

Nationalism of Mass Media Advertisements of Independence Funds Supporters

Case Study of *Kedaulatan Rakjat* Newspaper from 1945 to 1949

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ABSTRACT

This paper will talk about the role of advertisements in local newspaper, which has emerged during the independence revolution, such as *Kedaulatan Rakjat*. This newspaper played a main role for independence fundraising. The nationalist leader, like Sutan Syahrir, wanted this new country to stand on the feet of their own nations, so donations from the people were needed. The people could contribute through *Fonds Kemerdekaan* institute where had been formed in each regency, *National Loan* 1946, and lottery. The independence fundraising was carried out by *Kedaulatan Rakjat* through their advertising column. How significant the role of advertisement for independence funds is the focus of this paper, which then examined by using historical method. Kind of independence fundraising advertising being analyzed with contextual approach. This research will enrich the historiography of mass media and to describe that the nationalism played a major role for state economic income during the revolutionary period which expanded because campaign of the newspaper advertisement. The importance of this research is to reflect on the nowadays' problem of the rising massive online media, which often caused national disintegration, such as hoax. By reflecting on it, it is hoped that.

Keywords: Advertisements, Independence funds, Indonesia, Nationalism, Revolution

1. INTRODUCTION

The focus of issue and newspaper selected in this study are complementary and research gap from previous study. This paper will analyze nationalism from *Kedaulatan Rakjat* newspaper in revolutionary period from other side, namely the advertising column which has not been discussed by previously research. The study of *Kedaulatan Rakjat* newspaper have been several works that analyzed in terms of discourse, editorial, and news. For example, a master's degree thesis from Suwarta was published by *Balai Pustaka* in 2000. It discussed the views, attitudes, and the independent of *Merdeka* and *Kedaulatan Rakjat* in the editorial column, corner notes and caricatures presented. Other research of Indonesian press is a dissertation that entitled *The Vernacular Press and the Emergence of Modern Indonesian Consciousness (1855–1913)* by Ahmat B. Adam, published in 1995. The vernacular press played an important role, grew a modern national awareness of "a sense of nationality" to be the main analysis of this dissertation. In addition, other research is Rianne (2017) in her paper, *Enlightenment and the Revolutionary Press in Colonial Indonesia*, talked about role of *Sinar Hindia* in the middle 1920s which did

not only embody the anti—colonial struggle. It also became a voice for the enlightenment practice of the people on the land of the colonies. These two works are relevant for this paper to show the up-to-date issue of vernacular press movements in the next period, named after Indonesia's independence.

For the background, during the early days of the revolution, the situation in regions almost overwhelmed by the wars, and Indonesia's economy situation when revolution was difficult. Indonesian nationalist leaders appealed to the public to fight. They must sacrifice both energy and material to help the state defended independence that was not long ago proclaimed. To help the state finances, the government has created independence fundraising policies, such as *National Loan* 1946, *Fonds Kemerdekaan Indonesia* and state money lottery policy. Fundraisers for independence did not only come from government organs, yet many local communities participated, such as groups of artists, merchants, and business owners, social and struggle agencies, even the palace party who collected donations from the *abdi dalem* 'palace courtiers'. In addition, fundraising held through newspaper advertising column.

Based on situation background above, the role and social economy impacts of advertisements for independence funds are the research problem focus. There are three research questions. The first, what is the basis for the making of the advertisement for the independence fund? The second, how does the tendency of the content from advertisement for the independence fund and its dynamic? The last, what is the impact of this advertisement on the social-economy sectors because the main aim of this advertisement was to help social—economy needs?

2. METHOD

The research method used in this research is the historical method that consists of several stages, namely: heuristics, the author carried out bibliographical activities on the source of books and journals or articles which are mostly in the form of electronic books. To be historians, searched for other sources that nothing in its sources, such as official documents and the *Kedaulatan Rakjat* newspaper. These sources were obtained from government agencies. Searching for sources was carried out in the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia, the National Library of the Republic of the Regional Library, and Archives of the Yogyakarta Sonobudoyo Province, the National Press Monument in Solo, the Yogyakarta City Library, and the *Kedaulatan Rakjat* Office. In this stage, many printed and digital text sources have been found, but there were obstacles sources when searching for *Kedaulatan Rakjat* (*KR*) newspaper data for the 1948 to 1949 editions. One of the causes of their obstacles were several institutions, such as *Kedaulatan Rakjat* officer. *KR* officer stated that they did not own the complete collection. Collections at the Jogja Library Center (Library of BPAD DIY) are incomplete too. The *KR* collection in this institution for that period was very limited, especially the 1949 edition that contained only the first page. In this case, the author did not find the advertisement column page of the 1949 newspaper. In addition, *KR* collection for the 1948 to 1949 editions in the National Library of Indonesia did not available.

In the second stage, the authors critiqued the source by comparing the sources that have been founded from the heuristic stage. Next, interpreted by analyzing any significant information in the sources which related to the research topic, and then the results are described through writing.

In this research method, the reconstruction of history press will analyze through a contextual approach. Kind of fundraising advertisement being analyzed with its approach. The author will be start from looking to the social and economy contexts which happened, then exploring the manner and tendency of *Kedaulatan Rakjat* to delivery information and communication regarding independence fundraising with classification method of advertisements.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Advertisements as Media Campaign of Independence Fundraising

KR emerged from the development of the social and political situation after the proclamation of Indonesian independence. The information of Indonesian proclamation was broadcasted by the Domei Jakarta office, successfully received by the Domei Yogyakarta office on August 17th at 12.00 PM [1]. The Japanese soldiers, who still maintained the status quo, did not allow to broadcast. Finally, the proclamation news was spread through Friday prayed at the Great Mosque of North Square and the Pakualaman Mosque. The proclamation spread because the efforts of Ki Hajar Dewantara. Together with Taman Siswa teachers and students, he held bicycle parades, celebrated Indonesian independence, and distributed leaflets containing announcements about the proclamation of Indonesian independence in Jakarta [2].

Sinar Matahari daily was the forerunner to the birth of *KR*. After the Japanese surrendered, the editorial office of this newspaper was closed. After the proclamation of Indonesia, Samawi, Soemantoro, and Bramono ventured to open the seal of the office to publish the newspaper. On September 26, 1945, newspaper layouts and contents were ready, but this newspaper did not yet have a suitable name. Then, an initiative was born to ask for suggestions from the management of *Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat* Yogyakarta (KNIP), Mr. Sudarisman Purwokusumo was the head of KNIP and he immediately gave the name *Kedaulatan Rakjat* [3].

KR was published in 1945, September 27th with two pages. On the first day this newspaper printed 2000 copies, the second day 3000 copies, the third day 4000 copies, and all sold out. *KR* daily logo used upright capital letters and at the end of 1947 used the cursive letter logo in the old spelling [4]. It is nationalist newspaper of ‘bumiputera’, so the language used in the advertisement is Indonesian in the old spelling. The using of Indonesian as a form of nationalism. When Indonesian independence was proclaimed on 17 August 1945, and after Japan surrendered at the end of World War II, Indonesian was determined as the only national language for this new nation [5].

Historically, Malay language has been used by the local press since the first decade of the twentieth century to raise Indonesian consciousness. The modern consciousness refers to the awareness of nationalism, as indigenous who wanted to improve their social, economic, and political life as a result of colonial society [6]. The growth of the regional-language press and the emergence of political organizations spurred the development of the revolutionary press. The revolutionary press refers to the press that grew when the communist movement took place in the period of the first

two decades of the twentieth century [7]. The development of *KR* newspaper is one proof of the growth of the Indonesian press since independence. Since Indonesia's independence, the Indonesian press has grown rapidly, until 1948, the dominance of the daily circulation of the press was occupied by the Indonesian press, which reached 227 thousand copies from 45 newspapers [8].

A statement that was very true and factual from Mestika Zed, a historian and a professor from Padang State University, that "revolution is a matter that costs money. Not only for military needs but also for running the government, including diplomatic activities." During the nearly five years of the revolutionary journey 'war of independence', the fate of the Indonesia as a newborn nation was adrift in the dilemma of physical struggle and diplomacy. The economic difficulties after the Japanese occupation were complicated by the rapid and violent changes that almost swept across the former Dutch East Indies colony. In this precarious condition, most of all the wheels of the economy stalled [9].

The effort to raise funds for independence was preceded by several government policies in the financial sector. First, the government made *Fonds Kemerdekaan Indonesia* (FKI) policy. It was formed not long after the proclamation of Indonesia on August 22, 1945. In its period, the government considered it necessary to form an agency to manage state finances because the Indonesian state treasury was still under Japanese control. In order to achieve this goal, *Fonds Perang Kemerdekaan* (FPK) which was formed by Japan was being changed into FKI. FKI has the main objective to uphold Indonesian independence, help and give enlightenment to the people [10]. During the early days of the proclamation, funds of FKI was used to print many more copies of the proclamation text and the flag [11].

Based on the FKI archives, the collection of the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia, after Indonesian independence, FPK was liquidated and its assets distributed to FKI and Hookookai which later merged into the Indonesian National Committee (KNI). The merger of FPK into FKI was due to the absence of a transition period. The verification of the commission formed at that time also did not have clear commission names.

The second policy of the government to help state finances during the revolution was National Loan 1946, promulgated on 29 April 1946. This loan was intended to build the economy as part of the responsibilities of an existing government. Ir. Soerachman, the Minister of Finance at that time, delivered a speech that "the government's efforts in the field of economic development demanded people's attention for the progress of the country. Efforts to establish a sovereign government will not be in vain. Don't just rely on the defense of independence [12]."

National Loan 1946 was the form of state debt securities (bonds) issued by the Ministry of Finance of

the Republic of Indonesia and to the public in the amount of f. 1.000.000.000 (read: one billion *rupiah* in Japanese currency) and is collected twice. In more detail, this money will be used to build the industrial sector, public housing, and state expenditure. This policy was also aimed to attract the circulation of Japanese money, then replaced it with Republic money to be issued [13]. The issuance of the Republic's currency is a form of enforcing sovereignty. Money does not only refer to an economic function, but also refer to a political meaning that acts as an instrument of struggle, asserts authority, and a symbol of a nation's sovereignty. The war situation that occurred meant that Indonesia did not immediately have its own money until more than one year after the proclamation, namely 30 October 1946 [14].

The final policy to get money for independence among the general public was state money lottery. This policy was legalized through the Minister of Social Affairs Regulation No. 18 in 1946 and published in the constitution no. 38 in 1947. The people who want to become participants in the lottery, they could buy lottery slots sold by banks, a legal entity, social organizations, and sales agents [15].

For anyone who wanted to advertise in this newspaper, they were charged by line rate. Prior to the release of *Oeang Republik Indonesia* (ORI), each line tariff for the advertisement column was f. 10 and after the issue of ORI becomes R. 2,5 (read: two and a half in ORI currency). *KR* also set a minimum purchase of advertisements with ranges from 5 to 6 lines. The life of the advertising business was influenced by the life of newspapers. There is even a relationship between the three things, namely operations, newspapers, and printing facilities which could be said to be "who supports whom". [16].

KR was also active in raising funds for independence aimed at *Fonds Kemerdekaan/Perdjoangan*. This was represented from the top right corner of the newspaper regarding the information on subscriptions to purchasing *KR* newspapers and advertising prices. For example, the issue when ORI has not yet published "Subscription 1 month f. 25 plus f. 1 for Fonds of Independence / Perdjoangan [17]. " After the publication of ORI, it changed to "Subscription 1 month R. 7,5 Rupiah, added R. 0,1 for Fonds Perdjoangan [18]." During its development, the position of the second information is in the section of the ad column page.

3.2. Advertisements of Independence Funds on Kedaulation Rakjat Newspaper

Figure 1 was the example of an advertisement for independence fundraising which used trade-type. It held by a local government institute with the target of channeling funds to *Badan Penolong Keluarga Korban Perang* (BPKKP) 'Agency for help the war victim's family' and *Palang Merah Indonesia* (PMI) 'Indonesian Red Cross'. BPKKP was founded after Indonesian independence, and it is a change of name from *Badan*

Pembantoe Pradjoerit 'soldier auxiliary' that was founded in late 1943 [19]. Meanwhile, PMI was founded on September 5, 1945, chaired by Moh. Hatta. In its development, PMI is required to be more active in facing the state situation after the proclamation of independence. PMI Headquarters moved to Yogyakarta following the relocation of the capital [20].



Figure 1 Advertisement of the commerce for independence fundraising (*Kedaulatan Rakjat*, 1947 May 3th)

Another example is the type of charity market advertisement in Figure 2. There was a night market in Blora to fundraising for the struggle. The location of advertisements mostly refers to Yogyakarta and around Central Java region, although some refer to East Java and West Java. In the Blora night market, there were restaurant stands, food stalls, craft, and industrial exhibitions. To further attract visitors, a soccer match and the performance of the *keroncong* music competition was held. *Keroncong* has been popular music among the public since the late 1920s [21]. Since the time of the Dutch East Indies, night markets have appeared and developed. The inflow of private capital has driven modernization. Many cosmopolitan cities in Java were growing. In the first decades of the twentieth century, these cities grew night markets [22].



Figure 2 Advertisement of the charity market for independence fundraising (*Kedaulatan Rakjat*, 1946 April 20th)

Advertisements for independence fundraising had specific traits, as announcement, persuasion, and mobilization. Character of the announcement of these could be easily recognized because the part of the title was written **PENGOEMOEMAN, MINTA PERHATIAN, PEMBERI TAHOEAN** (translation: ANNOUNCEMENTS, GIVE ATTENTION, NOTICE). announcement' which was generally printed on the capital and bold letters. Next, the persuasion character used bombastic and lustrous sentences or

words, but presented briefly and clearly, and were generally written in a large size and ends with an exclamation point as a form of affirmation. For example, used words assertive and attract attention, like word **AWAS 'WATCH OUT'**, or the publication of an advertisement on February 26th, 1946 used words below.

BERAMAI2LAH!!!
BERAMALLAH!!!
SOKONGLAH OESAHA KITA!!!

Translation:
COME WITH A LOT OF PEOPLE!!!
DONATE!!!
SUPPORT OUR JOBS!!!

The last, the character of the mobilization of advertising reflected in the contents that invite people to contribute in the form of purchasing tickets from art events who held by fundraisers. For example, purchasing at the charity market or purchasing lottery money slot. However, most of the advertisements for independence funds in these newspapers succeeded to mobilize the Javanese to donate because advertising content offered performing arts and cultures. Javanese society are people who have enthusiasm to the arts and cultural performances. Not only *keroncong* music, as has been mentioned, but there is slapstick 'comedy', theater, dance (Bali, "Plates", Java), and movie. The performance to mobilize the masses was not only done by Javanese ethnicities, but they were also assisted by ethnic Chinese who usually performed *silat* and jazz music.

For films, fundraisers usually play well-known films, such as *Robin Hood*, *If I Were King* and local films such as *1001 Malam*. This entertainment had arrived in the Indies in the late 19th century and became popular with the urban middle-class population in the early twentieth century [23]. To support the implementation of film shows and other entertainment aimed at raising funds or entertainment for the people, the Indonesian Film Circulation Center (PPPI) facilitates, and this information is advertised in the *KR* newspaper column (Figure 3).



Figure 3 Advertisement to facilitate charity shows (*Kedaulatan Rakjat*, 1946 January 21th)

Sartono Kartodirdjo said that daily life in Yogyakarta during 1945–1947 did not experience much upheaval and turmoil, as in some areas that experienced upheaval and violence that formed a revolutionary situation such as in

other countries other. As for the occurrence of the 1st Dutch Military Aggression on July 20, 1947, the Dutch troops only moved from Jakarta to Bandung to control West Java, from Surabaya to Semarang, to Sumatra [24].

The 1945–1947 period was said to be quite conducive for the Yogyakarta region. Its period made this region one of the regional centers that were intensely raising funds for independence. This was driven by the existence of this region that became the center of the capital city and the Indonesian government after the proposed relocation from Sultan Hameng Kubuwo IX. Conditions in Jakarta were no longer safe, and the capital city was moved to Yogyakarta on January 4, 1946 [25].

The author said that the years 1945–1947 were the periods when the government and the people in Yogyakarta were intensively did fundraising for independence. These had reflected by advertisements published regarding these activities with a large number. There was the independence fundraising advertisement with art and performance content, almost always appeared in every edition of that period.

In the period following the Renville agreement on 17th January 1948, the situation in the homeland began to tense, and the peak was the Dutch Aggression on 19th December 1948 [26]. Before the second Dutch Military Aggression, *KR* was still able to publish newspapers, and the community still held fundraising for independence at the general level. It means that people still placed the independence fundraising advertisement, published by *KR*. This condition occurred because the tensions generated by the Dutch through their continuous attacks after June 1948 had not yet reached the center of Yogyakarta sovereignty.

There was a moment that occurred in 1948, namely the liquidation of FKI. The government formed a new institution, namely the Fonds National or Fonds Perang, 20th May 1948. FKI's net worth was R. 5.000.000 submitted to this agency. This new agency was continuing the activities of the FKI, such as given help to social agencies and other national businesses [27].

The dynamic of further history was determining the continuity of the press operation. Newspapers were increasingly difficult to operate because of the unresponsive conditions, especially during the Second Dutch Military Aggression, which made the Yogyakarta community quite chaotic because it was attacked continuously by the Dutch army [28]. The Dutch offensive began on the morning of 19 December 1948, quickly occupied Yogyakarta. Next, Dutch troops captured almost all the leadership of the Republic, including Soekarno, Hatta, Sjahrir, and others [29]. According to Soebagijo in the book *Jagat Wartawan Indonesia*, Wonohito as the chief editor of *KR* and his journalists were detained in the Wirogunan prison. This condition caused the publication of the *Kedaulatan Rakjat* newspaper to facing obstacles. *KR* republished after the political prisoners to be get off.

3.3. Social and Economy Impact

The existence of advertisements for independence fundraising, either directly or indirectly, has a significant social impact. The community had successfully mobilized and united by the spirit of cooperation, kinship, and nationality. It was reflected in the existence of data on public contributions. The first data shows that the Fonds Perdjoengan has successfully received donations from various circles of society. It accommodated in cash, called *Dompot Istimewa* 'Special Wallet'. "Dompot Istimewa" did not refer to the number of donations but was special "istimewa" because the Chinese, Arabian, and Indonesian working together with greatness and cohesive [30]. Captured also from the list of donors, *KR* listed as the largest contributor. There might be funds that come from taking additional money from everyone who subscribes to *KR* newspaper, as previously explained.

Dompot Istimewa

Fonds Perdjoengan Rakjat.

Perwari Kap. Srandakan	f. 300
Keloearga Kemantren Tegalredjo	f. 100
Perwari Panggang G.K.	f. 100
Pesindo Wates Adikarto	f. 1227,96
<i>Kedaulatan Rakjat</i> Jogjakarta	f. 3827,25
Rakjat Kap. Tempel	f. 312,93
Setasioen Rewoeloe	f. 200
K.N.I an. Tjb. Sejagen	f. 1500

Kedaulatan Rakjat, edition 1946 February 26th

Independence fundraising from *KR* also was distributed through the Yogyakarta FKI. In the source of the FKI archive of the National Archives collection, a list of *KR* newspapers that contributed on July 5, 1946, is listed as f. 4.393 [31]. This fact is supporting evidence that increasingly shows the nationalism of the *KR* newspaper against the revolutionary struggle from the economic side.

The second data, sourced from the table below, represented the succeeded of mobilizing the independence fund that took place in Yogyakarta. Table I shows an increasing in the collecting of FKI Yogyakarta during 1946. On average, every half month, it experienced significant growth, namely by twelve percent or by f. 1.034.017,08 from the total income.

Table 1. FKI Yogyakarta Income (1946)

Period	Income
	Units in florin (f)
1–31 Maret 1946	665.153,45
16–30 April 1946	749.536,32
May 1946	919.515,88
1–30 Juni 1946	1.109.066,51
1–15 Juli 1946	1.156.147,40
16–31 Juli 1946	1.174.288,64

Until 31 Agustus 1946	1.383.301,19
1–30 September 1946	1.446.128,48

Sources: National Archive of Republik Indonesia & Pakualaman Archive (BPAD DIY)

Furthermore, from the FKI branch Yogyakarta, the collecting also was obtained from the Kraton environment. From the scope of the Yogyakarta sultanate, which was led by Sultan Hameng Kubuwono IX, there were activities to be held fundraising for independence that originated from the *abdi dalem* 'royal servants' who donated to FKI. It could be seen from the palace archives that there was a notification letter to transfer a donation from *abdi dalem* to the FKI with the amount of f. 3,38 in 1945 and R. 106,14 in 1947 [32]. The financial services within the Yogyakarta sultanate government also held fundraising for independence from the general public through a lottery. Information obtained from the advertisement column of the *KR* newspaper is an announcement [33]. Pakoe Alaman also held fundraising through a system of goods auction and money lottery who was also donated to FKI.

FKI, which was formed by the government, especially by KNI, succeeded to carry out its duties. The recording of the total FKI collecting is centralized. Based on the balance sheet of the central FKI and all of its branches from 22 August 1945 to 31 December 1946 amounted 2.197.029,99 *rupiah*. This income was distributed to the fields of frontline, social and education, KNI, operational, Indonesian Red Cross, and replaced the borrowed money from the government [34]. Then, as an example of a micro case, the results of two-days charity market show in Godean in mid-December 1945, reached f. 1400. This income was distributed to *Fonds Kemerdekaan* f. 420, *Lasjkar Rakjat* f. 280, each f. 140 for BPKKP and *Fonds Perdjoengan*, and the balance for other fighter organization [35].

The urgent needs of the general public, outside of defense or frontline issues, such as clothes and foods, were successfully fulfilled by fundraising from the community. This distribution was not regardless of ethnicities, such as Chinese and Arabians to be helped [36]. On the other hand, in the development sector, the government succeeded in helping small farmers' businesses. The government distributed a loan of twenty million *rupiah* through the People's Representative Body in each region throughout Java—Madura. In this location, it estimated that there were 20.834 villages, which means each village received an average loan of R. 1000 [37]. Fundraising carried out in Yogyakarta helped support rice needs outside the regions, such as Jakarta, Bogor, and other areas that were hit by economic difficulties as a result of the chaotic security situation. It was represented by the Association of Indonesian Labors' Organizations (SOBSI) in Yogyakarta, who sent rice aid to labors in Jakarta [38]. Even though its help based on the bond of the same social status, namely as the labors, this phenomenon still reflects a sense of social sensitivity. Especially, the labors were the large class of the Indonesian population, and they did not get income

because in many areas, the labors did not work as a form of opposing imperialism.

4. CONCLUSION

The rise of advertisements for independence fundraising in the *Kedaulatan Rakjat (KR)* newspaper column has three significant meanings. First, *KR* has continued the struggle of the regional or local press in earlier times with the same spirit of struggling, namely against the colonialists but in a different era context. *KR* has awakened popular nationalism to persist and unite to help the government support independence. Its context makes this research has provided a sustainable picture of the development of vernacular press movement against colonialists that emerged when the national movement period of the national movement in the first decade of the 20th century.

Second, the advertisement for the independence fundraising had represented *KR* nationalism. It means that this research became interesting because it successfully in revealing the nationalist side of the *KR* as a nationalist press during the revolutionary period from a different perspective. Based on this approach, it shows that *KR* nationalism is not only from the editorial, corner, discourse, or news site but also from the advertising column. Besides, the research resulted new perspective that *KR* nationalism is representing from an economic perspective. *KR* became a medium of the economy enlightenment for the people. Based on the using of contemporary sources such as archives and newspapers, this paper can reveal the facts of *KR*'s donations for the Indonesia independence.

Finally, this paper contributes to the discourse on important issues related to the role of information and communication media concerning the formation of unity and unity. The advances in technology and information—communication, as well as easy access, information media—communication often invites clashes between groups of people with different views, ideologies, religions, ethnicities, and others, as reflected in the currently booming online media. Sentiments due to ethnic and religious differences that are deeply rooted in the history of this nation often appear in online media. Today, hoax and news are also a trigger for enmity or chaos. Indirectly, these situations have an impact on unity in the life of the nation and state. These problems stem from fundamental factors that lie in the sense of nationalism and a spirit to build unity—strong cooperation between every level of society. Also, the mass media has an important role in many situations because it is a medium of education for the community that determine a nation's personality.

AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

All authors contributed to the study conception and design. Material preparation, data collection and analysis were performed by Anita Anita and Didik Pradjoko. The

first draft of the manuscript was written by Anita Anita and all authors commented on previous versions of the manuscript. All authors read and approved the final manuscript.

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