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## Reflection on Values of National Movement History as a Basis for Character Education

**ABSTRACT:** Nation and character building are two important aspects that proclaimed by the founding fathers of Indonesia in establishing the nation-state of Indonesia. Nation building, manifested by the successors in national economic development, can be said to be successful. National development focused on economic development led to the neglect of other sectors of development, namely the development of a national character. The waiver of character development has led to the disorientation of the values of Indonesian struggle, which is manifested in the precepts of "Pancasila" (five basic principles of the Republic of Indonesia). Disorientation against the values of "Pancasila" can be seen from the strengthening of hedonism, decreasing sting nationality and nationalism, the lack spirit of tolerance towards the differences in ideology, and the declining spirit of mutual cooperation. For that reasons, character education should be given back to the Indonesian people through both formal and informal education. Spirit, character, and values of the struggle must always be actualized in the present generation to be able to face the challenges of the time. Development is not only able to provide welfare of Indonesian people economically (physically), but also can produce Indonesian human in faith and fear of God Almighty, noble, healthy, knowledgeable, skilled, creative, independent, and become democratic and responsible citizens. Therefore, the values and fighting spirit of the founding fathers of Indonesia can be used in the reflections in developing the basics of character education.

**KEY WORDS:** History of modern Indonesia, national movement, founding fathers of Indonesia, noble values, and character education.

### INTRODUCTION

Indonesian struggle to independence is not without basis. It had a common vision to build Indonesia after independence. The vision of Indonesia as an independent nation, as stated in the Preamble of the Constitution of 1945, was to protect the entire Indonesian nation and the entire motherland of Indonesia, to promote the general welfare, to educate the nation, and to participate in implementing world order based on freedom, lasting peace and social

justice (cited in Pemerintah RI, 2010).

To realize the vision of our nation is performed two development strategies, namely: nation building and character building. Through the development of the nation and character building, the Founding Fathers of Indonesia had the understanding, views, and the same steps to build Indonesia in order to realize the welfare and prosperity of the Indonesian people based on the principles of justice.

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In the history of Indonesia contemporary, it was noted that nation building was more focused on physical development. On the one hand, it was recognized that the development has shown progress in various fields, mainly economic and political. However, on the other hand, inequality and injustice that can be seen from various aspects, economic, legal, political, and other social aspects, as well as the impact of globalization, led to the waning of the values of national struggle and the weak character of the nation.

The freedom fighters had wisely interpreted the greatness and the struggle of kingdoms in *Nusantara* (Indonesian archipelago) as the capital of struggle. The values of Indonesian struggle were explored by the characters struggle for independence. The various historical experiences, since the days of the kingdoms in Indonesian archipelago, made them understand that the ancestors of Indonesia were peoples of the various kingdoms heyday recognized by other peoples of various countries or kingdoms. These experiences had raised national consciousness that emerged from the movement figures whose were getting modern education.

They found themselves that Indonesia was a great nation, whose power exceeds the territory controlled by the Dutch. As a result of the occupation, the Indonesian people became worse, because the impoverished and oppressed by the invaders. The awareness that the glories of the past must be re-taken has raised the national spirit. Therefore, the national consciousness initially appears among the educated students. They were the sons of the chosen people, which were naturally born from different ethnic, religious, regional, and ethnic groups. They met in an academic environment in big cities, like Batavia (Jakarta now), Bandung in West Java, Surabaya in East Java, and even in the Netherlands.

From the education and promiscuity, that they earned and the reflection on the history of *Nusantara* kingdoms, were born the consciousness that they were a national unity that has been colonized. They also recognized that poverty and ignorance of the Indonesia people occurred for various kinds of exploitation by colonial rule. As a reflection of this awareness, they established

youth organizations, such as *Budi Utomo* (Eminent Character), followed by the regional organizations, for example *Jong* (Youth) of Java, *Jong* of Sumatra, *Jong Celebes* (Youth of Sulawesi), *Jong* of Ambon in Maluku, and others, until pursued into an organization nationalities named "Indonesia", such as the PI (*Perhimpunan Indonesia* or Indonesian Association) in Netherlands; *Indonesische Study Club* in Surabaya, East Java; Indonesia Unity Committee; the Indonesian National Party in Bandung, West Java; Party of Indonesia *Raya* (Great) in Jakarta; and so forth. From there was born the importance of national consciousness and national unity to realize Indonesia's independence.

The awareness, then, developed into a tangible commitment to the Youth Pledge event on 28<sup>th</sup> October 1928 in Jakarta. At that time, young men and women from various regions made their commitment pledged themselves as "one country, one nation, and one language" called *Indonesia*. All the experiences and the consciousness were culminating in the events of the Proclamation of Independence of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1945. The experience of the struggle against the occupation, that became a nation that oppressed, was poured in the Preamble of the Constitution of 1945, in the first paragraph, which states as follows:

*Bahwa sesungguhnya kemerdekaan itu ialah hak segala bangsa, dan oleh sebab itu, maka penjajahan di atas dunia harus dihapuskan, karena tidak sesuai dengan perikemanusiaan dan perikeadilan* (cited in Pemerintah RI, 2010).

**Translation:**

That the real independence was the right of every nation, and, therefore, the occupation over the world should be abolished, because it does not correspond to humanity and justice.

The efforts to build up the nation after independence were not easy. The Indonesian people still had to fight to preserve the unity and integrity of the threat, that came not only from foreign nations, especially the Dutch who were trying to divide the unity of Indonesia, but also from within the country itself, such as PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia* or Indonesia Communist Party) in Madiun, East Java, in 1948; DI/TII (*Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia* or

Islamic State/Indonesia Islamic Army) in West Java, in 1950s to 1960s, and others.

The struggle to maintain the unity and integrity has confirmed the spirit of struggle, perseverance, solidarity, unity, honesty, fairness, and the patriotism of the entire Indonesian nation. The experience also reinforced the awareness that they were a nation that has been shoulder to maintain the independence of the Indonesian nation. Those values were now starting to fade along with globalization and cultural hedonism.

This paper aims to examine how the values of these struggles arise, and how to foster that spirit in today's context as the basis of the nation's character education.

### THE BIRTH OF THE NATIONAL AWARENESS

Juridically, the new Dutch rule in Java plug after the Diponegoro War (1825-1830) in Central Java. In the beginning, the process of colonization in Indonesia was through various military infiltrations. Military action, in an attempt to master the Indonesian archipelago, has damaged the cultural and social order of Java particularly, and the Indonesian archipelago in general. Military action protracted not only costly, but also to aware the Dutch government on the risk of the destruction of the cultural and social fabric of indigenous society (Kartodirdjo, 1993; and Ricklefs, 2005).

Based on this experience, the next period of colonial regimes preferred conservative policies. This approach was done by using a cultural approach, through the means of power and authority system owned by the local elite. With this policy, the colonial regime preferred compromise to local elites in exploiting Java (Ricklefs *et al.*, 2013:353).

The patterns of social relationships, that were already embedded in the Java communities between the people (*kawula*) and king (*gusti*), were used to acquire land and labor. By following the tradition established in the imperial system in Indonesia, the cultivation in Java was done in two models. Firstly, the models with a system of forced labor for the planting of export crops (*cultuurstelsel*), mainly sugar applied in Central Java and East Java. The second model was a model submission of mandatory crop (*coffee*) to the area known as *Priangan*

*Stelsel* in West Java (Ricklefs, 2005). The success of the Dutch colonial government in implementing the system of forced cultivation was because the system was built and implemented based on the patterns of social and economic community, which were already implemented in Java (Niel, 2003:260).

The Dutch colonial government gained the benefit abundantly from the implementation of the cultivation system. Within a conservative, J. Breman (2014) estimated that every year, at least 500 million Guilders took profit as a result of cultivation system in Java that was sent to the Netherlands in the period 1831-1866. The advantage was used to build infrastructure in the Netherlands on a large scale as the construction of the railway network (Breman, 2014:341).

Moreover, even the estimates for revenue of C. Fasseur (1975), cultivation system reached 1/3 of the Dutch government's budget (Fasseur, 1975). On the other hand, cultivation has caused the destruction of the indigenous economy. Indigenous farmers in decline, because of energy and land much sucked for the purposes of export crops for colonial interests. Overall, time spent on compulsory labor was reached more than half a year of work (Breman, 2014:356).

Due to significant criticism with regard to the suppression of forced cultivation system model and *Priangan* system, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Dutch colonial government implemented a new policy known as the "liberal policies". The impact of this policy was a flood of foreign companies who invested their business in Indonesia, both for mining and plantation sectors.

Liberal political policy run by the Dutch colonial government since the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century opened new horizons of world trade. For the industry, the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia now) is not only interesting, because of abundant natural resources, but also because it can be a potential market for industrial products developed in Europe and America. Two things were constrained by ignorance and poverty. Due to ignorance, the industrial world cannot take advantage of cheap and abundant energy for the needs of the administration. Moreover, it was because of poverty, Indies cannot be used as a potential market to sell industrial products.

In the history of Indonesia, liberal period began with a flood of plantation companies (especially tobacco) in Sumatra. Tobacco production in East Sumatra coast, that began in 1860, was growing rapidly and dominated the world tobacco production, followed by pepper, copra, coffee, and sugar. Next, followed by oil and rubber as the main export product of the colonial Dutch East Indies government in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Oil content in Langkat, North Sumatra, has been known since the 1860s. However, this area was always raging and no stability for the colonial rulers, having to face the Acehese fighters very scary. Because of the war in Aceh prolonged, exploitation of petroleum in the region can only be done at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Exploitation was not only done in Sumatra, but also in Kalimantan and Java. M.C. Ricklefs (2005) noted that until 1920, there were approximately 50 companies vying to suck oil in Sumatra, Java, and Kalimantan. Among the companies, the biggest was the Shell (Netherlands), which in 1930 produced approximately 85% of the earth's entire oil production in Indonesia. Another company, in the category large, was Caltex and Stanvac owned by American, and Borneo Oil Company owned by Japan (Ricklefs, 2005:321-322).

These companies need skilled labor with a cheap salaried. It was difficult because more than 90 percent of Indonesia's population was still illiterate. Labors, that were easily available, were the rough labor equivalent to coolie that did not require special skills. The plantation company in Sumatra, for example, was bringing the labors from Java and China as contract staff. Meanwhile, labor in Java obtained by utilizing a system of compulsory labor that has been in effect since the days of empire.

In the system of kingdoms in Java, the land belongs to the king. As compensation on the cultivation of the land, the people obliged to perform work for the purposes of the kingdom for several days in a year. This system was later adopted by the Dutch colonial government to get the manpower required for a sugar plantation in Central Java and East Java, as well as for planting coffee in West Java.

The need for skilled administrative personnel was encouraged entrepreneurs pressing the Dutch East Indies colonial

government to open schools "Western-style" for the indigenous population. The idea of opening schools native based on "Western-style" was in addition to meet the needs of administrative Western companies and the colonial bureaucracy. It was also intended to stem the influence of Islamic education in boarding schools. The Dutch government feels the need to stem the influence of Islamic education, because almost all resistance (uprising), which appeared in various areas in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, led by clerics. Those problems of poverty and illiteracy that was among other things as the background to born the political policy, with three main programs: education, irrigation, and transmigration (Niel, 1960; and Ricklefs, 2005).

On the one hand, fighter ethical politics agree that education was a strategic policy to liberate the Indonesian nation from poverty. The implementation of ethical politics was filled with a variety of competing interests, so the result was not the focus. The first stream was followed by a group that believed that education was only given to an elite group of the Indonesian nation. The form of its education is European style with an introduction to the Dutch language. The elite group of educated European model was expected to give birth to leaders, who will fill the colonial bureaucracy that will remain faithful and loyal to the Dutch government. They were expected to be used to control or even to stem Islamic fanaticism.

Snouck Hurgronje and Abendanon (Director of Education in 1900-1905) including ethical leaders who support this view. On the other hand, Idenburg and Governor-General van Heutsz (1904-1909) were more supportive of education more basic and practical. This group believes that education is not only given to the top and elitist, but also be given to people under the local language as the language of introduction. This populist approach was expected to contribute directly to the improvement of people's welfare (Niel, 1960; Sutherland, 1979; and Ricklefs, 2005).

In practice, the government did not allocate adequate education budget, so that the two schools cannot organize the program properly. European model of education was very expensive that only the rich and high-paying

gentry to send their children to the schools of the Western model (Ricklefs, 2005:330). In addition, not all Indonesian people who follow European-style education abandon its Islamic traditions. Although they followed the European style education, but still followed the religious education outside their school hours. Mohamad Hatta, for example, though he attended MULO (*Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs*), a Junior High School in the time of Dutch colonial in Indonesia, he remained loyal to religious education that follow from respected scholars in his family (Noer, 1990).

The first school established was the school of *ongko loro* (number two). The school was founded to educate prospective employee lace, either in government as well as in private. For a society that had a higher economic level, such as merchant middle class, children of low-level government employees, the school of *Kelas Satu* (one grade) was provided. Entering the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the government also established a village school (*volkschool*), then *vervolkschool* to accommodate graduates of *volkschool*. The school was gradually replacing the second-class schools.

Exceptional students can continue to Normal School (*Kweekschool*), a school teacher of the village school, or to the Dutch-speaking *Schakel School*. In addition, the government also established HIS (*Hollandsch Inlandsche School* or Public Elementary School) that was intended for gentrys children. The study period in this school was seven years with the introduction to the Dutch language. Graduates of these schools can continue to MULO (*Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs* or Public Junior High School), and then forwarded to the AMS (*Algemeene Middelbare School* or Public Senior High School), or to STOVIA (*School tot Opleiding van Inlandse Artsen* or Medical College for Indonesian Native).

In addition, graduates can continue to track his KS (*Kweekschool* or Public Teacher School) and HIK (*Hogere Kweekschool* or College of Teacher) for those who want to become teachers or Principals of HIS. For European children or Indonesian children, who had high social status equal to European level, can enroll in ELS (*Europesche Lager School* or Public Elementary School). From this school, they can continue to HBS (*Hogere Burger School* or Junior and Senior High

School), or to OSVIA (*Opleidingschool voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren*), a school for employee candidates of earth's son (Poesponegoro & Notosusanto eds., 1990:123-127). By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the number of lower school founded by the Dutch for 601 scattered throughout the Indonesian archipelago.

The schools were established by the Dutch colonial government in addition to considering also very discriminatory. The Netherlands set up schools based on social and economic interests of participants who will be educated. Discriminatory systems were met with resistance from many quarters. The forms of resistance on the discriminatory system, various social organizations set up schools outside government schools.

Until the 1920s, there were 359 schools established by the private sector which was generally intended for European children, and schools were established by *Missie* (Catholic religion) and *Zending* (Protestant religion), and private schools belonging to figures of the struggle, such as *Taman Siswa* (Student Garden) which amounted to 451 schools. Therefore, the total number of existing schools is only 1,501 schools. In addition to small amounts, the spread of these schools in some areas the amount was not evenly distributed. As an example for the Minahasa region in North Sulawesi, whose population was only 450 thousand, having a number of schools reached 366 schools, each of the 115 government schools, 14 privates, and 237 churches throughout the region of Sulawesi. While others were not more than 20 schools (Poesponegoro & Notosusanto eds., 1990:126).

Private schools had a very big role in raising the spirit of nationalism. Movement figures were many who will not work in the government, but rather engaged in politics as well as a teacher at private schools. Through the private schools, they can foster the spirit of nationalism to their students. Through the schools, they can also provide political education to their students, so that they had a full awareness as a nation colonized Indonesia, and Indonesia must struggle to realize independence.

The Great General Sudirman, for example, got spirit of nationalism, patriotism, and even the understanding of Islam while attending

educational MULO *Wiworo Tomo* in Central Java. This school was a private raised by three nationalist figures from different backgrounds, i.e. a nationalist wing, nationalist-religious, and one who was a graduate of the military academy of Breda, the Netherlands, who did not cooperate with the government of the Dutch colonial of East Indies (Notosusanto, 2009:159).

Secondary schools were generally only available in big cities, like Jakarta and Surabaya. Because it was for the sons of the region, who wish to continue their education to the secondary level, they had to go to Jakarta, far from their homes. For example, Mohamad Hatta, after graduating from ELS, he continued his education at MULO in Padang, West Sumatera, at the age of 13 years. In the age of 17 years, he wanders about again to more distant cities, namely Jakarta, to continue his education at PHH (*Prins Henrik Handels* or Trade School) that he attended from 1919 to 1921. When he was 19 years old, he went to the Netherlands to continue his education (Noer, 1990:19-37).

In the overseas, figure like Mohamad Hatta lived with their friends from other parts of Indonesia. They lived in several dormitories in Jakarta and creating communities as a young intellectual, who later discover the identity and consciousness of itself as a nation that colonized (later called *Indonesia*) who must struggle to achieve independence. The young intellectuals always discussed about the political situation, discrimination against them in schools, and a national movement of various countries. Although in the era, books were hard to come by, but the spirit of reading was high among them making their insights, and their reasoning abilities, beyond their age.

Likewise, the Indonesian students who were studying in the Netherlands. They can meet with other Indonesian students, who came from different regions. They can even work together in an organization called the PI (*Perhimpunan Indonesia* or Indonesian Association). In the stewardship of PI in 1923, Iwa Kusumasumantri was as Chairman, who came from Ciamis, West Java; accompanied by J.B. Sitanala as Secretary from Ambon; Treasurer was Mohammad Hatta from Bukittinggi, West Sumatera; and Archive Holder was Darmawan Mangunkusomo from

Purwodadi, Central Java (Ingleson, 1993:6).

In the Netherlands, they were not having discriminated against as experienced in the Indies (Indonesia now), so they were free to hang out, express opinions, and communicate with anyone, including the movement figures from various other countries. In fact, Tan Malaka, for example, in the Netherlands ever competed to sit in the Dutch parliament.

They were just a handful of outstanding youth to continue their education to higher education. Outside that, there were far more sons of the Indonesian people who cannot get an education. Education was very limited, and only certain people can enjoyed it. With the small number of school compared to the number of population, it did not be surprised if the number of literate people of Indonesia was low.

Based on existing census data, in 1930, the population of the Indonesian people who can read and write only 6.44 percent of the 70 million population (Poesponegoro & Notosusanto eds., 1990:124). The figure illustrated how hard young intellectuals Indonesia to encourage the Indonesian people to fight as an independent nation. Their weight struggle increased with lower transportation and communication.

To convey the ideas of struggle, they had to go to the affected areas by using rudimentary means of transport. The means of communication at that time was not like now, so they should always go directly to the field from one area to another to convey the views of their nationalism. Thus, the intellectuals of the Indonesian nation were born in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century who understood the nation and its people. They were very understanding of his own culture, because they were very close to the people. That was what made them able to resuscitate people, who were still largely illiterate to fight together to seize independence, and break in oppression by the Dutch colonial government system (Wahyono, 2013).

This fact was in contrast to the views of Benedict R.O'G. Anderson (1972), W.F. Wertheim (1999), and George Mc Turnan Kahin (2013), who stated that the colonial era resulted in national leadership and intellectuals separated by a system of colonial rule of the people or the nation itself (*cf* Anderson, 1972; Wertheim, 1999; and Kahin, 2013).

## THE GROWTH OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Growing awareness of Indonesian nationality cannot be separated from the Dutch East Indies colonial government policy, and the social background of historically Indonesian society. George Mc Turnan Kahin (2013) saw that there were three factors that supported the growth of awareness of nationalism in Indonesia. Firstly was the high degree of religious homogeneity. At the beginning of the rise of the early national movement of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, nearly 90 percent of Indonesia was Muslim. Religious solidarity went beyond the boundaries of narrow regionalism. Islam not only as a binder, but also a symbol of resistance groups against the oppression of foreign nations.

The second factor was the growth of the national language, namely *Bahasa Melayu Pasar* (Market Malay Language), in which was then used as the national language of Indonesia. Dutch colonial government policies, that restricted the use of Dutch against the indigenous population, led to wither those markets rapidly grown to become the lingua franca that exceed the limits of regionalism.

The third factor was the formation of *Volksraad* (People's Council). The institute was the gathering place for representatives of Indonesia from various regions and groups that exist in the Indonesia archipelago. Although not all political parties and groups were willing to sit in the *Volksraad*, but this council had been growing awareness of Indonesian nationalism more closely (Kahin, 2013:52-54).

To legitimize themselves as a nation, the movement leaders basing on the three stages of historical understanding. *First*, the understanding that Indonesian nation had a glorious past. Kingdoms such as Srivijaya in South Sumatera and Majapahit in East Java had parallel power with other nations in the world. *Second*, understanding that feudalism as a symbiotic with the occupation had destroyed, the glory of the past, as well as realize the revival of destruction. *Third*, understanding that Indonesia should be able to stand upright on the dialectics of history by emphasizing the unity of the nation and equality between citizens intra state (Pabottinggi, 1995:7). An understanding of the historical experience of

the Indonesian nation was, then, poured in the opening 1945 as the vision of Indonesia to the front as stated in the opening sentence.

Understanding the movement figure on the historical experience of the Indonesian people acquired through education. Education, followed by a few people in Indonesia, has been foster a sense of national consciousness. Through readings, they can find out how Japan, as an Asian country, can beat the Russians as a symbol of the West that was more modern and advanced. They can also see how the Young Turk movement in creating a modern state of Turkey. Through readings, they can also know the French revolution, the industrial revolution in England, and even in Indonesia alone, they can know that the Indonesian people had never become a developed nation, through the glory of Srivijaya and Majapahit. Through readings, they can dig up the past glory of his people, who later became ignorant, poor, and disadvantaged since colonized by another nation (Sutarno, 2008).

Reading books provided insight and intellectual awareness of their responsibilities as citizens, who elected to arouse people from oppressed nationalities became an independent nation. As a means to move the nation Indonesia was organization. For that they formed an organization called the organization in the history of modern Indonesia, because it had a legal basis, constitution, and by laws. Early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Indonesian history enlivened by the birth of the various national organizations to show the character and identity as a nation. Therefore, in the history of Indonesia, this period was called the *age of national movement* (Wahyono, 2013).

The first organization formed was *Budi Utomo* (Eminent Character), established on May 20, 1908. This organization was first established to raise funds scholarships for the Javanese aristocracy. The establishment of this organization led by a physician Java, dr. Wahidin Sudirohusodo, who restless given to the education system for the people of Indonesia. He was disappointed with the teaching of his day, because in addition to the number of educational institutions slightly, the cost was also expensive hard to reach for the Indonesian nation. Since 1906, he tried to see around Java regents to discussed *studiefonds* (scholarships) for Indonesia, especially for

the Javanese aristocracy. Enterprises did not deliver results, until he visited the STOVIA (*School tot Opleiding van Inlandse Artsen* or Medical College for Indonesian Native) in Jakarta. At this school, he met with dr. Sutomo, whose directly support the business, and then concretized with the founding an organization named *Budi Utomo* (Pringgodigdo, 1986:1).

*Budi Utomo*, as the first modern organization established by the Indonesian people, was not able to be unifying the nation of Indonesia as a whole, because it was too oriented Javanese-centric. When the conception of nationality Indonesia grew in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the people of Indonesia had been very polarized. Java conception of the nation was not in accordance with the conception of Indonesia. As political representatives of Javanese nationalism, *Budi Utomo* were based on Java autocratic conception of power, and too tied to the Java hierarchical social order. It was contrary to the spirit of the struggle against colonialism, which was interpreted by the Indonesian people in general as the struggle for independence for the sake of democratic rights (Miert, 2003:531-532).

One year after the founding of *Budi Utomo*, in 1909, Tirta Adisuryo<sup>1</sup> established an organization namely SDI (*Sarekat Dagang Islam* or Islamic Trade League) in Batavia (Jakarta now) and later in Bogor, West Java, in 1910. This organization was intended to help the Indonesian traders. In 1911, Tirta Adisuryo encouraged Haji Samanhudi, a successful batik merchant in Surakarta, Central Java, to establish the SDI as a

cooperative venture for batik merchants (Toer, 1985; and Ricklefs, 2005).

In Surabaya, East Java, H.O.S. (Haji Oemar Said) Tjokroaminoto, a graduate of OSVIA who refused to work in government agencies, interested in programs of Tirtoadisuryo, and then set up a branch of the SDI in Surabaya. In 1912, SDI renamed the SI (*Serikat Islam* or Islamic League) led by H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto. Because H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto was a brilliant leadership, then, in quick time, SI was growing very rapidly. SI developed into mass organizations and it was the first organization in Indonesia, which had a base of people who had a member of up to two million people in 1919 (Ricklefs, 2005:347-348).

Unfortunately, the SI organization did not maintain solidarity among its members, and eventually broke into SI *Putih* (white) and SI *Merah* (red), which were affiliated with the Communist ideology. The experience of SI and also other Islamic organizations, which were born in the decade, showed no homogeneity of the Islamic community to be used as containers unity of the Indonesian nation. Modern Indonesian history had shown the achievements of the struggle of Muslims in modern times. The struggle of Muslims from Indonesia indicated that Islamic leaders fought among fierce competition between them to compete for political loyalty of the people of Indonesia (Benda, 1985:244).

Because the vision was not embodied in organizations that exist at the time, in 1911, Douwes Dekker together with Cipto Mangunkusumo and Suwardi Suryaningrat established the IP (*Indische Partij* or Indonesian Party). This was the first political party which was born in Indonesia with the very radical in the system of highly repressive colonial rule at the time. The party was powering the growth of the Indonesia nationalist movement for the nation and demanding independence for the *Hindia* (Indonesia now) as a nation.

Due to the nature and demands of the radical, Dutch government did not recognize the existence of this party. Three leaders of party exiled to the Netherlands. Fighting spirit of IP, three leaders did not disappear even though they were in exile. With a more democratic system in the Netherlands, they were free to associate and communicate

<sup>1</sup>Tirta Adisuryo was a graduate of OSVIA (*Opleidingschool voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren*), a school for employee candidates of earth's son. He has been an *ambtenar* (government officials), but later resigned and chose to become a journalist and successful in the field of journalism. In 1903, he founded the *Soenda Berita* (News Sunda), the first Malay language weekly, funded and managed by the Indonesian nation. In addition, he also founded the weekly *Medan Prijaji* (Noblemen Field) in 1907, which later became a daily in 1910, as the first daily newspaper run by Indonesia (Ricklefs, 2005:347). Tirta Adisuryo is a figure in the novel written by Pramoedya Ananta Toer (1985), entitled *Sang Pemula* (Pioneer). In early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Dutch colonial policy of relying on the support of indigenous officials and the gentry. The policy was met with resistance from the new Western-educated intellectual with a libertarian ideology and socialist from the West world. They gathered in the nationalist movements against Dutch colonial rule. The colonial policy has alienated both secular and Muslim nationalist leaders, who indirectly have exposed towards unity between them (Benda, 1985:236).

their ideas for the betterment of the nation of Indonesia. Together with Ratu Langie, Suwardi Suryaningrat founded an association named of *Vrij Gedachte* (Free Minds). Therefore, their presence in the Netherlands gave a new color for IV (*Indische Vereeniging* or Indonesian Association), an organization of Indonesian students in the Netherlands that was established in 1908 (Nagazumi, 1976:12-13).

The awareness for Indonesia became increasingly stronger. The word "Indonesia" as an entity of the nation increasingly felt and gave a new identity for new son/daughter of the Indonesian nation, formerly called *Inlander* (Indonesia indigene with meaning negative connotative, such as lazy and stupid). Indonesia spirit was more apparent after Iwa Kusumasumantri lead IV. As the new Chairman of IV, in early January 1923, Iwa Kusumasumantri emphasized the political struggle in three areas, namely: Indonesia should determine their own fate; to be able to determine its own destiny, the Indonesian people must rely on their own strengths and abilities; and he invited the entire Indonesian nation united against the Netherlands (Ingleson, 1993:6; and Kartodirdjo, 1993).

As the Chairman of IV, Iwa Kusumasumantri called for the students in the Netherlands to follow political developments in the country. In his speech when appointed as Chairman of IV, Iwa Kusumasumantri stated that the future of the Indonesian nation was solely and only in the institutions and forms of government accountable to the people in the sense of the truth. For this purpose, every Indonesian has to struggle with his/her own strength and ability, and free from foreign aid (cited in Ingleson, 1993:7).

Political activity of IV to realize the Indonesian independence increasingly clear to rename IV (*Indische Vereeniging*) into *Indonesische Vereeniging*, and then changed again with abbreviation to PI (*Perhimpunan Indonesia* or Indonesian Association) in 1924. The PI also changed the name of magazine from *Poetra Hindia* (Son of Hindia) became *Indonesia Merdeka* (Freedom Indonesia). From that moment, they stated that "Indonesia's independence" became the motto of the Indonesian youth both those in the Netherlands and in Indonesia.

J. Ingleson (1993) noted that PI was a

nationalist organization in Asia that earliest demanding immediate and unconditional independence. Indonesia's nationalist youth radicalism was seen by J. Ingleson as a reflection of the Indonesian nationalist movement (Ingleson, 1993:9). They were radical struggles that can be seen also from the articles published in magazine of *Indonesia Merdeka*. An article published in February 1925, for example, entitled "*Trijd aan Twee Front*" (a struggle on two fronts) that stated as follows:

Indonesian struggle will be more severe and more bitter, but unavoidable. Indonesian nation must be willing to sacrifice all the power and intelligence, if it was to achieve independence. The struggle was not just one front, but two fronts at the same time, because of their struggle not only against the Dutch government, but also the Indonesian people themselves who oppose the nationalist struggle (cited in Ingleson, 1993:11).

The statement showed how heroic spirit of the struggle of Indonesia in that time, faced pressure very repressive from the Dutch colonial government. Sartono Kartodirdjo (1993) interpreted that political statements were echoed by the PI (*Perhimpunan Indonesia* or Indonesian Association) in 1925, showed that the nationalist movement more clearly formulate its direction. The principles of nationalism, such as freedom or independence, unity, and equality became the soul, which foster the spirit of struggle (Kartodirdjo, 1993:xi).

The radical movements of Indonesian students in the Netherlands affected the national movement in Indonesia. Youth organizations in Indonesia, since the early 1920s, began intense held various meetings to harmonize the steps in order to realize the nation's progress. Through these meetings, the intensity of relationships and linkages of the organization with other organizations was increasing. This was what strengthens the spirit of unity and national spirit for youth leaders at the time. From the minutes of the congress some time that youth organizations, such as *Jong* (Youth) Java, *Jong* Sumatra, *JIB* (*Jong Islamieten Bond* or Association of Islamic Youth), *Jong Batak*, *Pemuda Indonesia* (Indonesian Youth), and *PPPI* (*Perhimpunan Pemuda dan Pelajar Indonesia* or Association of Indonesian Youths and Students), they appeared and desire for unity.

From the passion for unity, it was born the idea to hold a grand congress of Indonesian youth (density of the youth). Congress later called the first Indonesian Youth Congress held on April 26, 1926. In his welcome speech as chairman of the Committee, M. Tabrani said as follows:

[...] we were all people of Java, Sumatra, Minahasa, Ambon, and others, by the creatures that made history must bide each hand, when we achieved what the ideals we all, that the independence of Indonesia, the country that we love (cited in YSP, 1984:60).

The spirit of unity thrived among young Indonesian intellectuals, who came from various backgrounds and social entities. The spirit of nationalism passed the boundaries of ethnicity, culture, and religion. The youths continue to seek unity in order to realize the independence of Indonesia. One of the meetings, to be noted in the history of modern Indonesia, was a meeting on 23 April 1927, which was attended by representatives of *Jong* (Youth) Java, JSB (*Jong Sumatran Bond* or Association of Sumatran Youth), JIB (*Jong Islamieten Bond* or Association of Islamic Youth), *Jong Batak*, *Jong Ambon*, *Jong Minahasa*, *Pemuda Indonesia* (Indonesian Youth), and PPPI (*Perhimpunan Pemuda dan Pelajar Indonesia* or Association of Indonesian Youths and Students), which resulted in a joint declaration that the ideals of Indonesia's independence should be the aspiration of all sons of Indonesia country (YSP, 1984).

From these meetings came the idea for the second Indonesian Youth Congress on 28 October 1928, which successfully issued a joint pledge that we know today as the *Sumpah Pemuda* (Youth Pledge). The results of this congress were a joint pledge stating for one motherland, one nation, and one language, namely "Indonesia" (YSP, 1984; Kartodirdjo, 1993; and Ricklefs, 2005).

In the period of Japanese occupation (1942-1945), Indonesian national unity movement split into two fronts. One front was the underground, which did not cooperate with the Japanese government. The most popular figure of this group was Sutan Sjahrir and Tan Malaka. On different front, there were to work together in an open and entered the ranks of the Japanese government, such as Sukarno

and Mohamad Hatta. Nevertheless, they were in constant communication. Options for their struggle were just tactics and strategies to achieve independence of the nation of Indonesia (Noer, 1990; and Legge, 2003).

Japan was giving a promise of independence for the Indonesian nation, which was realized with the establishment of BPUPKI (*Badan Penyelidik Usaha-usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* or Investigative Body for Indonesia Independence Preparation) and PPKI (*Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* or Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence), but the fall of Japan so quickly by the Allies in August 1945, made a different fate of the existing scenario (Poesponegoro & Notosusanto eds., 1990).

Within hours after the fall of Japan, in 16 August 1945, the youths succeeded in pressuring Sukarno and Hatta to secede outside the PPKI's scenario established by the government of Japan. The proclamation of independence of Indonesia, on 17 August 1945, provided a confidence that the independence of the Indonesian nation had been captured must be maintained. That is why they strenuously defended the independence to be retaken by the Dutch colonial army through armed warfare in the periodization of the history of Indonesia, which was called the "period of the war of independence" (Nasution, 1977; and Poesponegoro & Notosusanto eds., 1990).

#### ACTUALIZATION ON VALUES OF NATIONAL STRUGGLE IN THE CONTEXT OF CHARACTER EDUCATION

So, what can be learned from the Indonesian struggle? On these struggles, we can see some characters that can be owned by the Indonesian nation, which was to uphold the values of divinity, the growth of the national spirit, the spirit of unity, patriotic, unyielding, confident, based on honesty and tolerance and sacrifice. The characters that need to be always actualized in our current life challenged within their age. Because of that, it was the Founding Fathers of Indonesia had always emphasized the need for character development in addition to physical development.

The need for actualization on values of national struggle in character education, as the dream of the Founding Fathers of

Indonesia, has not run optimally. This was partly characterized by disorientation values of *Pancasila*,<sup>2</sup> the shifting value of ethics in the life of the nation, the waning of cultural values of the nation, the threat of disintegration of the nation, and the weakening of national independence. It was caused by a preoccupation in the current development that emphasizes physical development than character development. The condition had been moving the world of education to look back at how the importance of character education (Wahyono, 2011).

In the Law Number 20 of Year 2003 on National Education System, in Article 3, it was mentioned that the national education served to develop skills and shape the character and civilization of the nation's dignity in the context of the intellectual life of the nation. National education aimed at developing students' potentials in order to become a man of faith and fear of God Almighty, noble, healthy, knowledgeable, skilled, creative, independent, and became citizens of a democratic and accountable (cited in Kemendiknas RI, 2011).

In a National Long-Term Development Plan, 2005-2025, the character education placed as the first mission in realizing the vision of national development. As the implementation of the mandate of the Long-Term Development Plan of the National, the government prepare Master Design Development of National Character, which was intended as a guide in designing, developing, and implementing the National Action Plan for Development of National Character by encouraging the active participation of all components of society (Pemerintah RI, 2010:i).

Shaping the character of the nation may not just happen. To achieve the expected character, it is needed a personal character. Personal character, as revealed in an academic text character education in college, must have coherence between though the heart, though the thought, sport, though the feeling, and intention. Though is careful with regard to the

feelings of attitudes and beliefs.

Though the character that originates in the heart, among others faith and fear, honest, trustworthy, fair, orderly, law-abiding, responsible, empathy, risk-taking, unyielding, self-sacrificing, and patriotic spirit. If the thought related to the process of reasoning in order to find and use knowledge was critical, creative, and innovative. Sourced from characters that if thought was an intelligent, critical, creative, innovative, curious, productive, which oriented to science and technology, and reflective. Sports are with regard to the process of perception and creation of a casual activity. Characters that came from sports or kinestika were clean and healthy, sportive, strong, reliable, resilient, friendly, cooperative, determinative, competitive, cheerful, and persistent (Pemerintah RI, 2010).

Though the feeling and intention were in touch with the will and creativity that were reflected in the concern, image, and creation of novelty. Characters that came from the feeling and intention were, among others, humanitarians, mutual respect, mutual cooperation, togetherness, friendly, respectful, tolerant, rationalist, caring, giving priority to the public interest, patriotism, pride themselves by using language and Indonesian products, dynamic, work hard, and work ethic (Pemerintah RI, 2010:21-22).

What had been described in the paragraph above were the government programs in order to shape the character of the Indonesian nation excavated from the values and the spirit of national struggle. The program with a range of innovations can be applied to all levels of education. What should be included in a separate subject? Those values must be inserted in each subject. For that purpose, personal role models of every educator was needed. Through the example given by educators, learners will be able to directly imitate these values that will be internalized into the personality of the learner. Those values can also be given to school education, even in community activities, youth clubs, and youth activities in the RT (*Rukun Tetangga* or Neighborhood Association) and RW (*Rukun Warga* or administrative unit at the below of Village).

What had been said by George Mc Turnan Kahin (2013) that one factor that encouraged

<sup>2</sup>*Pancasila* is the five basic principles of the Republic of Indonesia: (1) the belief in one God Almighty; (2) humanity that is just and civilized; (3) the unity of Indonesia; (4) democracy guided by the wisdom of the representative deliberation; and (5) social justice for all Indonesians. See, for example, A.M.W. Pranarka (1985); and for English translation is available in John M. Echols & Hassan Shadily (2003:406).

the emergence of Indonesian nationalism was because homogenitas Indonesian people, that almost 90 percent of Muslims, was not entirely true (Kahin, 2013). Islam in Indonesia was indeed a majority. But Muslims in Indonesia is not a religion homogeneous. Inside there are various streams, which are in many ways quite contrary to each other.

If drawn into contemporary history, Islamic parties are not much interesting for mostly Muslims in Indonesia. It shows that Islam is not a symbol of national unity in Indonesia, although it is recognized that Indonesian Muslims donate an overwhelming share for the establishment of the unity of the Republic of Indonesia. The growing spirit of nationalism to the birth of the nation-state of Indonesia is independent and sovereign. It is due to the nation's tolerance of high Indonesia in addressing the differences, both the differences of religion, ethnicity, as well as language (*cf* Pranarka, 1985; Bertrand, 2012; and Wahyono, 2013).

Muslims, who are the majority, are willing to accept the presence of other religious minorities. Javanese people, who around 50 percent of the Indonesian population, had accepted Malay (Indonesia) as a national language. The above example is only a small part of the high proof spirit of tolerance in Indonesian society.

The nationalism growth is as a result of collective consciousness that Indonesian is a great nation. Indonesian ancestor never experienced the glory. Sriwijaya in South Sumatera and Majapahit in Esat Java were the great empires that at its peak power recognized other kingdoms in various countries. Feudalism and colonialism had led the Indonesian nation in decline. Feudalism cause deterioration of the kingdoms of the archipelago and is unable to face the invasion of foreigners, who then colonized the Indonesian nation.

Awareness of the glories of the past had inspired the Indonesian nation to rise up as an independent nation. Reflective understanding on the triumph of the Indonesian people in the past can be used as a tool in the struggle for the liberation. The spirit of nationalism of fighters for Indonesian nation has become a collective character that passes through the barrier differences of religion, tribe, nation, language, and social stratification.

## CONCLUSION

What has been championed by the Founding Fathers of Indonesia, in creating Indonesian independence, must be maintained by always actualize the values they inherited. Each nation is facing its own challenges. But the spirit, character, and values of the struggle must always be actualized in the present generation to be able to face the challenges of his/her time. Therefore, the values that have shaped the character of the struggle of our founding fathers, we must guard and preserve. Thus, development is not only able to provide welfare of Indonesian people economically (physically), but also can produce Indonesian human in faith and fear of God Almighty, noble, healthy, knowledgeable, skilled, creative, independent, and become citizens who are democratic and accountable, by promoting tolerance so that they do not deliver the dictatorship of the majority against the minority. That is a concrete manifestation of the vision of Indonesia's independence as stated above.

Government needs to develop the basics of character education. Character education programs can be integrated in the program of mental revolution that be proclaimed by President Joko Widodo (2014 to date). The values of the struggle that has been exemplified by the Founding Fathers of Indonesia can be used as the basis for a model of character education. Therefore, the government needs to search and digging more the journey of the characters struggle and publish it in the form of a biography, for example.

Publication of the struggle figures is not just limited to the national figures, but also the local leaders. Thus, the people of Indonesia can know more about the characters of struggle figures in their respective at regional level, in addition to hero's figures at national level. Spirit and values of the struggle figures need to be highlighted in the preparation of the biography writing in the context to disseminate the noble characters through education in Indonesia.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>*Statement:* I, hereby, declare that this article is truly my own academic work; so, it is not a product of plagiarism or a copy, and has never been published on any national journals or any other international journals. All sources that cited in the text for analysis, also I displayed in the References.

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***Sumpah Pemuda (Youth Pledge) and its Meaning in Indonesia***

(Source: <http://www.goodreads.com>, 24/3/2016)

One of the meetings, to be noted in the history of modern Indonesia, was a meeting on 23 April 1927, which was attended by representatives of *Jong (Youth) Java*, *JSB (Jong Sumatran Bond or Association of Sumatran Youth)*, *JIB (Jong Islamieten Bond or Association of Islamic Youth)*, *Jong Batak*, *Jong Ambon*, *Jong Minahasa*, *Pemuda Indonesia (Indonesian Youth)*, and *PPPI (Perhimpunan Pemuda dan Pelajar Indonesia or Association of Indonesian Youths and Students)*, which resulted in a joint declaration that the ideals of Indonesia's independence should be the aspiration of all sons of Indonesia country. From these meetings came the idea for the second Indonesian Youth Congress on 28 October 1928, which successfully issued a joint pledge that we know today as the *Sumpah Pemuda (Youth Pledge)*. The results of this congress were a joint pledge stating for one motherland, one nation, and one language, namely "Indonesia".