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## THE PROCESS OF INDONESIAN NATION STATE FORMATION, 1901-1998

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### ABSTRACT

This article has analyzed the long process of Indonesian Nation State Formation, namely from the Dutch Colonial Period to New Order Era of the 1980s and 1990s. The article argues that the concept of nationhood remained very fluid for long time but gradually it started to shape after the introduction of western education to the natives in the Dutch Colonial era and it took the final shape in New Order Era. The complexity of the nation-state formation was due to the region consists of many ethnics, cultures, languages, religions, and political parties. Their national identity started from the ethnicity awareness which took shape in the Dutch Colonial Era. During the Japanese occupation era the Nation State Formation of Indonesia was put into action as Kurasawa said that they had been prepared the independence of Indonesian nation. In Sukarno era, Indonesia was still ideologically divided into some international ideologies such as Communism, Islamism, and the secular national ideology. The peak of the rivals is the breaking of Indonesian Communist Party uprising in 1965. A major change took place with the fall of Sukarno's regime which was replaced by General Suharto. Suharto called the Sukarno era as the old order regime and called his regime as New Order. The stability of Indonesian National formation was restored with ban on the International Ideology such as Communism, forcing the Moslem militancy and using National Ideology (Pancasila) as the ones of National Ideology.

Keywords: Process, formation, nation state, Indonesian

### ABSTRAK

Artikel ini telah menganalisis proses panjang Pembentukan Negara Bangsa Indonesia, yaitu dari Masa Kolonial Belanda ke Era Orde Baru tahun 1980-an dan 1990-an. Artikel ini berpendapat bahwa konsep kebangsaan tetap sangat cair untuk waktu yang lama tetapi secara bertahap mulai terbentuk setelah pengenalan pendidikan barat untuk pribumi di era Kolonial Belanda dan mengambil bentuk akhir di Era Orde Baru. Kompleksitas pembentukan negara-bangsa adalah karena wilayah ini terdiri dari banyak suku, budaya, bahasa, agama, dan partai politik. Identitas nasional mereka dimulai dari kesadaran etnis yang terbentuk di Era Kolonial Belanda. Selama era pendudukan Jepang, formasi Negara Bangsa Indonesia dilaksanakan sebagai Kurasawa mengatakan bahwa mereka telah mempersiapkan kemerdekaan bangsa Indonesia. Di era Soekarno, Indonesia masih secara ideologis dibagi menjadi beberapa ideologi internasional seperti Komunisme, Islamisme, dan ideologi nasional sekuler. Puncak saingan adalah pecahnya pemberontakan Partai Komunis Indonesia pada tahun 1965. Perubahan besar terjadi dengan jatuhnya rejim Sukarno yang digantikan oleh Jenderal Suharto. Suharto menyebut era Soekarno sebagai rezim orde lama dan menyebut rejimnya sebagai Orde Baru. Stabilitas formasi Nasional Indonesia dipulihkan dengan larangan Ideologi Internasional seperti Komunisme, memaksa militansi Islam dan menggunakan Ideologi Nasional (Pancasila) sebagai Ideologi Nasional.

Kata kunci: Proses, formasi, negara bangsa, bahasa Indonesia

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Nation according to Renan (1992), a French philosopher of history, is a new concept, which previously had never been in existence. He pointed out that Ancient Egypt, China, and Chaldean, could not be called as nation states because the "ancient states" were formed from a collection of various community groups, rather than citizens of a country. The classical antiquity had its republics, its empires but in ancient times, they were known as confederation of a local state. The concept 'nation' as we know today did not exist at that time.

Regarding the formation of a nation-state, Renan refused if nation states formed due to racial equality. According to him, there are no countries which consist of pure races in the world. Countries such as France, Germany, and Italy are composed from mixture races, so did the same thing happen with the British Isles. He also rejected if the creation of a nation on the basis of because of language equation. For example, the United States and Britain, as well as Spanish America and Spain speak the same language but they do not become a nation state. In Switzerland, on the other hand, there are three or four languages, but they are united in a nation state. Renan also rejected if the element of a nation is religious equality. The geographical boundaries are also not an essential factor for the formation of a nation state, because in some cases, it is impossible to split the mountain, or to united the river, etc (Renan, 1992).

Due to the the various reasons, as described above, Renan found the deciding factor creation of a nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. One is the past and one is the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories, and the other side, the desire to live together. A nation is like an individual, which is the outcome of a long past efforts, sacrifices, and devotions. An important factor for an entity to be labeled as a nation is the desire problems, problems of human beings to live together, which are based on common historical experi-

ence, particularly the equation of suffering.

Renan maintains that on one hand many scholars refuse to accept the notion of a nation on the basis of the above notions, but there are others who accept the definition of a nation on such factors. Examples of those who refuse to, include Frederick Hertz. Whereas an example of the one who is influenced is an anthropologist and an indigenous affairs adviser to the Dutch colonial government, Snouck Hurgronje. Based on Renan's thoughts, especially regarding the willingness to live together, according to Snouck, the Netherlands and Netherlands East Indie (Now Indonesia) can be a nation.

Renan's theory also underlies the birth of the Republic of Indonesia. That is, Indonesia is historically a former Dutch colonial state and after that Japan, which had the experience of suffering together. Because of this shared experienced, even in the region, live many ethnic groups, religions, languages, and cultures, but they can become a nation because of the similarity of the will, the desire to live together. The desire and the will to live together were embodied in that persistence into force in the struggle against colonialism and obstacles that hinder forming the nation state, namely the Republic of Indonesia.

This paper analyzes the development of education and the emergence of Indonesian nationalism. In conducting the analysis, first, the author will discuss the development of education in the era of the Dutch Colonial period, at the time how education shape the ideas of nationalism, then how its development in the era of Japanese occupation is. And then, after independence, how each government kept up nationalism to maintain and to develop the existence of the nation through education.

## **THE PROBLEM OF THE FORMATION OF NATION**

Indonesian nationalism is tied up with its past history of colonialism. In fact, it is fair to say that Indonesian colonialism

was formed as an anti-colonial action. Formation of nation state of Indonesia has been a complex issue because ethnically there are more than 250 tribes, each of which has its own identity, tradition, customs, and culture. Geographically, Indonesia is an archipelago nation consisting of more than 13,000 islands, stretching 5400 kilometers from east to west and 1800 kilometers from south to north. As a comparison, USA is long from east to west is 4,500 km, and from south to north is 2,700 km. In other words, the length from west to east is the same as the distance from Los Angeles to New York, making the two countries almost of the same size. Problem of Indonesia becomes more complex as the country is separated by sea in numerous islands.

Liddle (1970:57-59), in his study of Ethnicity, Party, and National Integration, took Simalungun, the region in North Sumatra Island as a case study. He studied the communities and ethnical groups in the area and knew their identity since the early 20th century. At that time, the Dutch government in order to develop economic activities had built communications infrastructure and transportation, and brought the ethnical groups over there to meet and communicate with each other.

The multiethnic society of Simalungun, in its development, had extensive relationships with other tribes outside their region. On the other hand, the development of religion (Islam) in the area acted as a unifying force uniting different tribes to some degree. Liddle (1972) gave the example that the growth of Islam in the region led to tribal relations in the region became increasingly faded. In case of the moslem believers in one ethnical communities, they will form an ethnical society with different customs in contrast to the standards of the Christians, even though the people were from the same tribe. The habit standard in religion in one tribe had the synergy with other tribes who had the same religion throughout Indonesia. For example, the Simalungun people who are moslem, as moslem they

have links with other adherents of Islam in Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and in the moslem world. Instead the Christian of Simalungun, they also have different identities, who also have strong religious ties with the Christian adherents in Minahasa, Nias, Ambon and other of the Indonesia peoples in the eastern regions.

From the above discussion, it can be said that religion can be a unifying factor of various tribes in Indonesia, and vice versa religion can also be a dividing factor. Sometimes, when there are problems related to ethnicity, although they are different in religion, they will unite as the same tribe against the tribe's enemy. Conversely, when there are the problems related to their religion, although there are the same ethnic, they could kill each other to fight the enemies of their religion.

#### **EDUCATION AND NATIONALISM IN COLONIAL PERIOD**

In the Dutch colonial period, before 1852, there were almost no schools to cater for indigenous people. In a regent even if their hankering for Western education, there was no other way except to invite the Dutch private teacher to educate their children at home. In general, the Dutch private teacher that taught as a teacher at home was a socialist. A regent that first invited the Dutchman private teacher was Prince Ario Tjondronegoro IV. He was a regent of Demak who advised his son about the significance of education, as below "My son ... if you are not be educated, you cannot be happy. Without education, our grandchildren will experience a period of decline. For that reasons, please remember the message." (Jumhur & Suparta, 1974: 127)

From the above conversation it can be said that the concept of education is the Western education. The thought about the importance of Western education for the children was the first in Indonesia. Therefore what is done by the prince Ario Tjondronegoro IV is a pioneer path. The reason for the regents to study was to acquire Western education. After the death of the regent (prince Ario Tjondronegoro

IV), what he had told to his children became a reality. For example, the first educational figures, R.A. Kartini is one great grandson or descendant of Prince Ario Tjondronegoro IV. RA Kartini was a novice figure who pioneered in the education for women and encouraged them to study. In addition, the Prince Ario Hadiningrat, the son of Prince Ario Tjindronegoro IV, in the mid-19th century, became a pioneer of autonomy. He proposed that the Netherlands must give autonomy to "Indonesian people". Another man, grandchild of Prince Ario Tjindronegoro IV, namely Raden Mas Duke Ario Tjondronegoro which is the regent of Kudus and then became regent Brebes, mastered several languages include Dutch, Dutch Ancient, French, English, Chinese, Malay, Arabic, Banggala, Latin and Greek. Additionally, RM Duke Sosrodinigrat (RA Kartini's father) criticized the racist action of the Netherlands to the indigenous Jawa. (Jumhur & Suparta, 1974)

In 1850, in Surakarta the colonial government established a school to teach natives. The school was named Kweekschool in the Dutch language. In 1874, the school was moved to Magelang. In 1864, on the Island of Sumatra founded a similar school in Bukit Tinggi. In 1874, the same thing was also established in Tapanuli precisely in the Tanah Batu. In 1866, in Bandung also established Kweekschool, 1873 in Tondano, 1874 in Ambon, 1875 in Probolinggo and Banjarmasin, 1876 in Makassar, 1879 in Padang Sidempuan.

Since 1867, the development of education for indigenous people experienced rapid development. For the reason, then the government set up the office of education affairs. In 1879, schools for the natives were established in the Yogyakarta and Surakarta. There were two types of schools which were established: first kind, namely Speciale School and the second kind, namely Hoofden School. The headmaster of Speciale School was Dutch, and the teachers were Indonesian. The language used in school was Dutch. The school was primarily intended to indige-

nous people who were Christians. Similar schools were also established in several places in Indonesia like in Ambon in 1869, in Jakarta in 1873, and in Magelang in 1879. The Hoofden School was established for the native people with the high social status. The school was primarily intended to educate the candidate of civil servants, and they were also taught in Dutch.

The Statute no. 125 1893 describes on the colonial government policies, especially the establishment of schools for the common indigenous peoples, namely *ongko siji* (number one) school and *ongko loro* (number two) school. *Ongko siji* School reserved for those who had a high social status and school *ongko loro* was reserved for the common people (Kartodirdjo, 1999: 356).

In 1860, liberalism idea began to develop in the Netherlands. Then, this thought affected to Indonesia. In 1863 and 1864, the Dutch colonial government had implemented the idea of a liberal system. In the liberal period, the education policy also changed. The education for the indigenous, originally aimed to educate the candidate of civil servants and employees of the company, had changed to be a public education which educated the society to be more humane. Thus, Western education was to educate the peoples to be more with open thinking both social, political, etc. Socially, the narrow thinking about primordialism (ethnicity, religion, ancestry) had to be abandoned. For example, in that time, someone who wanted to be a civil servant or be an employee of the company etc., before were based on the ancestry. However, in liberal period, the knowledge and skill capability became standard entrance (Jumhur & Suparta, 1974: 127).

At the beginning of the 20th century, Dutch colonial government made the important policy changes. One of these changes was Ethical Politics. The policy led to major social change in Indonesia. The contents of the policy extended to the indigenous people' acces to Education, Emigration, and Irrigation. Regarding ed-

ucation, in 1907, two of the new policies in the field of education were issued. First, policy was to increase the quality of the "ongko siji school". The implementation of the quality improvement was to grant Dutch language from 3rd grade. The length of the period of study was extended from 5 years to 6 years. In 1911, the length of the period of study was extended again from 6 years to 7 years. In the 1911, the length of the period of study was extended again from 6 years to 7 years. And starting 6th grade, all subjects were taught in Dutch. Next, the second policy was to establish a village school. The length of the period of study in village school was 3 years old. The taught Subjects were reading, writing, and calculating.

The establishment of education continued for the indigenous population after completing their education at the school number one, namely MULO (Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs=More Comprehensive Elementary Education). At first time, MULO only intended specifically for the Dutch children, but since 1914 the indigenous people who had completed seven years of primary education were given the opportunity to attend the school (Jumhur & Suparta, 1974).

At the next level as a continuation of MULO, the Dutch government had set up a secondary school established since 1890 in the city of Yogyakarta, and a year later also established in Surakarta, namely AMS (*Algemeene Middlebare School* = General Middle School). The length of the study was 3 years. In studying in AMS, students already grouped into two courses, namely A course that deepened of specialization for the humanities, and B course that deepened of specialization in the field of natural sciences. In addition, regarding to the indigenous education which existed, from elementary school to General high school, the colonial government also set up a wide range of vocational schools. After graduating from AMS, the indigenous students who wanted to continue their education, could enter university both in the Netherlands or in domestic.

Beside the ethical politics, among

the Dutch, this also emerged the thought about associations politics, that was, an idea to build cooperation between the colonized people (Indonesian) and colonizers (the Dutch). The idea based on the thought of how the colonizers and colonized people could live together with leaving all things that became a barrier, as well as possible to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination. However, some of the Dutch criticized the idea and said that the conditions and the situation of the colonized communities had not support the policy yet. But racial equality had not been implemented perfectly.

The Dutch colonial government tried to propose firstly to build solidarity. That was, an idea that between colonizer and colonized people together built for mutual respect, and cooperation, established a pluralistic unity of Indonesia, and to be able to live together in harmony. Finally, the entire people of Indonesia (the Dutch and Indonesia) were equivalent (Kartodirdjo, 1999: 51). To realize that the goal the Dutch colonial government gave the widest opportunity for the indigenous peoples to enter the school before only for the Dutch children. As a result, the number of the indigenous students increased significantly, and among them the values of humanism were born, as well as the elimination of discrimination based on the ethnical, religion, ancestry etc. There also emerged the thinking about how to improve the living standards of the natives. About the influence of Western education to the natives in Asia, Furnivall described as follows "Western education lent rocking movement while Asia was in sleep. China and Japan were at war as Western nations were. Philippines fought against Spain. China had revolted against the power of Europe. The victory of Japan over Russia, had transformed the Indonesian people." (Furnivall, 1994: 238)

On 20 May 1908 STOVIA, students founded the social organization namely Budi Utomo. To the phenomenon of the emergence of Budi Utomo, J.B. van Heutsz a Dutch Military officer, expressed his pride. Because it meant that the policies of

the Ethical Politics had shown the result (Ricklefs, 1986: 250). Thus, the birth of Budi Utomo organization had shown that the indigenous people had begun to be aware of their identity and began to think about the future of how to build a nation.

The birth of Budi Utomo later inspired Indonesian intellectuals to establish similar organizations. The organization was originally intended to help the Indonesian people who had problems in the Netherlands. Then, in the 1910s, many of youths based on their ethnical groups organizations were established. These organizations were Jong Sumatranen Bond (Young Sumatran Union) in 1910, Pasundan (Sundanese) in 1914, Jong Java (Young Java) in 1918, Jong Celebes (Young Celebes) and Jong Ambon (Young Ambon) in 1920, etc. These organizations were still ethnical groups with had the social purposes. However, many organizations emerged later which focused on political purpose, even Independence. For example, in 1922, "Indische Vereniging" was born which later changed its name to "Indonesische Vereniging". The purpose of the organization was published in their magazine "Hindia Putra" (Indonesian Son) i.e. establishing the nation state of Indonesia (Pringgodigdo, 1986: 60).

In 1926, in Jakarta, first congress of the Indonesian youth was organized which was attended by people from various regions. The meeting still marked regional atmosphere. But among others, they had started to develop their thought about efforts to establish a national organization. Two years later, in the month of October 1928, in Jakarta, the second of Indonesian youth congress held again. Youth from all over Indonesia attended, and on October 28, 1928 they made the declaration known as "Sumpah Pemuda" (the Youth Pledge).

On the other hand, most Indonesia people who are Muslims preferred to study at Pesantren (the traditional Islamic boarding school) to study the Islamic. For those who study there, they maintained Islam as their identity and way of life. As

well as their social and political organizations, they use Islam as the basic of their activities. The examples of Muslim organizations, are Muhammadiyah, founded in 1912, Sarekat Islam (Islam Union) founded in 1912, Nahdhotul Ulama (1926), etc.

#### **INDONESIAN EDUCATION AND NATION STATE FORMATION IN THE TRANSITION ERA TO THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION**

During the Japanese occupation era (March 1942--August 1945), though only 3.5 years, the misery was very influential in the daily life of the Indonesian nation. In this brief period, Indonesian nationalism grew very fast, which ended with the proclamation of Indonesia's independence - exactly two days after Japan surrendered to the Allies on 15 August 1945. In the Japanese occupation era, there were two political forces in Indonesia, namely secular and Islamic political organizations, each of which was trying to compete for the attention of Japan.

The Dutch had understood much about Islam, while Japan had not. According to Harry J. Benda (1985: 134), Japan learned about Islam since 1920s. In the mid-1920s Japan, set up a new institution to study about Islam. At the beginning time of the study of Islam, they published a magazine on Islam. In 1933, Japan declared themselves as protectors of Islam. In 1935, the propaganda division sent four students to Saudi Arabia and Egypt. At that time, the Japanese government also invited many students and Muslim teachers (mainly from the Middle East and Muslim people from Asian countries) to study in Japan. In 1935, for the first time, a mosque was built in the city of Kobe. In 1938, Dai Nippon Kaikyo Kyokai (Japanese Islamic Association) was established. Its chairman was Senjuro General Hayashi (林 銑 十 郎). They invited Muslims from various countries to attend the exhibition on Islam held in Tokyo and Osaka, on 5-29 November 1939. With this exhibition, the Indonesian Muslims began to understand that Islam is not only in the Middle East but also in Japan.

Japan's efforts then showed that they gave high attention to Islam and that it is a country that supported the struggle of the Muslims against tyrannical actions by the United States and the United Kingdom (Piscatori, 1986: 31-32). However, to realize Japan as the center of Islam was still very difficult. However, in the country, it was already proven that Japan supported the struggle of Muslims against the Western powers. For example, in Aceh, Islamic leaders, in 1939, formed an organization called PUSA (Persatuan Ulama throughout Aceh = Aceh Ullemas Association). This association was established to gain strength in order to rebel against the Dutch. When PUSA revolted, they established communication with Japan. In this case, the Japanese claimed to support the rebellion. Three weeks before Japan's invasion to Indonesia, the scholars did various activities of sabotage. On March 1942, they finally revolted. Similarly, in East Sumatra Batak people, working together with the leaders of Gerindo (Indonesian People's Movement of Indonesia), rebelled against the Dutch, aided by Japan, especially in June and July (Ricklefs, 1986: 299).

In March 1941, Japan launched the attack on the Malay Peninsula, Kota Bharu, and Pearl Harbour in Hawaii. Three months later, Japan launched an offensive attack into the territory of Indonesia (Nihon Indonesia Heiho Kyokai, Indonesia Heiho no Uttae, 1993). This attack started from Kalimantan (Borneo) island, particularly the towns of Tarakan, Balikpapan and then Palembang (South Sumatra). The territories were controlled first, because they were the largest oil fields in Indonesia. On 1 March 1942, after successfully conquering three oil centers, the Japanese troops then headed to the central government in Java. Shortly after the attack, the Dutch were defeated, and agreement was made on the transfer of power in Linggajati, 8 March 1945. The Dutch government was represented by Lt. Gen. H. ter Poorten, and the Japanese side was represented by Lieutenant General Imamura Hitoshi (今村均). With the

results of this agreement, the Dutch rule over Indonesia ended, and the Japanese occupation of Indonesia officially started.

In conquering Indonesia, Japan divided Indonesia into three territories, namely Java, Sumatra, and the areas out of the two regions - which included Sulawesi, South Kalimantan, Seram, etc. Java was under the command of the 16th Army; Sumatra under the command of the 25th Army; and the regions of Sulawesi, South Kalimantan, Seram (Sunda), etc. under the command of the Navy.

A transition from the Dutch colonialization to the Japanese occupation made several groups of organizations (which are classified as nationalist groups and Islamic groups) chose to cooperate. For Japan, to access the Islamic group was more important than the nationalist groups. The reason was that the Muslims not only had the feeling of Anti-Western spirit, but they also had the effect of strength up to the village level. Japan's main purpose was to use the power of economic and human resources in Indonesia to support the Japanese war. To that end, the Japanese launched an economy program by establishing the Greater East Asian commonwealth to achieve that goal.

In order that Indonesian people supported the Japanese war, Japan gave Indonesian people good promises. For example, they claimed that the Japanese was their older brother. They then explained that the goal of Japan was to liberate Asian nations from the tyranny of Western countries. To realize that, in April 1942, Japan in Indonesia formed *3A Movement* (Japan the light of Asia, Japan the patron of Asia, Japan the leader of Asia). The leader of the movement was Samsudin. In this movement, there was also a part of Islam, an Islamic section called 'Persiapan Persatuan Orang Islam' (Preparation for the Unity of Muslims). The head of this organization was Abikusno Cokrosujoso. According to Japan, he was one of the leaders of Islam. The goal of the movement was how Japan won the trust of the people of Indonesia.

On March 1943, the 3A Movement

organization was dissolved and replaced by PUTERA (Pusat Tenaga Rakyat, Center for People Power). Its leader was Soekarno-Hatta (a representative of the nationalist group), Ki Hadjar Devantoro (a representative of the education group), and Kyai Haji Mas Mansur (a representative of the Islamic group). Thus, Japan had been able to unite the two groups of nationalist leaders, education and Islam (Muhammadiyah) leaders (Ricklefs, 1986: 306).

In the first period of the Japanese occupation, the Japanese government established an office in charge of education and religious issues. Its leader was Horie. On May 1942, Horie invited all *Kiais* (Islamic leaders) from East Java to gather in Surabaya (Poesponegoro & Notosusanto, 1990: 24). During the meeting, Horie requested that Muslims do not do political movements. Subsequently, in December 1942, the leader of the 16th Army Java, Hitoshi Imamura and Gunseikan Okazaki, opened the meeting with 32 *kiais* throughout Java. During the meeting, they explained the purpose of the Japan war. Along with that, in finding an appropriate policy on Islam, they asked for the opinion of the *kiais* (Yasiko, 2001: 233). Japanese people respected Islam, and Islam also appreciated the Japanese occupation government and confirmed the willingness to cooperate.

On May 1942, Japanese forces lost the battle of the Coral Sea, and in June 1942, they were also defeated in a sea battle at Midway, Hawaii. In the August 1942, American troops occupied Guadalcanal (Solomon Islands). On February 1943 Japanese forces tried to seize Solomon. Since 1943, in the Pacific War the turning point occurred that cornered Japan. In Indonesia, with such a state of war, the Japanese occupation government policy was also changing. They thought that Indonesia would be occupied by the allies began to consolidate their forces. To maintain Indonesian, Japanese occupation government needed to prepare their power. For that, Indonesian nationalism should be encouraged.

On August 1, 1943, Lieutenant General Harada proposed to involve Indonesian people in the government. The first step was to establish *Cuo Sangi In* in Jakarta, then Sangi-In Province in 17 provinces. The second step was to ask all apparatus to obey the central government. The aim was that the Indonesian people could participate in decision-making (Benda, 1985: 134). Then the most important development of Indonesian nationalism was the formation of the army. In the Pacific War, due to circumstances that did not allow using only their own strength, then in September 1943, they had a policy to train the Indonesian people to become armed forces. Yet, for Indonesians, it was a great opportunity to be desired. Throughout Indonesia, many people wanted to be soldiers. However, propaganda for nationalism was also unpleasant for some of the Japanese. As a result, in September 1944, Japan gave the promise of independence, and thus Indonesian nationalism had further increased.

#### **EDUCATION AND NATIONALISM DURING THE ERA OF JAPANESE OCCUPATION**

In the era of Japanese occupation, education was also considered to have an important role. The reason was that there the Indonesian young generations were educated so, as to have a huge influence. Japan's policy was to eliminate the influence of the West and how Indonesian people could support the Japanese occupation government.

During the Japanese era, it can be said there was a process of Japanization. In education, policy of the Japanese government was to change the education system conducted during the Dutch colonial government. If the education system in the Dutch colonial government was still apparent with social stratification (in the era we knew three types of primary schools, namely *ongko siji* (5 years of study, devoted to noble children and rich people), *ongko loro* for the natives for 3 years of study, and the old village schools to learn three years), in the era of the Japa-

nese occupation the school system with such a social stratification was removed, except for the village schools. During the era of Japan's school system to the base rate to be named kokumin gakko (Folk School) studied 6 years old, the same as the existing school system in Japan. In the Dutch era, language of instruction in schools was the local language and Dutch language only given to schools on gko siji, in the era of Japan and Japanese language became compulsory in all schools. Mulo and AMS in the era of the Dutch were changed their names into *Japanese ie chugakkou* (Secondary School) and *ko-tougakkou* (Upper School), each study was 3 years old. In these schools, the compulsory language of instruction was Indonesian and Japanese languages. The teachers and administrative staff were required to learn Japanese. For that, they followed a special course organized by the Japan's educational division. Moreover, at the school, Japanese customs were also taught (Jumhur & Suparta, 1974: 196). Such an education policy was clearly written in the outlines of the occupation government policy issued in September 1943 on "Basic Principles of School Education Policy" as outlined in the "Osamu Decree".

The educational policy was outlined as follows: (1) Eliminate the sense of respect for the United Kingdom and the Netherlands and foster a sense of respect and trust in Tenno and the Japanese occupation government; (2) Distort Western thoughts such as individualism, liberalism, and at the same time instill a sense of pride as the Asian nation based on the spirit and moral principles; (3) Revive the spirit of work, and foster respect for the importance of working; (4) Promote technology-based industries and strive to cultivate technician; (5) Maintain and respect the customs of Java. (Tani, 2000: 158)

During the era of Japanese occupation in schools, the spirit of Japan was indoctrinated, and the war education was taught, such as inviting students to the workshop and inviting children together to clean the tank, collecting materials that could be used to defend themselves, and

often taking them to work. And to double their agricultural products, students were invited to plant and harvest, and to exterminate the rats in the fields, and to plant *hima yu*. Every day at schools, they were also taught military training and formed military bodies of children. At schools Children Soldier Organization was also established.

Education at schools also taught respect for the teachers guided by the spirit of Japan and *bushido* (Poesponegoro & Notosusanto, 1990: 27). In learning the spirit of Japanese, every day the students should read and memorize "oath of students" in Japanese. The students were also taught the songs in Japanese. The schools also held music competitions and speech contests, and the winners were awarded trophies. Ceremonies were done in the morning every day, in which they were accompanied by raising of the Japanese flag and honor, and salute in the direction of Tokyo with a bow (Jumhur & Suparta, 1974: 197). In the era of Japanese occupation, teachers training and education was divided into three, i.e. education for elementary school teachers (*soto Sihan gakko*) in 2 years, education for junior high school teachers (*chuto Sihan gakko*) in 4 years, and education for high school teachers (*koto Sihan gakko*) in 6 years.

In an effort to instill the spirit of Japan and Hakko Ichiu ideology to the people of Indonesia, the military government conducted the upgrading for the duration of 1-3 months. The term *Ichiu Hakko* was meant to imply Japan as the chosen nation had an obligation to lead in improving daily life. On 7 March 1942, the Japanese military government issued Law No. 1, in which a sentence said that Indonesia is a fellow ethnic, and to improve the living standard of Indonesian people is the goal of the Japanese army. The purpose of the Japanese occupation government was to embed the Indonesian people a feeling of anti-European people, and it was one of the ways they did. All this was meant to raise Indonesian people's emotions. Furthermore, it was expected that they would take the fight against the Europeans. Lat-

er, with Japan as its leader, they fought against the whites. In the basic principle for achieving the East Asia commonwealth, the occupation government tried to remove all forms of Western influence.

In order to instill an understanding of Hakko Ichiu and the spirit of Japan a brief training was held for teachers (*Kokusi daijitenbansyuinkai*, 1990: 618). The teachers who got this training had an obligation to teach it to their students. This training was centered in Jakarta. Participants of the training were representatives of teachers from any districts selected. After completion, it was expected that, returning to their respective areas, all participants should train teachers in their districts. As a follow up, in each district, similar trainings were also opened. The training lasted for 3 months (Jumhur & Suparta, 1974: 196).

In the era of Japanese occupation in school, there were a small number of students; so as to mobilize them they needed religious leaders. That is why the Japanese occupation government was thinking of using rural religious leaders called *kiai*. *Kiais* served not only as a religious leader, but also as a teacher. Therefore, their role in socializing Hakko Ichiu and Japanese spirit among rural children was very vital (Yasuyo, 2000: 156). To that end the occupation government issued a policy involving rural *kiais* as part of self-defense of the Indonesian people. For the purposes of this socialization, General Horie and his staff visited each district. In each district, they had a meeting with *kiais*. As a result, in June 1943, a short training was opened for 60 rural *kiyais* from 17 provinces in Jakarta and Yogyakarta, for the one-month training.

The occupation government set up a training center for *kiai* in Jakarta on 1 February 1944. In late April 1945, the government had held 13 training times and the number of scholars who were trained was as many as 949 people (Benda, 1985: 167). Due to the many trainings at the time, there were several comments, one of which was as follows: We all live in the era of the training. It

was a militarization era, rejuvenation of spirit. I think all of them had effects, for the progress of our nation and state (Benda, 1985: 287-289).

The training material as published in Asian newspapers dated on 8 May 1943 is as follows: (1) Purpose of the Greater East Asia War; (2) Outline of the Greater East Asia War History; (3) World History, especially American and British imperialism; (4) History of Japan; (5) History of Java; (6) The purpose of the occupation and the policy of the Japanese government; (7) The relationship between religious instruction and other subjects; (8) The obligation of Muslims in a new era; (9) Japanese; (10) The doctrine of Islam; (11) Sports Health; (12) Field work, conclusions, impression (Benda, 1985: 287-289)

At the opening of the first 2 months of training, before the implementation began, religious affairs department staff and *kiais* were lodged at a luxury hotel, namely *Hotel des Indes*. Training instructors were selected from teachers throughout Indonesia, namely H. Agus Salim, Dr. Amrullah, H. Sanusi, Mr. Subagio, Husin Iskandar, Mr. Sudjono and teachers from Japan: Mr. Horie, Mr. Miyamoto, Mr. Abiko, and Mr. Togo. Textbooks used in training was a translation from Japanese (Benda, 1985: 288).

On 1 July 1943, the representative of the occupation government, Mr. Kawasaki, attended the first *kiais* training, to get a deep impression of the great opening. Mr. Horie as head of religious affairs in his speech told *kiyais* that the purpose of the training was to improve understanding of the military government, to understand the situation of the world today, to raise awareness, and to support the military government of Japan (Benda, 1985: 168).

Regarding training conducted by the Japanese occupation government, Harry J. Benda found that training was the Japanese government's policy towards the rural Muslims. They chose to work with the rural *kiais*. He said it was a just policy, for it was true that *kiai* is a leader of a million people in the countryside. This was a pro-

cess of Japanization with some major influences.

From the above discussion, it can be underlined that in the era of Japanese occupation on the one hand, many people suffered from starvation, but on the other hand, Indonesian nationalism became stronger, which was a basic capital of Indonesia's independence. An example was the replacement of the influence of Western culture from Dutch into Indonesian. According to Aiko Kurasawa, the Japanese occupation government policy (with respect to training activities for Indonesian people) was a new experience, the formation process of Indonesian nationalism. That experience brought about hopes among Indonesian people to free from colonialization and fight for independence. They participated in organizations and movements aimed at the independence of Indonesia. As a result, the youth became a pioneer in the struggle to free themselves from the shackles of colonialism.

On the eve of the defeat of Japan, at the hearing of Empire law makers Meeting (Teikoku Ginkai) 7 September 1944, Prime Minister Koiso Kuniaki (小磯国昭) in his speech announced that Indonesia would later be allowed independence (東印度「将来の独立許容」). This statement in Indonesia was known as the promise of Koiso. Things underlying the emergence of the statements varied. However, the most dominant was that it was done to attract the sympathy of the people of Indonesia to better support Japanese war, and that the people of Indonesia to cooperate and not to rebel in the midst of the difficulties in dealing with Japan's allies.

As a first step in the realization of the promise of Koiso on 1 March 1945, this was formed *Dokuritu Junbi Chosakai* or Investigation Agency Preparation for Indonesian Independence (BPUPKI). The agency then convened and began to prepare the constitution (UUD) for Indonesia's independence in the future. The first thing discussed is the foundation of the state.

There were some proponents of the foundation of the state, namely Muh. Yamin, Mr. Supomo, and Soekarno. Muh. Yamin proposed that the foundation of the Indonesian state should be based on principles such as 1. Nationality; 2. Humanity; 3. Deity; 4. Democracy; 5. Public Welfare. Mr. Supomo proposed the foundation of the Indonesian state is "unity", "family", "spiritual and physical balance", "consultation", and "people's justice". Both figures equally proposed 5 points on the principles relating to the basic state. Meanwhile, Soekarno also proposed five principles on the basis of state, namely: 1. Nationality of Indonesia; 2. Internationalism or humanity; 3. Consensus or democracy; 4. Welfare of the people; and 5. Deity in the Almighty.

The basic principles of the proposed state leaders were then still to be refined and that the official was stated in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution which was passed on 18 August 1945. These principles consist of 5 points: 1. Belief in God the Almighty, 2. Humanity in fair justice and civilized state, 3. Unity of Indonesia, 4. Democracy by wisdom, deliberation/representatives. 5. Social justice for all Indonesian people (Poesponegoro & Notosusanto, 1993: 68-73).

Among the luminaries who proposed the basic principles of the country, Soekarno was the one who gave the title of the fifth principle of the proposal with the title of "the birth of Pancasila". Meanwhile, the basic composition of the state of Indonesia officially used is as stated in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution which was eventually known as the "Pancasila".

#### **THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDONESIAN NATIONALISM AFTER THE DEFEAT OF JAPAN**

On 15 August 1945, Japan surrendered. At the time of Japan's surrender, the Allies had not yet come in Indonesia. At home disagreements occurred between the old group (Soekarno, Hatta, et al.) and the young group. The Old group had been prepared since the beginning of Indonesian Independence in PPKI and they were

still waiting for the proclamation of independence by the blessing of the Japanese. By contrast, the young group already knew that Japan had surrendered, so it was impossible to expect independence from Japan. On 16 August 1945, the two groups held a meeting in a place that is 80 km east of Jakarta, which is in Rengas Dengklok. At the meeting, it was agreed that the declaration of independence would be implemented as soon as possible, i.e. 17 August 1945.

From the results of the agreement, on 16 August 1945, the leaders of Indonesia met at the house of Admiral Maeda, to discuss the preparations for the independence of Indonesia. The house was a text copy of the proclamation drafted, and it agreed on a plan of proclamation that would be conducted in front of the residence of Soekarno. The meeting itself ended up at 4 a.m.

On 17 August 1945, the declaration of independence ceremony was conducted in front of the Soekarno's house. After this proclamation, Indonesia faced the allies in which there were the Dutch and the United Kingdom. The period of 1945-1950 was a period known in Indonesia's history as a period of the war of independence. The war ended in an agreement that was held in The Hague, Netherlands. This agreement is known as the Round Table agreement - the term is used to refer to the shape of the table used in the agreement—which is round.

#### **INDONESIAN EDUCATION AND NATION STATE FORMATION IN THE SOEKARNO ERA**

In Indonesia, in the period of 1950-1966, as a result of the war of independence, social and economic circumstances of the people were still relatively poor, and rebellion ensued everywhere. In the 1960s, there was fighting in the struggle for West Irian from the Dutch. In the period after the World War II, the world seemed to split in two, namely the West Block and the East Block, and the two were seeking the influence of the new countries, including Indonesia. In Indonesia, the political

life became unstable. In the event of an independence war political forces grew in Indonesia, such as the Indonesian Communist Party, the Islam-based parties, Secular Party (nationalist), and the Army. For the sake of Indonesia's independence struggle, they could cooperate in repelling the invaders. However, after independence, because they want power, each power showed a mutual hostility.

At that time, to unite the nation, political Manifesto USDEK was issued (McVey, 1970). The purpose of the Political Manifesto is that each group of people who was the member of the party or ideology as mentioned above can be united. Manifesto Usdek is the acronym of the Political Manifesto 1945, Indonesian Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy, and Personality of Indonesia. Not long after the union, another appeal was issued which was known as NASA-KOM (Nationalist, Religious, and Communists), and which was intended to bring together three ideological forces of political parties. For that, Soekarno also used educational media to spread the doctrines.

Yet the influence of the cold war continued which led to government instability. The peak of political instability in Indonesia was the outbreak of the so-called Soeharto as the events of 30 September 1965 coup by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). This event began with the murder of 6 generals who were thought to be not loyal to Soekarno. The incident increasingly led to the degeneration of confidence in the government of Soekarno.

#### **INDONESIAN EDUCATION AND NATION STATE FORMATION IN THE SOEHARTO ERA**

Events of 30 September 1965 not only caused the Soekarno regime to end, but it also marked the destruction of the Communist influence in Indonesia. The new government led by General Soeharto called themselves a New Order government, and the government of Soekarno era was called the Old Order. When the era of Soekarno government ideology be-

came a cause of division, in the era of Soeharto the policy of de-ideologization was made, and this made Pancasila as the sole ideology of the nation (Ramage, 1996:37).

In making Pancasila as the nation's ideology, Soeharto employed several ways, for example; (1) require that the entire public servants at all levels ranging from village, city, province, and community groups to participate in upgrading P4; (2) accommodate Pancasila in the school curriculum. Every school from elementary to College was responsible for Pancasila education. Moreover, every year each student or new student must follow the upgrading of Pancasila. It was longer than upgrading from one week up to one month.

At the memorial on Independence Day, 1982, in his speech, President Soeharto issued two statements. The first statement was that no other ideologies could live in Indonesia. And secondly, all community groups, political parties, and others should use the Pancasila as the sole principle. These two statements delivered to maintain the integrity of the nation and the stability of the Indonesian state.

President Soeharto argued that the development of the country, political stability and security played a very important role. To achieve that, he made a wide variety of rules and sometimes chose the path of violence for that purpose. Along the way, thus, Soeharto used Pancasila as a tool to unite the people of Indonesia who have different religions and cultures, by requiring them to use Pancasila as the sole principle.

In the Soeharto era, to reunite the life of the nation, the Indonesian Communist Party was banned, and all social and political institutions were not allowed to use other than Pancasila ideology. The purpose was to prevent the resurgence of the Indonesian Communist Party, and also the other extreme ideologies of Islamic-based parties.

Another policy in introducing the ideology of Pancasila as the nation, President Soeharto made Pancasila as a subject

in school. This lesson is given ranging from kindergarten to university. But in the course of history, the government of President Soeharto often used Pancasila to justify all the political measures taken. For example, in the writing of history, the role of the Army from the time of the independence until now was highlighted. It contains a message about Soeharto's thoughts about the application of the dual role of Forces (ABRI's dual function): ABRI as armed forces and ABRI as a social and political force. Thus, Soeharto has used his political thinking mission to do political indoctrination.

In 1998, there was a massive demonstration event, which opposed Soeharto and simultaneously against "militarism". Thus, the Indonesia people wanted a political reform which demanded the return of civil society and democracy for Indonesia.

#### **THE CONTENTS OF NATION STATE FORMATION IN THE TEXTBOOKS 'NATIONAL HISTORY OF INDONESIA IN NEW ORDER ERA**

The period of 1945--1949 is the era of Indonesia's independence war. After the recognition of sovereignty, it was necessary to create a history text book on the History of Indonesia. That is an article of Indonesian history with a new identity, with the perspective of the unitary state of Indonesia. A year after the war of independence, in 1951, a national seminar was held with the theme of History "Let's make the National History". However, the writing of the new national history was never done.

In 1970, the history of the second national seminar was held, and in 1975, a new draft of the "National History of Indonesia" was completed. The text book is the first national historical writings written by the Indonesian nationals from the viewpoint of Indonesia. The book is divided into six volumes. Volume 1 is the Pre-historic era in Indonesia; Volume 2 is Old Kuna (early AD-1500m); Volume 3 is the Age of Growth and Development of Islamic kingdoms in Indonesia ( $\pm$  1500-

1800); Volume 4 is the nineteenth century ( $\pm$  1800-1900); Volume 5 is the Age of the national revival of the Dutch East Indies ( $\pm$  1900-1942); Volume 6 is Japan and the Republic of Indonesia Era ( $\pm$  1942-1984). Once the book is finished, it will be used as a source for textbooks on National History of Indonesia, ranging from elementary to high schools. In the New Order era, textbooks had the same contents although issued by different publishers. They differed only in degree of difficulty, ranging from elementary level to high school levels.

Regarding the essence of Indonesia's national history, historians and Indonesian leaders, who also experienced the transition from Colonial Era, Japanese era, and the post-independence era Sartono Kartodirdjo, said as follows:

"The history of Indonesia in the colonial era, in general, gave more emphasis on the role of the Europeans, and the presence of the Indonesian nation was ignored. So, naturally when independence was achieved, we need to show the identity of Indonesia as a nation. The process of development of a nation emphasized the importance of national unity. The importance of achieving the unity of this nation need to be expressed through historical experience. This historical experience should be emphasized in preparing the nation's history ." (Kartodirdjo, 1996)

An overview of the Indonesian National History was compiled as nationality theory by E. Renan. First, as a nation's history, national history was expressed through the picture of the role of representatives of regions and ethnic groups that exist in Indonesia; the era before the arrival of Europeans and the era of the nation's woes experienced by Indonesia during the occupation, both by the Dutch and the Japanese, and described how each region or tribe tried to escape the shackles of colonialism, ranging from resistance that is local, then national movement organizationally; and the national independence war. Thus, the painting of the equation historical experience, particularly the suffering together, the equation in terms of

the will and the desire to live together, formed the unitary Republic of Indonesia. Such national historical overview was taught in history lessons at schools.

On the other hand, the image of national history, especially contemporary with the authorities, sometimes was ridden by the interests of the ruling government to justify his regime and highlighted his personal role in the nation's history, so that the history subject is only used as a tool to co-opt the history for one thought only. Some examples are the events of 1 March 1949 which emphasized the role of General Soeharto, the 30 September 1965, and the involvement of Soekarno, events warrant 11 March 1966, and so on.

## **CONCLUSION**

Indonesian nation state formation was born through a long process which already started since the introduction of education to the people of Indonesia. The introduction of education was inspired by the idea of reciprocation, and thoughts about the political associations. It is said that between the colonized people and the colonizing one, there should be no discrimination and need to cooperate with each other and unite. From this education organizations were born subsequently, ranging from local to national. These organizations were engaged in social activities, but slowly venturing into the realm of politics and demands for independence. Independence demanded in the Dutch era is actually no thought to return the Dutch to their country, but living together as citizens in a nation-state. The situation was changing and grew rapidly due to the Japanese invasion.

In the occupation of Indonesia, Japan finalized Indonesia's anti-Western nationalism. So, when Japan surrendered, the Indonesian nation immediately declared independence. Thus, to understand one must understand the process of colonialism. The two processes are inseparable. Indonesian Nationalism which was built at schools is anti-colonialism. Therefore, to understand it, we cannot leave the Dutch colonialism itself. At the time of

the formation of nation-state of Indonesia, there were some problems that existed. In Indonesia, there are some 300 ethnic groups, each of which has a tribal identity, custom, tradition, culture and its religion. Religion sometimes can be a unifying factor among the tribes (ethnic groups), but sometimes also be a dividing factor. For example, among the tribes, the relationship between one tribe with another tribe may depend on the sameness of their religion, although they might stay in different regions.

Regarding the making of Indonesia as a nation state, the ideology of *unity in diversity* was created and called as Pancasila (five principles). In Soekarno era, as a result of the cold war, many ideologies such as Communism, Islamism, and Secularism affected into Indonesia. The Indonesian society got divided into such ideologies. Soekarno made an effort to maintain society in harmony, namely NASA-KOM (Nationalist-Agamis (Religious)-communist). On 30 September 1965, there was unrest by the Indonesian Communist Party, but failed. The failure of the unrest also affected into Soekarno regime. In 1966, Soekarno regime ended, and replaced by General Soeharto.

In Soeharto era, the Indonesian Communist Party was banned, and he promulgated the de-ideologization among the Indonesian Society. All political parties, mass organizations, etc. must use Pancasila as the only one ideology. President Soeharto argued that the development of the country, political stability and security play a very important role. To realize that, he made a wide variety of rules and sometimes chose the path of violence for that purpose. Thus, Soeharto used Pancasila as a tool to unite the Indonesian people of different religions and cultures, by requiring them to use Pancasila as the sole principle. In Soeharto era, Indonesia's national history was successfully arranged, precisely in 1975. From an analysis of the contents it can be argued that the textbook was dominant with anti-colonialism, especially the Dutch and Japan. On the other hand, overview of

Soeharto in Indonesia's national history is very prominent. Therefore, it can be said that Soeharto also used History as a means of justification and the government propaganda. In the year 1998 there was a massive demonstration event against Soeharto regime and also simultaneously against "militarism". Thus Indonesian people wanted a political reform which demands the return of civil society, and how education can spread the ideas; it is a challenge for Indonesia.

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