposing Dutch colonialism and forming the basis of national pride. 1928, Sarekat Islam officially opened branch office in Gorontalo” (Kimura, 2013).

Apart from two different years of reading about the presence of Tjokroaminoto and Sarekat Islam in Gorontalo, the arrival of H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto was part of Sarekat Islam’s political consolidation, which considered religion (Islam) as the basis of its movement (Kimura, 2013) explicitly explains that Islam is a factor that makes Gorontalo accounted for by Tjokroaminoto as one of the Sarekat Islam movements outside Java, especially in Sulawesi. Gorontalo is one of the most powerful Islamic regions in North Sulawesi. In fact, 100% of the population of Gorontalo was Muslim (Depdikbud, 1978: 90). And, the presence of Tjokroaminoto was welcomed by Gorontalo youth. In 1916 (Ministry of Education and Culture) and 1928 (Kimura’s version), the Gorontalo Branch of Sarekat Islam was formed.

The Gorontalo resident was 100% Muslim, causing Sarekat Islam to expand rapidly into the interior. Men or women above eighteen years old flocked to register as members. The political program of Sarekat Islam, which was fighting against the Dutch colonizers and aspiring to independence, quickly gained a place in the hearts of the people of Gorontalo at that time (Depdikbud, 1978: 90).

The assumption of religion that is a factor in the development of Sarekat Islam can indeed be justified, but it is not the only factor. Sarekat Islam ideology - although based on religion is an open ideology. Sarekat Islam did not speak much of the school. The birth of Sarekat Islam Merah in Central Java shows the openness and dynamic of the Sarekat Islam approach. Including, Christians in Manado are not awkward to become Sarekat Islam members. Until the 1960s, Sarekat Islam was very strong in Manado. The late KH. Fauzie Nurani (former Chairman of North Sulawesi MUI) recalls the term “Sarekat Islam 3, Muhammadiyah 2, Nahdlatul Ulama 1” which was popular in

Manado as an illustration of the situation of Islamic organizations in North Sulawesi (including in Gorontalo) in that time (Kawu, 2009).

The religion-based social movement was increasingly complemented by the emergence of Muhammadiyah in Gorontalo in a relatively same year of 1928, initiated by Yusuf Otulowa<sup>2</sup>. A few years later (in 1938), the Nahdlatul Ulama organization also enlivened Gorontalo. Salim Bin Djindan<sup>3</sup> was called as the figure behind the presence of Nahdlatul Ulama in Gorontalo (Yusuf, 2011).

The development of Sarekat Islam and Muhammadiyah at the Minahasa Office and Gorontalo Office in the 1930s was indeed very massive. Colonial reports show that the branches of the Sarekat Islam and Muhammadiyah organizations have reached rural areas far from the city center.

At the end of 1936 this organization (Muhammadiyah) had branches in Petta, Manado, Belang, Tumpaan, Tababo, Amurang, Ratatotok, Pasi, Gorontalo, Kabila, Kwandang, Suwawa, Tilamuta, Limboto, Butayo-Potanga,

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<sup>2</sup>Yusuf Otulowa is the youth of Gorontalo who had the opportunity to continue teacher education at Kweekschool, Jogjakarta. His experience of associating and becoming a Muhammadiyah cadre in Jogjakarta was brought to Gorontalo. Together with 10 of his colleagues (Ahmad Buji, HusasiAkase, Umar Basalama, Muhammad Dunggjo, Muhsin Mohammad, Haji Muhammad Said. Tom Olil, Utina H. Buluati, Abdulah Van Gray, BaoweNasru) Yusuf Otulowa formed the Muhammadiyah formation committee in 1929. Meeting Committee 11 on September 8, 1929 or the 6th of RabiulAwal 1348 Hijri was attended by Mohammad Yunus (Secretary of Muhammadiyah from Yogyakarta) to produce the first Gorontalo Branch Muhammadiyah organizer, with the composition of the board formation as follows: Chairman: Tom Olil, Deputy Chairperson: JusufOtoluwa, Secretary : Muhammad Dunggjo, Treasurer: Muhsin Mohamad, Commissioner: Haji Yusuf Abas, Umar Basalama, Husain Akase, MusrsidMohi, Y. Kamaru, Mari Baladrab (Polontalo, 1989: 6).

<sup>3</sup>In the Dutch Colonial annual report, Salim bin Djindan was referred to as a propaganda expert for militant old people. Salim bin Djindan’s speech had troubled Muhammadiyah residents in Sangir in 1936 (Source, National Archives document of RI)



Wanggaditi (Kabila), Dohuwalolo-Talaga, Bongomeme, Josonegoro, Sumalata, Tamalato (Kabila), Bulotadaa (Tapa), Talumopatu (Tapa), Pentadio (Talaga), Hutodan (Talaga), Bulontio (Sumalata), Pajunga (Gorontalo), Bumbulan, Lemito-Wanggarasi, Donggala, Parigi, Tongkabu, Pagimana, Lobu, Poh, Luwuk, Tangebang, Boalemo (Luwuk), Toima, Balantak, Salabangka and branch areas in Bunaken, Talawaan-Bantik, Naik, Tanamon and Sapa. During this reporting period, branches in Tulunya (Bolaang-Mongondow), Marisa (Gorontalo) and Sambiu (Luwuk) were opened, while branches in Boalemo (Luwuk) were abolished. The attention shown in the number of members during the reporting period increased in the Petta, Pasi, Pagimana, Luwuk, Balantak branches and declined in the Kwandang, Butayo-Petanga, Tilamuta and Toima branches (Source: National Archives).

“At the end of 1936 this organization (Sarekat Islam) had its branches in Kendahe, Talawide, Bahu (Sangir), Manado, Tondano, Basaan, Rataotok, Molinow, Solog, Nuangan, Motongkad, Tutuyan, Tombolikat, Tabang, Mojag, Wangga, Pojiowa - large, Kotabunan, Otam, Passi, Higa, Gogagoman, Bungkudai, Small Motoboi, Molobog, Bolaang, Nonapan, Pontodon, Poigar-Mongondow, Bintau, Togid, Duminanga, Gorontalo, Josonegoro, Bongomomo, Buol, ToliToli, Donggala, Palu, Parigi, Katupat, Dolong, Kololio, Bunta and Pagimana. During the year the reports opened branches in Ambang, Huto and Balantak as well as Malalayang and Wawonasa areas. Attention appears in numbers of members during the reporting year experienced increases in the branches of Nolinow, Duminanga, Gorontalo, Toli Toli, Pagimana and declined at the Talawide, Tutuwayan, Bolaang and Nonapan branches. Specific actions to expand the branch were carried out in the Sangir-Talau Islands, Bolaang Mongondow and Banggai Islands, but without significant results (source; National Archives of Republic Indonesia).”

The Dutch colonial report above shows that the activities of the Muhammadiyah organization are much tighter than Sarekat Islam. In 1936, Muhammadiyah had branches in Gorontalo, Kabila, Kwandang, Suwawa, Tilamuta, Limboto, Butayo-Potanga, Wanggaditi (Kabila), Dohuwalolo-Talaga, Bongomeme, Josonegoro, Sumalata, Tamalato (Kabila), Bulotadaa

(Tapa), Talumopatu (Tapa), Pentadio (Talaga), Hutodan (Talaga), Bulontio (Sumalata), Pajunga (Gorontalo), and Marisa. Whereas Sarekat Islam, in the same year, only had a branch in Gorontalo. Sarekat Islam was more developed in the Manado region (Minahasa) and areas that are now part of Central Sulawesi Province.

In addition to the establishment of organizational strength, Muhammadiyah and Sarekat Islam are also active in building schools. The first school to be established was the Muhammadiyah's Hollandsche School (HIS) in late 1929. The following year, Muhammadiyah established madrassas in the villages of Wongkaditi, Siendeng, Padebuolo, KampungTenda, and Bugis Village (Polontalo, 1990: 78).

Muhammadiyah education activities in 1936 in the North and Central Sulawesi region were recorded in the Dutch colonial annual report, as follows:

“Regarding the following educational actions can be mentioned. At the end of 1936 Muhammadiyah schools were opened in Peta, Manado, Amurang, Belang, Tumpaan, Tababo, Bunaken, Sapa, Gorontalo, Tilamuta, Butayo-Potanga, Kabila, Pontadio, Bulotadaa, Suwawa, Batudaa, Bongomemo, Hotodaa-Telaga, Padebuolo-Kabila, Dutoho-Kabila, Kwandang, Demo II-Sumalata, Solibuanga-Limboto, Pono-Limboto, Pontadio, Lemito-Wanggarasi, Donggala, Pagimana, Luwuk, Toima with all 51 teachers.

During the reporting period schools in Rataotok, Gorontalo (Bugis village), Talumopatu-Tapa, Wanggaditi-Kabila, Marisa, Lobu, Balantak and Tangoban were managed by 11 teachers. During this year the school in Dutohe-Kabila was closed. The Muhammadiyah Manado branch has plans to build a school building. The building is now ready but cannot be used. School buildings in Belang in February were officially opened. Inauguration is accompanied by unnecessary public meetings specifically mentioned here.

At Pagimana Muhammadiyah has reported on the establishment of schools for Bajo children. By the indigenous authorities a piece of land was handed over to establish this school. At this school (which now accommodates 40 students) appears as a teaching staff of a government school teacher Lisang Butulo (Gorontalo people). Muhammadiyah



teacher Raden Miman often visits Josonegoro vil-  
lage and launches propaganda for Islamic Unity.  
According to his statement, Muhammadiyah had  
to submit an application to appoint teachers in  
Kabila and Dehuwalolo villages, which he did not  
immediately do (National Archives of the Repub-  
lic of Indonesia).”

In addition to Muhammadiyah, Sarekat Islam  
was also quite active in building educational  
institutions in the era of the movement. Pay  
attention to the following Dutch colonial report:

“At the end of 1936 this organization (Sarekat  
Islam) opened schools in Kandahe, Manado,  
Basaan, Rataatok, Malinow, Wangga, Mojag,  
Pojowabesar, Tabang, Motongkad, Tutuyan,  
Tombolik, Nuangan, Kotabunan, Bongkudai,  
Solog, Komangaan, Bolaang, Gogagoman, Otam,  
Luwu-Talaga, Pontadio-Talaga, Bongomeme-  
Batudaa, ToliToli, Donggala and a Kololio which  
all accommodate 46 teachers who work. During  
the reporting period the school in Bua Batu and  
opened with a teacher, while schools in Kandahe,  
Luwo-Talaga and Pentadio-Talaga were closed  
with all 4 teachers. PSII in Gorontalo in June  
held a closed meeting where it was discussed  
about the establishment of a school in the capital  
city of Gorontalo. The indigenous Kandahe-  
Tahuna authorities reported that schools of PSII  
was in Kandahe on January 7, 14 and 15 when  
Sangir was held to commemorate the marriage  
of Princess Juliana with Prince Bernjhard, even  
though the order had been issued for it, it was not  
closed. To the teacher in this school, Oene Hasan  
in relation to his attitude towards the indigenous  
authorities, in the native ruler’s decision on April  
19, 1937 the number 10 authority to give lessons  
in the Kandahe-Tahuna area was revoked,  
while the PSII school there was closed for three  
months (source; National Archives of Republic  
Indonesian)”

The Dutch Colonial annual report notes  
above show that the activities of Muhammadiyah  
and Sarekat Islam as a national network have  
carried out active and dynamic social work since  
their arrival in the Gorontalo region. The opening  
of schools and various organizational activities

in various regions made Gorontalo play an active  
role in shaping the spirit of nationalism and  
became a cultural capital that later accumulated  
in the resistance movement Nani Wartabone, in  
1942.

Besides Muhammadiyah and Sarekat Islam,  
the traditionalist Islamic-based organization  
Nahdlatussjafiah also actively established a  
religious education institution in Gorontalo.  
Some of school was built by Nahdlatussjafiah  
at 1935. Such are Sjafiah School Ipilo, Sjafiah  
Kwekschool, Islamic School Al-Falah, and Azzikra  
(Hasanuddin, et al., 2012). Nahdlatussjafiah’s  
1937 school was opened in Gorontalo by  
accommodating 124 students, a considerable  
amount at that time. In Tilamuta, the madrasa  
owned by Nahdlatussjafiah also developed. After  
the Nahdlatussjafiah experienced a setback, the  
assets of this organization were taken over by  
Nahdlatul Ulama which began to be present in  
Gorontalo in 1939.

The Arabic community was also contributing  
to develop Islamic education atmosphere in  
Gorontalo. Umar Basalamah built Madrasa  
Fathil Arabiyah in 1929. This school was taken  
over by Indonesian Arabic Party. This school was  
very famous and favorable to Gorontalo people  
(Hasanuddin, et al., 2012)

The presence of Sarekat Islam,  
Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatussjafiah played an  
important role in building the national spirit in  
Gorontalo, Manado and Poso. This organization  
carries out cadre and movements to strengthen  
nationalism in the Gorontalo region and its  
surroundings. In 1938, Muhammadiyah held  
a regional meeting. 300 people attended the  
meeting. One of the highlights is the discussion  
of the book “Membela Tanah Air Indonesia”  
(*Defending the Land of Indonesia*).

The presence of these Islamic movement  
groups inspired the emergence of youth groups  
such as Jong Islamiyeten Bond. Islamic youth  
who study at OSVIA Makassar form a youth  
organization that aims to strengthen the national  
spirit in Gorontalo. This group often conducts

religious-based discussions. At one of the public meetings in front of the Murni cinema, Gorontalo, JIB held a discussion on the theme of Islam and the ideals of independence. As a result of this discussion, several JIB activists were arrested and taken to police office.

### **The Agenda of the Islamic Organization in Gorontalo**

The nationality movement in general can be divided into two categories, secular nationalist movement and religious nationalist movement. Kimura (2013) particularly utilized the term 'secular nationalism' to refer to the PNI (Indonesian National Party), Partindo and religious nationalism terms for Sarekat Islam, Muhammadiyah, and other Islamic organizations. However, this term was actually not very appropriate for describing Islamic organizations in Gorontalo. Movement figures in the PNI were also part of religious organizations. Nani Wartabone, known as a nationalist figure and founder of the PNI, was a Muhammadiyah activist. He was actively involved as chairman of the committee in the Muhammadiyah deliberations throughout Gorontalo in Suwawa. Nani Wartabone was also known to have close ties with the Suwawa religious leader, Najamuddin. Together with him, Nani Wartabone often discussed "the struggle for independence from the side of Islam" (Habibie, et al., 2004: 40).

The Islamic organization that developed in Gorontalo in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was a place for seeding nationalism. This seed of nationalism was developed through educational institutions and then through youth organizations. All organizations that developed in Gorontalo at that time had a youth *underbow*. Sarekat Islam formed the Sarikat Islam Afdeling Pandu (SIAP), while Muhammadiyah formed Hizbul Wathan.

These organizations did not carry other agendas besides strengthening religious insights and the spirit of resistance to the Dutch colonial. H.O.S. Cokroaminoto came directly to form the Sarekat Islam in Gorontalo with the aim of "building awareness of the Gorontalo Islamic

community in opposing Dutch colonialism and building awareness about the equality of fate as a nation" (Amin and Hasanuddin, 2012: 199). There were no ideas or studies found on the establishment of an Islamic state in the periodization of the civil movement in Gorontalo.

There were three factors that allegedly caused the agenda of the independence struggle movement in Gorontalo which did not lead to the birth of an Islamic state. *First*, the history of Islam in Gorontalo was the history of accommodation. The presence of Islam in Gorontalo was not as good as changing the character of the Gorontalo kingdom into an Islamic kingdom. Although the Gorontalo kings held the sultan's title, the government took place in accordance with the traditional customs of Gorontalo. Islam was accepted as one of the joints which enriched the treasures of the kingdom in Gorontalo. The Gorontalo Kingdom constructed a cultural postulate as a result of encounters with Islam. There was "*Hulahulaa to saraa, saraa hulahula to Qur'ani*" (custom relies on the Shari'a, the Shari'a rests on the Qur'an) formulated in the era of Sultan Eyato (1673-1679), as an improvement of the traditional consensus formulated in the era of Sultan Amai (the first Islamic recipient, 1523 ), which read "*sara topa-topanga to adati (Shari'a rests on adat) and adati hulahulaa to saraa, saraa hula-hula to adati in the era of Sultan Matolodulakiki*" (1550-1558) (Amin, 2012: 97-99).

Gus Dur mentioned the pattern carried out by Sultan Amai as an Islamic local (Baso, 2002), an indigenous Islam. Islamic elements were coupled with local elements. Both did not eliminate each other, but complemented each other. Islamic universality was formed and processed in a local container, which then gave birth to a new sense of Islam. Islam was accepted happily by the people of Gorontalo and held it as an Islamic identity. Customary Islam is Islam in the perspective of the people of Gorontalo. As a result, when there were Islamic groups who came to sue the way of thinking. Resistance was carried out.

The practice of indigenization of Islam in Gorontalo was still very easy to find today. Events *dikili* or recitation of remembrance during the Prophet's birthday, *miraji* or *Isra Miraj*, *salawati* (*spiritual song for Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him*), and rites de passage (other life cycle rituals) were still very widely practiced by the people of Gorontalo, especially in Limboto. In this former Limboto kingdom, customary Islam was still very strong in the hands of the local community. Even in the city of Gorontalo, even though with a smaller volume. Islamic discourse that developed was an Islamic discourse mixed with tradition. Therefore, the practice of traditional Islam was preserved as part of the religious practices inherent in their lives.

Within this way, Gorontalo people no longer needed the symbolization of Islam in a formal form. Islam had become the identity and cultural identity of the people of Gorontalo. That is why, Islamic organizations such as Sarekat Islam, Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama, the Arab Islamic Party, and Nahdlatul Ulama were very easily welcomed by Gorontalo citizens as the basis of the resistance movement against the Dutch, after the powers of the kings in Gorontalo land have been controlled by the Dutch government.

*Second*, both Sarekat Islam and Muhammadiyah as the most influential Islamic movement organizations in Gorontalo in the era of the independence movement were networks of national Islamic organizations that had religious-nationalism direction. The national agenda of these two massive organizations was to develop Muslim civil society and fight against the invaders. Islamic organizations came to and developed in Gorontalo with the issue of resistance to the Netherlands, not the issue of establishing an Islamic state. The spirit that was built was rather the spirit of togetherness of fate as a nation that was colonized by the Dutch colonial, not the spirit of the establishment of a religion-based state. Sarekat Islam and Muhammadiyah are more seen as civil movements than political movements. The focus of the Islamic organization movement was

education. Almost all corners of Gorontalo had established schools or madrassas, as explained.

*Third*, Nani Wartabone was the main figure of the 1942 nationalist movement. He was the founder of PNI and Partindo in Gorontalo. His political orientation was the establishment of the Indonesian state. Nani Wartabone's political ideology was formed while continuing his school in Surabaya. In Surabaya, he met nationalist figures such as Muhammad Yamin, Soetomo, Cokroaminoto, and managed to stay for a week in Bung Karno's house in Bandung. Nani Wartabone with his friends, Abdur Rasyid Tangahu, Uno, and HB. Jassin founded Jong Gorontalo in December 1923 in the city of Surabaya (Habibie, 2004: 35-37).

When Nani Wartabone returned to Gorontalo, he founded the Gorontalo Indonesian Farmers' Union, in November 1927. A year later, he founded the Gorontalo National Indonesian Party (PNI). Nani Wartabone had an anti-Western and sometimes an extreme view about many things related to colonialization. For example, he rejected Dutch education which he considered to adore the superiority of Western nations. That was why, in 1932, Nani Wartabone participated in establishing a Muhammadiyah elementary school in Suwawa. A year later he also established the Muhammadiyah Cooperative Organization in Gorontalo (koransulindo.com, accessed on August 13, 2017).

Nani Wartabone had carried out cultural resistance by carrying out the "cadre" of the Farmers through the peasant organizations he made, carrying out political resistance through the PNI (Indonesian Nationalist Party), and fighting for education through Muhammadiyah schools. The peak of the social movement in Gorontalo occurred on January 23, 1942. Nani Wartabone campaigned for armed resistance against the Dutch.

## CONCLUSION

Gorontalo has always linked with Islam for such a long period of time. Even the Dutch statistical report shows that in the 1900s, 100% of



Gorontalo citizens were Muslims. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Dutch evangelist named J. Kruyt came to visit Gorontalo with the intention of spreading the gospel message. But the intention failed. J. Kruyt considers that the future of evangelism in Gorontalo was bleak because the population was a strong follower of Islam. J. Kruyt moved his work area to Poso, and finally became known as the first *zending* in Poso.

Islam has been the keyword since the birth of the national spirit in Gorontalo. Educational institutions established by Sarekat Islam and Muhammadiyah become places for seeding nationalities. In these schools, Indonesia was introduced, and Indonesian Raya songs were taught. This all became cultural capital which later accumulated in the resistance movement Nani Wartabone, in 1942.

The Islamic movement in Gorontalo is nationalist Islam. Islam is the spirit to build the spirit of nationality towards national independence. Nani Wartabone, who returned to Gorontalo after finishing school in Surabaya, was welcomed by Gorontalo youth. Nani Wartabone is a nationalist. He pioneered the presence of PNI (Indonesian Nationalist Party) in Gorontalo. However, when the PNI experienced a decline due to Dutch political pressure, Nani Wartabone was active in Muhammadiyah. He built a Muhammadiyah school and cooperative in Suwawa. Even he became an important figure for the first Muhammadiyah conference in Suwawa, Gorontalo.

There was no debate about nationalism in relation to religion in Gorontalo. The national struggle in Gorontalo was a common struggle about establishing Indonesia as an independence state. Muslims, Christians, Catholics and other religious groups, tribes of Gorontalo, Chinese, Arabs, Manadonese, Bugisnese, Javanese and other tribes in Gorontalo worked hand in hand to form a unified movement towards the birth of the Indonesian nation. That is why, when the Dutch were successfully arrested on January 23, 1942, Nani Wartabone without hesitation called for

an Indonesian nation. Muhammadiyah, Sarekat Islam, and JIB activists in Committee 12 did not attempt to make Gorontalo an Islamic state, even though the opportunity was widely opened.

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