BUILDING NATIONAL AND STATE AWARENESS IN INDONESIA: A REFLECTION

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ABSTRACT: The Indonesian nation was previously part of the archipelago kingdoms which were colonized by the Dutch for more than 350 years. Resistance against the Dutch colonialists who exploited the natural wealth of their colony occurred in almost all areas under Dutch control. It's just that, its nature is still only to defend the area. The modern struggle in the form of an organization against colonialism occurred when Budi Utomo was founded in 1908. In a matter of 20 years, the struggle had led to the formation of a nationality with a youth oath that occurred in 1928. Then within 17 years, an independent Indonesian nation was formed with read the text of the Proclamation on 17 August 1945 by Sekarno-Hatta. However, this nation's struggle was much tougher after independence. A long revolution took place until 1949, finally the Dutch recognized Indonesia's independence at the Round Table Conference (KMB) in The Hague. During the Revolution there were also rebellions carried out by state children who wanted a different ideology from Pancasila. Even today these ripples still exist in the form of radical mass organizations. Thanks to faith, strength and unity, as well as the protection of God Almighty, all of that can still be overcome.

I. INTRODUCTION

The threat of national disintegration has occurred when the Indonesian nation was established, even during the revolution, this nation not only faced the return of the Dutch who wanted to control their former colony, but also faced the nation itself who wanted to uphold an ideology that was different from the Pancasila which had been explored and built by the founding father.


After General Election I was held in 1955, some regions felt as if they were being treated unfairly. In 1958 there was an almost simultaneous rebellion from the separatist movement, namely the PRRI / PERMESTA (Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia / Charter of the People's Struggle of the Universe) in Sumatra led by Colonel Ahmad Husein and in North Sulawesi led by D.J. Somba and Colonel VentjeSumual. The most violent rebellion occurred in 1965 by the PKI, led by DN Aidit.

Recently, the Indonesian nation has again been faced with radicalism movements that have led to the threat of national disintegration. Separatist movements in the regions and radical mass organizations have been very worried about the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesian. The question is, why are there still a small number of groups who are not aware of living as a nation and state based on Pancasila? Don't they realize the history of the formation of the Republic of Indonesia?

In fact, the government has carried out the socialization of Pancasila as the basis and state ideology, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia as the State Constitution, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) as the form of the State, and Bhineka Tunggal Ika as the State Motto. In fact, the nationalism of the Indonesian nation is increasingly fragile. The orientation of the life of the nation and state has experienced a deep degradation. School children do not understand the history of the nation's struggle, even when visiting the Heroes Cemetery, they ask, why are there so many gravestones? Why was there a war after independence?

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Indonesian History
Before becoming a State, the Indonesian nation which consisted of an archipelago stretching between the continents of Asia and Australia, there were many large and small countries, most of which were loosely united by the Dutch colonial power which was slowly strengthening. However, regional attitudes remain the main motive for their political and cultural identity, where there is not one flag, but many. Likewise, in these islands there is no indigenous leadership that is broadly, modern and firmly defined.

The word Indonesia was first coined in 1850 in the form of “Indu-nesians” by a British social observer, George Samuel Windsor Earl. Earl was looking for an ethnographic term to describe the branch of the Polynesian race that inhabited the Indian archipelago or the brown-skinned races in the Indian archipelago. However, after coining the new term, Earl immediately discarded it because it was too general and replaced it with a more specific term, “Malayunesians”.

A colleague of Earl, James Logan then went on to say that “Indonesian” is a more precise and correct word to be used as a geographical term, not ethnographic. By distinguishing between geographic and ethnographic usage of the word, Logan was the first to use the name “Indonesia” to describe, albeit loosely, the geographical area of the Indonesian archipelago.

After that, in 1877 E.T. Hamy, an anthropologist from France, uses the word "Indonesia". In 1880, British anthropologist A.H. Keane follows Hamy's use. In the same year, the term "Indonesia" with a more precise geographic meaning, following Logan, was used by the British linguist, N.B. Dennys, and two years later Sir William Edward Maxwell, colonial administrator and Malay linguist from Britain, followed Dennys' practice.

Adolf Bastian, the famous ethnographer from Germany, who has learned about Logan's use of the term "Indonesia" for the first time, uses the term in five volumes Indonesien Order Die Inseln Des Malayischen Archipel published in 1884-94, only then did the use of the term "Indonesia" become more popular. The terms Indonesia geographically and ethnographically were eventually followed by the Dutch East Indies title G.A. Wilken in 1885.

**Education as the Beginning of Nationalism Awakening**

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Dutch colonial policy underwent the most fundamental change of direction in its history. The Dutch colonial policy had new goals, exploitation of Indonesia began to become less of a reason for Dutch rule, replaced by statements of concern for the welfare of the Indonesian people. This policy is called the “Ethical Policy”. However, in fact in the "Ethical Policy" there is more promise than implementation, the important facts about exploitation and conquest actually do not change, but do not diminish the importance of the new colonial era.

Ethical Policy is rooted in humanitarian issues as well as economic gain. The criticisms of the Dutch government were expressed in the novel Max Havelaar (1860) written by Edward Dowes Decker under the pen name Mutatuli, in various other revelations are starting to bear fruit. More and more Dutch voices supported the idea of reducing the suffering of the oppressed people. Ethical Policy, among others, emphasizes peace, justice, modernity, education and welfare. The new colonial employees left for Indonesia with a hand Max Havelaar in their suitcases and the contents of the novel in their heads.

In the year of 1899, C. Th. van Deventer, a legal expert who had lived in Indonesia during 1880-97, published an article entitled “Een Eereschuld”, “a debt of honor”, in a Dutch journal de Gids. It is stated that the Netherlands owes the Indonesian people all the wealth that has been extracted from their country. In the year of 1901, Ratu Wilhelmina announced a welfare inquiry in Java, and thus the Ethical Policy was officially passed. In 1902, Alexander W.F. Indenburg became the Minister for Colonies and has practiced Ethical Political thoughts. The Dutch stated three principles that were considered the basis of the new policy, including education, irrigation, and population movement.

Under the director of Ethical education, J.H. Abandan in 1900 Hoofdenscholen, “the school of the heads” those in Bandung, Magelang, and Probolinggo were changed to OSVIA (Opleidingscolen Voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren), “training school for indigenous officials”. Prospective disciples no longer have to come from the aristocratic elite. In 1900-02, the "Javanese doctor's school" was changed to STOVIA (School Tot Opleiding Van Inlandsche Artsen), “schools for training indigenous doctors”.

In 1911, Abandan, who was also very persistent in fighting for educational opportunities for women, gave Kartini a personal appreciation by publishing Kartini's moving letters written by Kartini to his wife and others between 1899-1904 with the title Door Duisternis Tot Licht, ”After rain comes sunshine”. In 1913 a private foundation called Kartini Fonds, "Kartini Foundation", was established to take care of education for Javanese women, and then the Dutch government gave a subsidy. From the results of this education then gave birth to intellectuals in the Dutch East Indies colony. New ideas about the organization that include modern forms of leadership and the recognition of new definitions of identity include a deeper analysis of the environment, religion, social, politics and economics. In 1907, Dr.
Wahidin SoediroHoesodo visited STOVIA, he received an enthusiastic response from the school students. The decision was taken to form a student organization in order to advance national interests.

In May 1908, a meeting was held which gave birth to Budi Utomo. After that more and more organizations emerged, both those of a religious, cultural, educational and political nature. The peak of Indonesian Nationalism was finally sparked on 28 October 1928, which wanted the establishment of an Indonesian Nation State.

Indonesian independence

The period of Japanese occupation of three and a half years was one of the most defining periods in Indonesian history. Prior to the Japanese invasion, there were no serious challenges to Dutch rule in Indonesia. By the time the Japanese surrendered, so many extraordinary changes had taken place that made the Indonesian revolution possible. The Japanese contributed directly to these developments, they indoctrinated, trained and armed many younger generations and provided opportunities for older leaders to forge relationships with the people.

Japan's main objective is to reconstruct and redirect the Indonesian economy in order to sustain Japan's war effort and its plans for long-term economic domination of East and Southeast Asia. Japanese policy towards the Indonesian people has two priorities; 1. Removing Western influences from among them and 2. mobilizing them for the sake of Japanese victory. To eliminate Western influence, the Japanese prohibited the use of the Dutch language. The Japanese employed Indonesians to implement their propaganda goals.

Realizing that they were in the midst of losing power, the Japanese decided to remove the restraints that remained in the power of the Indonesian people. In March 1945, the Japanese announced the establishment of the Preparatory Business Research Agency for Indonesian Independence (BPUPKI). In the BPUPKI session, Soekarno urged that his version of Nationalism free from religion be approved. In his speech on 1 June 1945, Bung Karno put forward his Pancasila doctrine, the "five foundations" which eventually became the official philosophy of an independent Indonesia.

BPUPKI was later changed to the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI), whose membership was expanded to consist of various elements and regional representation. After the bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, it was inevitable that Japan would surrender. Soekarno, Hatta and Radjiman flew to Saigon to meet the Supreme Commander of the Southern Region, Panglima Terauchi Hisaichi, who was met in Dalat on 11 August 1945. Terauchi promised independence for the entire Dutch East Indies region. Bung Karno asked for an area of the archipelago, but Japan vetoed the merger of Malaya and British territories in Kalimantan (this is the basis of Indonesia's vast territory from Sabang to Merauke). Soekarno was appointed as Chairman of the Preparatory Committee and Hatta as deputy chairman. On 14 August 1945 Soekarno and his colleagues arrived in Jakarta.

Japan surrendered unconditionally on 15 August 1945, thus the Indonesian leaders were faced with a serious problem. Because the Allies did not conquer Indonesia again, there was a vacuum of power. Plans for regular Japanese-sponsored independence now appear to be stalled. The following day Gunseikan, the head of the JawaHokokai, the "Javanese Service Association", had received a special order to maintain the status quo until the arrival of Allied troops. Soekarno, Hatta, and the older generation were hesitant about what to do and did not want to provoke conflict with the Japanese. Rear Admiral Maeda Tadashi, who was in charge of the army-navy liaison office in Jakarta, wanted to see a rapid transfer of power to the older generation, because he was worried about groups of youths he considered dangerous and the Japanese troops who had lost their morale.

The youth leaders wanted a dramatic statement of independence outside the framework drawn up by the Japanese, however, no one dared to move without Soekarno and Hatta. On the morning of 16 August 1945, Soekarno and Hatta could not be found in Jakarta. They were brought by youth leaders that evening to the Peta Rengasdengklok garrison on the pretext of protecting them in the event of the Peta and Hiho rebellion. It turned out that there was no rebellion, so Soekarno and Hatta immediately realized that the incident was an attempt to force them to declare independence outside of the Japanese plan. Maeda sent word that if Soekarno and Hatta were returned safely, then he could arrange for the Japanese not to care if Indonesian independence was declared. That night, Soekarno and Hatta were at Maeda's house in Jakarta. The independence declaration was drafted throughout the night. Young activists wanted dramatic and fiery language, but in order not to offend the Japanese or encourage violence, a cool and unpretentious statement drafted by Sukarno agreed.

On the morning of 17 August 1945, Soekarno read out the statement of Indonesian independence in front of a relatively small group of people outside his house. The red and white flag was raised and the song Indonesia Raya echoed. The Republic of Indonesia was born. Meanwhile, the Allies as the victorious side, completely ignorant of what had happened in Indonesia during the war, hastily planned their arrival to accept the Japanese surrender and restore the colonial regime, so that the Allies faced a revolutionary war of independence.
Independence Revolution

The revolution as a means of achieving independence is not only a central story in Indonesian history, but is a strong element in the Indonesian nation's perception of itself. All the erratic attempts to find new identities, for unity in the face of foreign powers, and for a more just social order seem to bear fruit in the post-World War II period. For the first time in the lives of most Indonesians, everything that was coercive from a foreign power disappeared suddenly. It is not surprising that the result was not the emergence of a new, compatible nation, but a fierce battle between individuals and opposing social forces. Nevertheless, behind these often violent battles, there is a longing for freedom. The following tradition that the Indonesian people fought side by side during the revolution has little historical basis. However, the belief that this was the most brilliant era in Indonesian history, that Indonesia's rights would be demonstrated by the sacrifices made in the name of the revolution, is supported by many facts.

Academic investigations into the revolution attempt to find a sort of order regarding a fundamentally chaotic period. Regarding the people who support the revolution, differences are drawn between the forces of the armed struggle and the forces of diplomacy, between those who support the social revolution and those who oppose it, between the younger and older generations, between the left and the right, between the forces. - Islamic and "secular" forces, and so on.

At the start of the revolution, not a single basic division among the Indonesians had been resolved, except as long as there was agreement on independence as the first goal, for revolutionaries anything seemed possible except defeat. In the end defeat came close and the possibilities were drastically limited. Although mutual suspicion, the armed struggle forces and the diplomatic forces together succeeded in achieving independence. The forces that supported the social revolution, the younger generation, the left, and the Islamic forces all faced very limited expectations.

For the Indonesian people, there is a sense of freedom that drives most of them to think of themselves as pro-Republicans. The euphoria of the revolution immediately began to hit, especially the Indonesian youth responded to the enthusiasm and challenge of independence. The commanders of the Japanese forces in the areas often left the urban areas and withdrew their troops to the suburbs to avoid confrontation. Many also wisely allowed Indonesian youth to acquire weapons. Many young people joined the struggle bodies. The former Peta and Heilö soldiers formed disciplined groups, but many of the fighting bodies were undisciplined, either as a result of their formation or as a reaction to what was considered the spirit of revolution.

With the emergence of the allied forces, the tensions in this nascent republic also increased. Fierce battles occurred in almost all parts of Indonesian. The repulsions lost much of their manpower and weapons, but their sacrificial resistance created a symbol and a cry of revolutionary unity, "freedom or death". This also convinced the British that it would be wise to be neutral in the revolution. Whereas for the Dutch this was a turning point, because the revolutionary war had shocked most of them in the face of reality. It turned out that the proclamation of Indonesian independence did not only represent a group of collaborations.

Britain urged the Netherlands to reach an agreement with the republican parties. The problem of Indonesia also appeared at the UN for the first time in January 1946. This was the beginning of UN involvement which in the end became important. In March 1946, Syahrir secretly agreed with Van Mook to negotiate on the basis of the Republic's de facto sovereignty over Java, Madura and Sumatra only. Recognition of Dutch sovereignty in other areas, and the joint Dutch-Republican effort to form a Federal Indonesia State within the Dutch-Indonesian union. However, the pro Republican forces continued their resistance. In January 1948 a new agreement was reached on board the USS Renville at the port of Jakarta, which agreed to a ceasefire.

Meanwhile, rebellions were also carried out by anti-Republican groups. Incitement against the people were carried out by anti-Republican figures, labor strikes took place which affected the stability of the Republic which was struggling in the revolution. In May 1948, Kartosuwirjo proclaimed himself the imam (leader) of a new state called the Islamic State of Indonesia, commonly known as Darul Islam. Kartosuwirjo was finally arrested and sentenced to death in 1962.

The PKI rebellion under the leadership of Muso in 1948 in Madiun. On 18 September the PKI supporters seized strategic positions, killed pro-Republican government figures and announced over the radio that a new National Front government had been formed. Republican government troops spearheaded by the Siliwangi Division were able to crush the pro-PKI soldiers, Aidit and Lukman fled to China and Vietnam. On 1 October 1948, Muso was killed while trying to escape from custody.

On the other hand the revolutionary war continued, on 18 December 1948, the Dutch launched a political action. The leaders of the Republic allowed themselves to be captured in the hope that world opinion would be so offended that a Dutch military victory would turn into a diplomatic defeat. On 22 December, the United States stopped providing further aid to the Netherlands intended to cost Indonesian expenditures, while pressure for a complete cessation of all economic aid to the Netherlands increased in the American congress.

The United Nations and the United States began to take a firmer stance against the Netherlands. This pressure, together with Republican military pressure, eventually forced the Dutch to decide on a final attempt to
form an empire in Indonesia. In late January 1949, the UN Security Council demanded the release of the Republican cabinet, the establishment of an interim government, and the complete transfer of sovereignty before 1 July 1950. In April, the Dutch agreed to surrender, but pressed for archipelagic talks with the Republican government.

From 23 August to 2 November 1949, a Round Table Conference was held in The Hague. Hatta dominated the Indonesian side during the negotiations. A loose union between the Netherlands and the RIS was agreed with the Queen of the Netherlands as the symbolic leader. Soekarno became president of RIS and Hatta became prime minister (1949-1950) and concurrently vice president. On 27 December 1949, the Netherlands officially handed over sovereignty over Indonesia, including Papua, to RIS, a federal state that only lasted intact for a few weeks. There was much pro-Republican sentiment in the federal states founded by the Dutch, a sentiment which had become even stronger with the release of some 12,000 Republican prisoners from Dutch prisons between August and December 1949. Federalism has generally been suspected because of its clear origins as Dutch trickery.

Finally, on the anniversary of the fifth proclamation of independence on 17 August 1950, all constitutional structures during the years of the revolution were officially abolished. RIS was replaced with the Republic of Indonesia and Jakarta as the capital city of the State.

III. CONCLUSION

The long history until the formation of an Indonesian nation as described above is the final journey with the unification of the former Dutch colonies from Sabang to Merauke which nota bene is a monarchy, absolute to become the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia with a final ideology, explored by founding father’s us at the BPUPKI session and it was also contained in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the Republic of Indonesia is final, anyone who wants to replace Pancasila as the ideology and basis of the State, as well as the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia as the highest law and the source of all sources of law, that means the same as wanting to dissolve the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The state must be firm and must not tolerate intolerant groups that threaten the life of the nation and state, threaten the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia.

To anticipate radical and intolerant movements, the State is obliged to provide education that can build a sense of nationalism (nationalism character building) since early stage. In addition, the most important thing is that the State is obliged to build prosperity fairly and equally for all people in accordance with the ideals of the Proclamation of Indonesian independence. Radical groups can move freely, not only because of a lack of nationalism, but also because the people have no hope of receiving welfare protection from the State. The poorer the people, the greater the chance of social problems (crime, radicalism, and intolerance). Vice versa, the higher the level of people's welfare, the smaller the social problems because the people already feel safe, peaceful, and safe.

REFERENCES