

# **LOCAL POLITIC DYNAMICS, NATION INTEGRATION AND HISTORY LEARNING CHALLENGE**

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## **ABSTRACT**

*Even though it is not directly included in the history study material, local politic dynamics in regional autonomy era can also be a challenge for history study at pre-university level. Negative excess of regional autonomy policy implementation and politic development after “Orde Baru” era that is likely to challenge the effectiveness of nationalism and national country existence can be a special challenge for history study, and civic education in general. At one side, the comprehensive history teaching will develop contextual nationalism spirit to the youth but at the other side, the phenomenon of regional autonomy implementation and local politic dynamics in the reformation era will challenge the existence of the nationality spirit, due to the spirits emerged and strengthened are the ethnocentrism, ethnicity, social conflict, and separatism. Special strategy for history study at school will be necessary to overcome the issue.*

**Key words:** *autonomy, history study, nation integration*

## **Introduction**

Research of History Study Program of Universitas Andalas to the students of Senior High School in Padang at the end of 2010 reveals the data of ambivalence faced by (some) the local students related to relevancy of history study with nationalism spirit. At one side, the student considers the history study is importance for nationalism spirit development, but at the other side they face the reality that not all Senior High School students receive and learn history material maximally in their school. (Lindayanti, *et al*, 2010)

The data mentioned above can be a particular description concerning history study condition in schools and its relation with nationalism realization improvement for the youth in the recent days. We can imagine how alarming the description and illustration of our nation state future is if the socialization of nationalism spirit through history study is not maximally appreciated by the youth especially related to the minimum allocation for the history subject in our Senior High Schools, both the public or vocational school.

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Even though the research mentioned above only reveals field research data and the reality of history study partially, but it may be considered as a special warning for the educational practitioners, and leader elites in general. Because the concern of erosion threat for nationalism spirit and national country existence appears to be not connected yet with the policy in educational world, especially the education stressing the understanding of national values, including history study, even the main mission for the lesson is more stressing to the cognitive-objective aspects. Otherwise, the Indonesian nation journey dynamics after *Orde Baru* has opened the opportunity for the public appreciation declining, especially young generation, to nationalism and nation state existence prospect in the future.

One of them related to politic dynamics in local level after *Orde Baru* shows the difficulty of maintaining nationalism and Indonesia-ness in democracy transition era. The occurrence of various politic dynamics in local level after *Orde Baru* is likely to challenge the nationalism effectiveness and national state existence. Autonomy policy gives freedom and bigger autonomy to the regions in order to articulate their aspiration which is stopped or limited by the centralistic authority system, but some of the locality expression is in contrast with the effort to build nationalism spirit.

Politic liberalism occurred in the regions after *Orde Baru*, within certain limit, also has special impact in educational field especially history study and civic education, in general. Teacher and education participants have been faced to the reality which is different between study idealism and development in the field related to the occurrence of identity fluctuation from the regions likely to be in contrast with nationalism spirit. Autonomy and openness spirit which should facilitate the way to reach justice and development equalization between regions are becoming fertile land for regionalism spirit, ethnocentric, social conflict and even separation development.

How does history learning, in its entire context, adapt itself to politic challenge out of "pure" issue context of the history study? Does the history learning in the schools, which one of the objectives is strengthening nationalism building or nationalism spirit, able to explain "autonomy" aspirations dynamic occur in the local level after *Orde Baru* era? This issue is not easy to be answered. However, it must become serious and comprehensive consideration not only for the history education practitioners including history teachers, historians, educational office in the region and Ministry of National Education but also democracy actors in the regions and national. Nevertheless, history learning function in the schools is not only knowledge transfer concerning the past in order to obtain some wisdom but also becoming one of the back bones of positive values socialization as the basis and sustainability of nation integration to the next generation. (Kartodirdjo, 1993: 250-251; S.K. Kochhar, 2008: 468-492). At this point, the necessity of certain strategy in history learning is required. It may become a bridge for the differences and also values conflict possibly occurs related to the politic dynamics in local level of reformation era and nationalism orientation becoming one of the national education missions until the recent time.

## Some Concepts

Discussion concerning the relation between local politic dynamics after *Orde Baru*, national integration and history learning relates to some basic points. The concepts of history learning, national integration and local politic dynamic after *Orde Baru* era will be explained first in order to facilitate the understanding.

It is undeniable that the history teaching in schools is one of the facilities to build and develop nationalism spirit and strengthen national integration. (Kartodirdjo, 1993: 253; S.K. Kochhar, 2008: 468). And therefore, history teaching is close to civic education. Knowledge transfer from teacher and teaching material for the education participants (students) concerning Indonesian past is expected to become socialization facilities for positive values including unity, mutual assistance, diversity, and tolerance. The positive values became the basic values as the basis of nation birth and Indonesia country existence in the past days. (Alhumami, 2011). However the history teaching, which is nationalist oriented, remains to be prohibited to “rape” the science substance. (Kartodirdjo, 1993: 253)

National integration concept is certainly related to nationalism concept. Nationalism is the basis for nation integration. The most important usage of nationalism term within the last century is: 1) an establishment or building process for the nations; 2) a sentiment or awareness to own the respective nations; 3) a language and symbolism for the nations, 4) a social and politic movement for the respective nations and; 5) a doctrine and/or ideology of the nations, both general and particular. (Smith, 2002: 6-7).

Meanwhile, nation integration term refers to the integration or cohesiveness in any and all nation living aspects which are generally including social, culture, politics and economy. As a process, national integration focuses to perception unity and behavior between community groups. Within the community, it is found out that integration is in two dimension which are vertical and horizontal. In the vertical dimension, national integration is aimed at integrating perception and behavior of elite and mass by eliminating or reducing the gaps between the groups giving influence and the groups receiving the influence. Meanwhile, in horizontal dimension, national integration is related to the integration content between community groups. In this dimension, integration process is guided to the effort for bridging the differences created by territorial factors (including cultural) by reducing the gaps occurs as a result of the factors.. (Syamsuddin in Amal et al, 1993).

Regional autonomy is the policy of authority division between Central Government and Regional Government. Regional autonomy is also enabling the expansion of Regional Government authority. However, the politic phenomenon running in line with the improvement of decentralization and regional autonomy in reformation era is not only the transfer of Central Government authority in Governance administration but also related to the various complex locality symptoms. Phenomenon of locality after *Orde Baru* era is also signed by identity enhancement in various actualization forms including conflict based on ethnic,

religion, ace and between group motives (SARA), the enhancement of local-traditional aspiration, regional expansion to separatism threatening nation integration building. (Rasyid, 2005 )

Conflict arousing as a result of SARA issue, is the social-horizontal conflict based on the difference of ethnic, religion, ace or culture. In contemporary Indonesian history, SARA conflict arousing between Islam and Christian group in Maluku, Palu and Poso, or conflict between Dayak ethic group and Madura ethnic group in West Kalimantan and Central Kalimantan. (Alqadrie in Salamn, 2005). The enhancement of narrow sentiment is also reflected in the aspirations that will recover the function of custom, religion and tradition in some regions as the basis of community living even the Governance. The occurrence of *shari'a* regional regulation in some regions, and also at the lowest government units, can be considered as the part of local identity enhancement. (Iskandar, 2009). The excessive regional expansion since the year 2000 for some reason is also showing the identity politic enhancement. In the other words, the culture differences become the regional division background. Last, in relation with separatism, is a movement willing to separate from the legal state.

### **Autonomy, Nation and Fragmentation of Contemporary History**

Regional autonomy is the actualization of democracy government in reformation era, even in certain limit, the politic policy which is nationally effective unintentionally increases political bargaining of some regions to Central Government and also creates local politic dynamics which relatively different with *Orde Baru* era. Nationalism existence and national state building are likely to be challenged for the effectiveness in many forms of politic dynamics occurs in after *Orde Baru* regions. Indonesia which is the result of consensus of the founding father and mothers and politic representation of various nation elements is likely to be questioned for the legality after the occurrence of various aspiration motives and also politic movement. They are questioning the authority of Central Government and also national state.

The aspirations were not occurred in only one or two regions but in many regions. Furthermore, the scope is wide from Sabang to Merauke. The politic content is also in layers. Aspiration for claiming decentralization or governance authority division and economy "Cake" division proportionality between central and regional occurs where some regions are satisfied with the policy implementation. However, aspirations and also actions to be separated with the Republic of Indonesia also occurs even not all elements in the local community affirms (approves) the aspirations.

The most extreme movement was in Timor Timur. The area united to Indonesia in the year 1975 must be released from Indonesia in the year 1999 (Exactly) after it experienced referendum process. The extreme policy of BJ Habibie Governance was practically creating pros and contras. However, the released of ex Portuguese area actually gives important lesson for the leader and politician elite in Jakarta

that certain part of Indonesia is very vulnerable. The vulnerability occurs as a result that the “legal and historical basis” of the area is not strong enough.

In Aceh case, politic movement occurred at the beginning of reformation is the continuity of the movement that has been occurred in the past tens years. Politic movement in Aceh gives lesson on the importance of the efforts to enhance Indonesia-ness hinges continuously in the area at the more substantive meaning, especially economy justice and social culture. Even though self separation of (parts) local elite was strong (Kivimaki in Anwar et al, 2005: 122-123), support motivation from the other Aceh people was also deserved to be considered. Aceh people felt that they has given big contribution for Central Government but the development in their area was still far behind compared by Javanese Island, the center of Governance and State Economy. The aspirations developed in Aceh were not only sentiments expressions but also becoming dissatisfaction wave and also armed fight to Central Government for years. Gratefully, the resolution effort of Aceh issue was finally reached in any policy form including Special Autonomy (Otsus) in the year 2001 and the establishment of Aceh Government which relatively accommodated local identity especially the effectiveness of Islam Law (*qanun*). (Ali and Patria, 2009).

Papua case is approximately the same case with Aceh. The feeling of the origin Papua people having Melanesian race was different with the feeling of the community at other regions in Indonesia which are generally having Melayu Astronesia race. However, race difference was not the main issue. Even though the motive of some elite was authority cake (Kivimaki in Anwar et al, 2005: 122-123), the main issue was related to the majority sentiment of the native Papua people under the pressure of the Republic of Indonesia for years, especially as of Papua Pepera (Community Opinion Determination) result in the year 1969 integrating the area legally with Indonesia. The reality made the local community and elite to be critical to Jakarta. History noted that the dissatisfaction wave has been changed into the harder separatist movement, even at the end the physical movement (armed) was only executed by several Papuan participated in Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM). Resolution of conflict in Papua was reached in form of Special Autonomy in the year 2001. (Maniagasi, 2001).

In addition to the two regions, some other regions were generally claimed for authority “distribution/division” with Central Government. And then, Jakarta accommodated the claim in form of regional autonomy policy and budget addition for Regional Government. Some regions received big amount of fund from the Central Government, even, some of the fund came from Natural Resources (SDA) exploitation existed in the relevant region. However, new issue is related to national state dignity. The national state authority is not maximum as a result that most of their power (authority) has been granted to Region. As of regional autonomy, Government authority only focuses at five sectors which are defense, foreign affairs, monetary, religion and Judicial Affairs.

Regional autonomy policy, in certain limit, was not sufficient to calm the regional-central government tense down. Moreover, Central Government was deemed as not sensitive on catching the occurrence of locality spirit enhancement.

In the year 2001, West Sumatera elite and community, for example, refused the Central Government plan to implement privatization for PT Semen Padang. Politic instability in local level accompanying national economy policy created an impression that the regions opposed Central Government. Moreover, “naughty ideas” to make the movement as “Second Edition of PRRI” occurred in the movement centralized in Padang. The PRRI certainly referred to the rowdy and riotic politic centralized in Padang at the end of 1950s which it was deemed as separatist movement in national history official record. (Iskandar, 2007: 123).

At the beginning of reformation, federalism idea was also occurred. This idea was brought by some intellectuals as a result that Indonesia is only able to be managed with federal system where the regions are given big authority to manage regional affairs or states system. This system is considered to guarantee the achievement of nation ideals. One of the figures brought this idea was Amien Rais, professor of politic science in Gadjah Mada University who also positioned as General Chairman of Partai Amanat Nasional. Certainly, these progressive ideas created controversy. However, federalism plan was only limited for the city and middle level community. Meanwhile, the critic evaluated that federalism idea is not appropriate for Indonesia. The truth was, federalism was no longer staying in intellectual discussion limitation but already entering politics as reflected in the slogan said “NKRI is the fixed price”. (Nasution, 1999).

Other issue was the politic openness after *Orde Baru* which was also enhancing *local identity*. Local identity enhancement does not always have positive connotation. Identity enhancement in local level has realized in form of various conflicts in the regions. The conflict was mostly as a result of local elite conflict manifestation. Unfortunately, the duel between regional elites interests was also clashing the mass groups. It is not surprising that the elite conflict in the region, as reflected in many regional expansion cases and Head of Regions selections, often turns out into horizontal conflict in the community. (Ramstedt & Thufail, 2011).

Another more concerned condition is any conflict related to SARA (ethnic, religion, race and inter-group). SARA conflict in Ambon, Poso, Palu, Sampit, Sambas, and some other regions at the beginning of reformation era created the worst impact of politic openness in local level which is ironically reflected more duel between elite groups struggling for politic influence and also economy “cake” or natural resources (Kivimaki in Anwar *et al*, 2005; Bartels in Ramsted *et al*, 2011; Klinken in Nordholt *et al*, 2006; Jamil Gunawan *et al*, 2005). Based on the national state interest perspective, the spread of SARA conflict after *Orde Baru* makes inherent diversity in Indonesia-ness reality aside. Noble values in Pancasila, the country principles as a result of consensus of the founding mothers and the founding fathers of the country, is likely to be trampled for the purpose of unclear motivation for most of the community and experts. No wonder a thought said that social harmony in reformation era is worse than *Orde Baru* era, which is *Orde Baru* era is era of authoritarian rule, occurs.

The occurrence of law enforcement aspirations based on certain religions and beliefs can also be evaluated as the realization of local identity enhancement.

The aspiration of syaria regional regulation (perda) effectiveness in some regions including West Sumatera, Tasikmalaya, Garut, Banten, and Bulukumba is not only as a result that Islam Law implementation will become the “*panacea*” of various social and politic issues but also the community majority in the related area is Moslem. The issue is the aspiration, in some regions, is not purely the wide community aspiration but it is influenced by politicians for the purpose of popularity increase. (Iskandar, 2009)

The occurrence of ideas of localism, wide autonomy, identity enhancement, federalism, separatism and SARA conflict in local level factually become serious challenge for Indonesia national state effectiveness. Nationalism becoming *raison d’etre* (reason) of Indonesia state establishment, within certain limit, is likely to be no longer relevant with the condition development. However, not any and all politic dynamics in local level can be considered as threat for Indonesia-ness building. Separatism actions in some regions, within certain limit, are not truly aimed at separating themselves from Republic of Indonesia (RI) but only a “politic intimidation” to Central Government considered ignoring the regional aspirations. (Hasanuddin in Nugroho *et al*, 2004).

This reality occurred and seen at the beginning of reformation era, when freedom idea from some elites in regions brought up. *Papua merdeka*, for example, was suspected as small movement initiated by Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM). In the event that Papua separatism becomes bigger and bigger as the movement supported by almost all elites in Papua, as at the beginning of reformation era, the communities in Jakarta and Papua remain to see that the movement is only “political bargaining” effort of local elite with Central Government. No wonder if they were generally willing to accept special autonomy (Otsus) giving much more power and authority in political way and economic way for Papua elites. When the power in hands is getting bigger and greater, the willingness to be powerful and authorized becomes bigger and greater. It can be proven from the local elites. They were claiming the regional expansion, both province and regency, only for the purpose of sharing the power and authority “cake”. (Samhadi, 2006). It also happened in Aceh. Separatism actions in Aceh was drastically reduced after the Government issued Aceh Otsus Policy in the year 2001 and even disappeared after the establishment of Aceh Government in the year 2006 with a special authorities for the local Government and community especially related Islam Law effectiveness and the availability of important politic positions for Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM) exponent in regional government, even they have to compete by democratic selection first. (Weda *et al*, 1999). The almost similar motivation, even with lower content, is also seen from other separatism movements in other regions including Riau, East Kalimantan, Maluku, and West Sumatra. (Nugroho *et al*, 2004)

Moreover, the politic moral message that must be caught behind the ideas likely to challenge the nationalism effectiveness and Indonesian nation state is the demand for justice and prosperity for the community in the relevant regions and Indonesian community, in general. The truth is, until now, the upheaval regions are left in development, even they have big capitals in form of the overflow of

natural resources including mining, forest, sea products, etc. However, based on the local community view, the regions natural resources have been exploited by “central people” and cooperated with foreign capital, while on the other side many local community living with poverty and retardation in various development fields.

In macro context, the occurrence of ideas or claims of politic and economic justice enforcement from the regions, within certain limits, can be positive for the nation maturity process in the future. Ideas and claims can be considered as the effort to realize the equalization of national development. Indonesia is not only Java. Other reason is that Indonesia will not be existed and eternal if the justice hole is just ignored to be opened in any form whatsoever. Development equalization both between groups and regions becomes the key of success for nation and country development. Justice for any and all Indonesian people is one of the main ideals of Indonesia freedom. Indonesian politics history experiences have shown that the injustice and discrepancy of development will become the “time bomb” for the occurrence of radical and extreme aspirations from the regions in form of separatism.

However, challenges in national state development is no longer coming from the regions considered as “sensitive and prone” as a result of unfair treatment from the Central Government. Sometimes, substantively, nation state development challenges (nation building) often come from conservatives groups in national central government viewed the nation based on centralized point of view. The monolithic view based on old empire state existed in the past authoritarian era (read Baru) can be understood as common thing as a result that it is supported by the strong and stabile politic and military system. However, in democracy, freedom and wide openness nature at reformation era, the view is no longer relevant. Treating any region in the way the old regime did may prone the state condition.

It is also another crucial issues becoming “the enemy” and “obstruction” for the effort to realize national state development ideals which is corruption octopus in regional autonomy era. Corruption is a cheat action committed by any individual or politic and capital authority groups (oligarki), and the actions have systematic impact for community living in form of poverty, social discrepancies and regional discrepancies. Poverty evil circle in Indonesia is existed as a result of structural issues not cultural issues. In the event that the structural discrepancies issues can not be settled within certain period, and therefore it can be a “boomerang” for nation state development. In this context, threats for national state are not only coming from physical power (from domestic and foreign) but also corrupt politic system including regions.

## **History Study Challenge**

How does history learning, especially in national history perspective, give answer for politic dynamic complexity in local level after *Orde Baru*? Does the history perspective thought in schools treat the local politic dynamic with various levels and motives as a contradictory, threat or even poison for Indonesia nationalism? Does the history learning at pre-university level able to receive pluralism of locality dynamics as the part of Indonesianess self searching? Does our history discourse remain “black-white”?

Even though it is not directly becoming history study domain, generally historians and history teachers agree that contemporary (politics) issues in Indonesia can become a valuable illustration for past learning in the senior and junior schools. (Zed, 2008). The main issue and objective is clearly to support the interest of educational participants at past stories by creating contemporary issues as “the entering point” that may attract their attention. Moreover, without any improvisation and creative illustration, history learning process will remain dry and not interesting for students, college students and community, in general. AT this point, history (learning) will be important and relevant for the recent interest.

In addition, history learning can also show time linearity. The current stage is the continuity of past stage. And then the recent (politics) events will be the past for the future. And therefore, the recent event illustration may become the strong support for the student to study the problem root in the past in more valuable way. We can imagine how “dry” history learning in schools, as complained until today, if the students are only fed by past fact series and it is not connected and related to the recent context rounding their life. History material must be closer with student life or any matter becoming the concern in their era. (Zed, 2008).

And therefore, in local politic dynamic context after *Orde Baru*, the illustration to be occurred at history learning can not automatically give evaluation or interpretation based on “verdict”. In this context, the “unfair” treat in Indonesia along the history of the previous regime must be prevented. As we known, the Indonesia regime treats any and all colonial history dynamic as “bad” thing. RIS regime history (1949-1950) and Liberal Democracy (1950-1959) are also placed as a “minus” thing by *Demokrasi Terpimpin* (1958-1966) without any willingness to take the plus value existed in the previous regimes. It also happened in *Orde Baru* regime (1966-1998), it treated *Demokrasi Terpimpin* regime history as authoritarian regime and even make a stamp for it as “Orde Lama”. Ironically, the Reformation regime (after-1998) also treats *Orde Baru* history as a regime with bad totality. At the end, the subjective evaluation is included to the educational field produces nothing valuable unless “history revenge” as said by historian, Taufik Abdullah (Abdullah, 2006: 292).

History can not give any verdict. In this context, history learning and study can not directly evaluate local aspirations to separatism as the antinationalism movement which is truly willing to separate itself or destroy NKRI sovereignty. Without the well understanding of the issue context, history learning and study

can not give an interpretation and also “stamp” that the politic aspiration brought by the people in Aceh, Papua, and the regions ever claiming to their freedom as “betrayal” form to nationalism or national state. In the event that it happens, history learning and study gives nothing unless

History also can not evaluate separatism spirit in reformation era as the same devil with the separatism spirit in the past including Revolutionary Government of Republic of Indonesia- -*Perjuangan Rakyat Semesta* (PRRI/Permesta), *Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia* (DI/TII), and *Republik Maluku Selatan* (RMS) without explaining the context of each issue and event well. In the middle of democratization era, wisdom will be required to see any issue occurs. Teacher must bequeath the wisdom forms to the students. Moreover, if we see it clearly and accurately, the claims of the regions from the material side contain a glorious message including decentralization, anticorruption and social justice.

Aceh people claim is not the claim which is solely motivated by separatism spirit but also translated as the struggle for community rights. Until now, Aceh people feel that they have given great contribution to national state but the Central Government does not give the equal compensation to Aceh people. Aceh people even feel that Jakarta is unfair to them, both in form of natural resources exploitation and military operations in Tanah Rencong. Likewise, the separatist aspiration appeared and disappeared in Papua. Aspiration from the east side of Indonesia should be understood in the context of local community struggle for HAM enforcement which is ignored for years. Papua claim, within certain limitation, can be understood as a result that Papua (before West side of Papua formed independent Province in the year 2002) remained to be a province having the highest percentage of poor people in Indonesia until the beginning of reformation era. It is hard to be understood why the most rich region as a result of its natural resources lives in poverty and isolation. (Zen *et al*, 2006).

History learning should also capable to be a bridge for the ravine between Jakarta hope and local aspirations in the more fair context and perspective. History can not be a verdict for critic voices from Papua and Aceh as the extreme separatist aspiration. The accusation will not only hurt both Regions people but also capable to be considered as the deepest aspiration contempt of the community concerning basic human rights especially civil-politic rights and economy social culture rights. Disclaimer of local aspiration including the aspiration developed as of *Orde Baru* era also gives justification for the effectiveness of authoritarian regime. History study must give and show “justice” at seeing the issue context of “turbulent regions” in facing with national government argumentation. (Zen *et al*, 2006 & Weda *et al*, 1999).

The enhancement of local identity in many regions in line with regional autonomy policy also becomes a challenge for history learning and study which is focusing to certain targets of national identity enhancement and building nationalism spirit. It is not easy for the history teachers and civics study teachers to teach the important and significant meaning of nationalism when regional aspirations enhancing local identity within narrow definition is strong. However, within the wide and positive meaning, the enhancement of local identity should

be able to enrich and strengthen Indonesian nation building. At this point, local identity is not only within customs and cultural identity connotation but also certain religions and spiritual beliefs. In the openness era, the enhancement of local identity in form of traditional aspiration in some regions is very possible but it has potency to be a contradiction with nationalism spirit. We can see one of the examples in West Sumatera after *Orde Baru*. The local identity leads to ethnocentrism, within certain limit, as reflected in the movement refusing sales policy (*put-option*) of PT Semen Padang to Cemex Meksiko and also other policies concerning to regional interests. (Iskandar, 2007).

Identity politic enhancement in accordance with the Islam syaria enforcement aspiration in some regions also becomes a challenge for national state. It is not easy for the teachers to explain how the position of Islam aspiration is in national state context. For some local community, Islam syaria aspiration is the part of their diversity actualization. Even, some of them are sure and certain that the state chaos and moral decadency in the community are as a result of secular law implementation by the Government coming from West product since colonial era. They confident that Islam law (Shari'a) will settle any and all issues in the community and the state, including social and politic issues.

Certainly, national and local history teachers will have difficulties and even dilemma to explain the difference between Islam aspiration brought by Islamic group and the reality that Islam is the majority religion for Indonesian people. Critic questions must be occurred when they see the reality that the effective law in social living system is "non-Islam" law. In this context, the teachers should be able to explain the background of Islam aspiration in national state interest context including historical aspect. Aspiration of Islam syaria implementation is clearly contradictory to positive law in Indonesia. The thought, as explained by the governance law expert Moh Mahfud MD, is not in accordance with the "*mainstream*" of Moslems thought and vision in Indonesia. Most Moslem in Indonesia, as shown by Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, is not (at least no longer) struggling for Islam law implementation as official law in Indonesia. They were struggling for freedom and protection from the state for Moslems and other Religion's Group to perform their religion. (Mahfud MD, 2008)

In addition, history knowledge is not only giving understanding to us that Islam syaria leader in the past has been lost its context. DI/TII Leader, S.M. Kartosuwirjo also asked the soldier to be back to the Motherland at the end of the politic maneuver. However, the history teachers can not see the issue of Islam syaria aspiration and nationalism in a strict way. They can explain that the main message of the Islam aspirations have mostly accommodated under the prevailing Law and Regulation including 1945 Constitution, Law and various regulations under. It must be explained that Syaria Law is not completely ignored in the implementation of Law and Laws in Indonesia. Above all, generally, Islam and nationalism (nationalism) are not two contradictory but synergy spirit.

In the context of nationalism spirit building and development for the young generation especially in schools, the strategic role is not only played by history teachers and other civic educator but also the general teachers. Some time ago, a

research of UIN Jakarta reveals the fact that many teachers support the radical ways to settle nation issue. In the event that the history teachers in school have the same thought, it can be seen how concerned the nationalism spirit of our students in schools, nowadays. Moreover, history learning and study can reflect the past giving inspiration to the student related to the nationalism and nation integration.

In the context of the spread of corruption in autonomy and democratization implementation in the regions, history must also connect the reality with history obligation. It is related to the value transfer to the students. How ironic when the founding fathers and founding mothers of this country had justice and prosperity for any and all nation elements as the ideal as entered into Pancasila and Preamble of 1945 Constitution, and current leader generation is playing in corruption holes and power or authorization violation. Certainly as the part of civic education, history must be able to show the comparison of the past politician behavior character with the general action of recent politician actors. Teachers are not only comparing the recent local politician with the past national politician but also the past local politician in accordance with the era challenge context. On the other words, the knowledge of teachers of the local history units must be expanded based on understanding and analysis not only to the local context in the recent dimensions but also the past. As said by Sartono Kartodirdjo, the comparison of time cross becomes an urgent interest as a result that many symptoms in the recent events can be traced for its tendency, pattern and structure from the past development. Especially, when the future projection is necessary to be performed based on our knowledge concerning recent community. (Kartodirdjo, 1993:253).

However, do not expect too much concerning the improvement of history learning and study in schools in order to answer various contemporary challenge. The main issue is in technical issue especially related to the capacity and professionalism of the teachers and the less interesting curriculum resulting less interest from the students. Educational curriculum has not given many spaces for history material. Some of history material is only included in IPS (Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial) subject in schools. The available history material is very dry and Java centric without any opportunities for improvement. The issue is becoming more complex because of the teachers minimum capacity. However, teachers are the key figures for history leaning and study with their ability to relate history story logically with the actual events that must be mastered well. (Kochhar, 2008: 489)

The reality mentioned above must become consideration for any and all relevant parties especially Ministry of National Education, historians, History Institutions (majoring history study and history education), and history teachers. However, history study and learning remains to have important role as the part of the effort to build students critic ability and also nationalism spirit based on rationality. At the end, the objective is the more strong national integration.

## **Conclusion**

In the middle of recent issues becoming more complex, the main challenge for history study and learning is not easy to be overcome. Local political dynamics after *Orde Baru* reports the reality challenging the effectiveness of nationalism as the basis of nation integration and the establishment of Indonesia-ness pillars. Social conflict symptoms as a result of SARA, terrorism, anarchy, to the movement leading to separatism in some regions seems to disclaim the main values of nationalism as the nation adhesive.

However, in the practical and technical level, the main challenge of history study and learning in the contributive context to nation integration process is existed in curriculum and educators. Based on the reality, curriculum must give the more maximum portion to the history study material in schools, and therefore history material is closer with the student life and any matters becoming concern in their era.

Evaluation to the teacher becoming transformer of history story in schools must be systematic and therefore it can "born" other educators with wide knowledge, wise and prudent during capturing history facts series and the connection with contemporary condition which is surely having strong history dimension. History teacher must be capable to build the complete understanding that Indonesia is a nation requiring unity even it has various ethnic, religion, language and culture. Unity is the only way to reach the mutual objective. Learning from developed and plural countries history, diversity is not a weakness but a constructive strength based on the tolerance spirit between nation elements.

In culture context, for example, the understanding that cultural differences are not a conflict source but valuable national wealth must be brought up. Along Indonesian history, the absorption of foreign cultures and adaptation of the cultures to Indonesian character always happens. Hindu, Buddha, West, Islam and local culture are the culture artifacts forming national culture. Even democracy discourse considered as coming from out of Indonesia is developed, the acceptance of it is not a weird thing, in the event that it is believed can bring good thing for our nation.

The developed dynamic in local level at reformation era must be understood in macro context which is nation interest. Awareness that every nation component requires a strong cooperation and unity in order to build the nation objective based on 1945 Constitution and Pancasila must be build. In addition, the nation development will also be determined by equality not discrepancies of regions development.

In this context, undeniable, extra competition for the teachers in teaching history subject at civic education context must be adjusted or improved continuously. The educators must not be trapped with old point of view or even influenced by contra point of view to Indonesia nationalism values.

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