INDONESIA NATIONALISM'S CHALANGE IN THE GLOBALIZATION ERA

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ABSTRACT

We are still reminding that the long term multidimensional crisis, the peak moment was in 1997-2000, was the worst experience in term of politic, economy, and law crisis after the Indonesia independence. Crisis may refer to a state-nation in turbulence (chaos) which many observer called as "A Country in Despair", a country that is not only experiencing disaster, but also drowned in a deep despair. Indonesia's multidimentional crisis had opened all the "masks", to its most hidden parts. This multidimensional crisis- in despair, emotionally, and sinically- had showed Indonesia as "a heap of delusions", no more nationalism, heroism, justice, unity, honesty, or proud. In conclusion, the old institusions survived with no dignity This article focuses about Indonesia Nationalism's Chalange In the Globalization Era.

***Key words*:** *nationalism, globalization, chalange, multidimensional crisis, ethnic nationalism*

Introduction

The nationality has reached its worst point. J.J. Rousseau explains about the citizen nationalism or the civil nationalism in *Du Contract Sociale*; the cultural nationalism can be seen in the *Qing Dynasty* was willing to use the Chinese culture to prove the wholeness of the Chinese culture; Sumitro has the model of economy nationalism as explained by Mudrajad Kuncoro; Johann Gottfried von Herder explained the etnic nationalism by introducing the *Volk* concept which associated to the state nationalism, which the implementation of the 'national state' is the major argument, similat to creating a better seperated kingdom, such as the *Fleming* nationalism in Belgium and *Basque* in Spain and also the *Kurdi* in Turkey. Irish had the religious nationalism, which spirit came from their religion similarity, Chatolic. The Indian nationalism was based on the Hindhu religion, as implemented by the *BJP* party followers. All of these nationalisms are fluxtuative.

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Today Indonesia nationalism is degrading because more conlicts of inter-ethnic, inter-religion, and the nation disintegration occurred. The inter-ethic and inter-religion conclict of Indonesia might be explained by the *chaos* theory, which was known by the sientist in the end of the 20th century.

The effect of conflicts happened in the main islands, Kalimanta, Sulawesi, Maluku, Irian, and Sumatra - was the residents must choose to stay or leave their home that had changed into a conflict area. Until 5 April 2002 there were 1.247.449 Indonesian who live as refugees in their own country (Sugiya, 2002: 337). Today, those refugees are spread in 20 provinces of Indonesia. The data of 5 April 2002 explained the province accommodated the most refugee is Maluku. Maluku had accomodated 300.091 refugees, about 24, 06 percent of all Indonesia refugees. The conflict in Aceh also caused 48.489 people evacuate theselves to North Sumatra. The conflict in Timor Timur had caused most people looking for protection to Nusa Tenggara Timur, they were 26.196 families or 136.143 people.

The West Kalimantan and Central Kalimantan are the province prone to conflict. There were at least 11 big conflicts that involved certains ecthinc had happened in that region since 1950 until 1999. The reason were similar; insignificant problem. The conflict happened in Sambas in 1999, for example, caused by the killed of a thieft from one of the ethnics. This *butterfly effect* later spread into a big inter-ethnic conflict just in a snap. No less than 3.000 people of Desa Paritsetia who were innocent and did understand about the problem were forced to evacuate themselves. When the conflict was getting bigger, 68.000 people from a certain ethnic were forced to evacuate themselves (Triardiantoro dan Suwardiman, 2002: 322).

This butterfly effect also happened in Maluku and Poso. The reason was also a fight or a clash between residents. The conflict trigger in the West Kalimantas was ethnic problem. Meanwhile the trigger on the two regions in the east Indonesia was faiths. The riot in Poso was triggered by a conflict of the faiths in the end of year 1998. The conflict was occurred in a week, then relieve, and it was re-occur in the middle of 1999. The conflict was continued one after another until Poso was totally paralized. Not only the citizen activities that was stop, the government offices were also closed in the meantime.

Like most of time, the conflict was trigerred by an insignificant matter. The Maluku riot was started by a clash between a residents a a public transportation driver in Ambon in the middle of January 1999 (Triardianto, 2002: 32!). The conflict grew into an inter-religion conflict and was spread to the Southeast maluku and North Maluku. In fact, the government effort to handle the conflict is significant. The conclusion of the conflict in Sambas and Sampit was the effect of the government seriousness in forming a research team involving the expert of various disciplines. The formation of *Forum Komunikasi Masyarakat Kalimantan Barat dan Tengah* (The Communication Forum of the West and the Central Kalimantan Society) by four ethnic group – Dayak, Malayan, Chinese, and Madurese – helped to stop the conflict by positioning the between residents conflict ito the personal conflict, not as the inter-ethnic conflict (Triardianto,

2002: 32!). The longer conflict to be resolved was the conflict in Poso, Ambon, Aceh, and Papua.

Sindhunata in *Demitologisasi Persatuan Nasional* said:

"... kelumpuhan terasa dalam ketidakberdayaan kita menghadapi fenomena perpecahan dan disintegrasi bangsa. Kita khawatir, bila Aceh jadi merdeka, jangan-jangan kita juga tidak mampu mencegah Ambon, Riau, Papua, Poso, bila mereka ikut-ikutan ingin merdeka. Di manakah kiranya akar dari kerapuhan dan kelumpuhan itu?
("... the paralization is felt in our incapability in facing the nation separation and disintegration. We are worry, if Aceh have their independence, we would not able to keep Ambon, Riau, Papua, Poso if they too wants their independence. Where is the root of this fragility and paralizing?)
(Sidhunata, 2000: 93)*.

Our nation's integration was being tested due to our negligent. The Order Lama and Orde Baru government had been wrong in rasionalizing the mystical unity into nationalism without realizing the mistical aspect of unity empirically. It means that the government had not given the chance for each etnhinical group to express their identity in this nation unity. It is horrible when no one has respect to the religion-culture diversity as *Rachmatan lil-Allamin* (the bless of the universe). Isn't this country is developed under the spirit of *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diveristy)? Our *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diveristy) motto had already been existing since the Majapahit era, it was mentioned in Mpu Tantular's Negara Kertagama " *Bhineka Tunggal Ika Tan Hana Dharma Mangrwa* ". Many separatism movements community such as GAM in aceh, RSM in Ambon or Southern Maluku, and Gerakan Papua Merdeka are threathening our nation's unity. Francis Fukuyama, the writers of the best seller book, *The End History of Last Man,* in his book titled *Social Capital* said that our *Social Capital* is decreasing because our inter-ethnic, inter-culture, and inter-religion *mutual trust* is infact a *deep suspicion*. It is dangerous if there is no trust, no respect amongst ours.

There are many youth have various achievements in various championship or sciene olimpic in held in several countries. However, according to some leading daily newspapers many of our youth is trapped in *"The Pursuit of Wow"* phenomenon. They are chasing luxury, their main concern is pleasurem, neglecting idealism that they are more materialistic and individualistic, they don't care about the state-nation development. In short, these youth people are prioritizing the hedonic culture, they are only looking for pleasure, that will result in the increasing of sexual pathologic and violance culture. To make it worse, the reasearch toward female students, and the youth in general, shows that many of them are involved in violence action, "*kumpul kebo*" (unmarried couple who live together, and another inappropriate sexual involved actions without any gulty

feeling. More over, the elder also shows a tendency to be immoral, the cheated their spouse, the do KKN (Indonesian abbreviation of Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism), especially corruption. It is ironic, and infact those few curoptors caught and prosecuted are the small corrupters.

It is really sad that the nation known to be friendly, religious, and honor politeness had suddenly changed into a violance nation that like to fight and kill each other. The values that we considered glorious, noble, and pure, had been gone. Those values are "rare" and almost destroyed, "coma" with no capability. I remember a classic Latin poet, Publius Ovidius, who in the early of the first century wrote: " *video meliora proboque pejora, autem sequor*" (I see good things and I agree, but infact I also follow the bad things). The Philosopher Nietzche, in his own way, wrote " *der Irrtum hat aus Tirren Menschen gemacht* " which means that mistakes had made animal into human - because animal cannot be wrong, while human often made mistakes (Kleden, 2001: 27).

There is a general presumption that in analizing the stagnat of Indonesi values these days is caused by the structural discrepancy in the society itself. The emerging if this discrepancy is not only because of the introduction of the West culture values to our paradigm and attitude, but also because the unpreparedness and immaturity of domestic culture to embrace and inspire what is called as the advance in modernity (Bulkin, 16 Juli 1985).

In one side the West values to be developed in Indonesia is in fact not socially, economically, or politically supported. But in the other side there are many cases show that the economy, social, and politic situations are not thoroughly depends on the domestic original values, while the effort to direct it to the original values is very bold in our development pratices. In addition, in his scientific oration in celebrating the 25 years of CSIS (18-19 September, 1996), Prof. Robert A. Scalapino said: The political values these days have faded away and there are another powers (values) that will immediately replace the emptiness. That is the improved enthnical awarenes, and also the stronger relogious commitment in certain regions. Therefore, we undergo the XXI century by questioning "What do I believe?", and "Who am I?". Both questions are the twin challange of today and tommorrow.

The Needs of Indonesia Nationalism Redefinition and Revitalization

As a social concept *nationalism* does not come out of nowhere without the meaning evolustion process through language. In semantic study of Guido Zernatto (1944), the word 'nation' is originated from the Latin '*nation'* which rooted from the word *nascor*, means 'I born'. During the Romanian Empire era, the word *nation* was pejoratively use to moct foreign people. Hundreds years later, in the Miedival era, the *nation* word refered to foreigners students community in universities (such as Permias for Indonesian Student).

Further, this *nation* word have its more positive meaning and commonly used after the 18th century in France. During that time the France Revolution Parliement

called themselve as the *assemblee nationale* that marked the transformation of the political isntitusion, from its exclusiveness that only accommodate the eliets to egaliter that everyone has the right in politic. Since then, the word *nation* has its meaning that refer to nation or human community who are the citizen of a country.

In fact, the word *nation* is more appropriate that *bangsa* that still contain presumptions that the nation's (*bangsa*) members are from the same ancestor. This is explained by Ernest Renan in a public lectur titled "*Qu'est-ce qu'un nation?*" (what is a nation?) in Sorbone univeristy, Paris in 1882 (Bachtiar, 2002: 31).

With many nation movements in Europe during time, which against big kingdoms sucah as Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and France, these country become smaller independence countries. Since then, hence the meaning of the "nation" word which is the core of the nationalism ideology, Renan (1990: 15). This meaning is often categorized as the nationalism in classic terminology, due to one of the essesntial element of a nation is the solidaity unity.

> "*Nasion adalah suatu jiwa, suatu azas spiritual. Ia adalah suatu kesatuan solidaritas yang besar, tercipta oleh perasaan pengorbanan yang telah dibuat di masa lampau dan yang oleh manusia-manusia yang bersangkutan bersedia dibuat di masa depan. Nasion mempunyai masa lampau, tetapi ia melanjutkan dirinya pada masa kini melalui suatu kenyataan yang jelas: yaitu kesepakatan, keinginan yang dikemukakan dengan nyata untuk terus hidup bersama". Suatu nasion tidak tergantung pada kesamaan asal ras, suku bangsa, agama, bahasa, geografis, atau hal-hal lain yang sejenis. Kehadiran suatu nasion adalah suatu kesepakatan bersama yang seolah-olah terjadi setiap hari antara manusia-manusia yang bersama-sama mewujudkan nasion yang bersangkutan).*
> *(*"Nation is a soul, a spiritual element. it is a large solidarity unity, created by the feeling of sacrifice. Nation has past, but it continue to the present through a Clear reality: an agreement, the desire to live together that is expressed in real". A nation does not depend on the same race, ethnic, religion, language, geography, or another similarities. A nation is a mutual agreement as if happened everyday between human who are creating the nation together) (Bachtiar, 2001: 33).

Otto Bauer tried to explore the history as an objective collective characteristic by explaining the concept of the *community of fate* (*Schiksalgemein-schaft*) that tied the citizens of nation into a *community of character* (*Charactergemeinschaft*). Bung Karno tried to add the concept of *Geopolitic* that explained that the earth spread from the tip of Sumatra to Irian is the united of Indonesia, which because of "the God will" it is occupied by millions of human that have *le desire d' etre ensemble* and *Charaktergemeinschaft (community of character)*. Bung Karno said to "developed a *Nationale Staat*, upon the unity of Indonesia, from Sumatra to Irian:. Bung Karno believed that the ideal form of a nation is not the nation which only have one ethnic group.

Kita hanja dua kali mengalami nationale staat, jaitu zaman Sriwidjaja dan di zaman Madjapahit. Di luar dari itu tidak mengalami nationale staat. Saja berkata dengan penuh hormat kita punya radja-radja dahulu, saja berkata dengan beribu-ribu hormat kepada Sultan Agung Hanjokrokoesoemo, bahwa Mataram, meskipun merdeka, bukan nationale staat. Dengan perasaan Hormat kepada Prabu Siliwangi di Padjadjaran, saja berkata, bahwa keradjaannja bukan nationale staat. Dengan perasaan hormat kepada Sultan Ageng Tirtajasa, saja berkata bahwa keradjaannja di Banten, meskipun merdeka bukan nationale staat. Dengan perasaan hormat kepada Sultan Hasanuddin di Sulawesi jang telah membentuk Keradjaan Bugis (Gowa), saja berkata, bahwa tanah Bugis (Gowa) jang merdeka itu bukan nationale staat.

 We are only experience the *nationale staat* twice, in Sriwijaya era and Majapahit era. Other than that, that was not *nationale staat*. I said with respect to our former Kings. I said with thousands respects to Sultan Agung Hanjokrokoesoemo, from Mataram, eventhough they are not *nationale staat*. I respect Prabu Siliwangi in Padjadjaran, that I say his kingdom was not *nationale staat*. I respect Sultan Ageng Tirtajasa, that I say his kingdom in Banten, eventhough they were independent, but they are not *nationale staat*. I respect Sultan Hasanuddin in Sulawesi who had developed the Bugis Kingdom (Gowa), I say that the independent Gowa was not *nationale staat* (Soekarno, 1961: 27-28).

Nationalism in the history perspective had showed a vast development. In the nineteenth century nationalism was often called as "the European nationalis", while in the twentieth century nationalism has become a universal idea-force in the power of the contemporer global history, even as the *pan-nationalism* century (Kohn, 1965: 72-73). Therefore, the Indonesia Nationalism has been clearly seen becoming a big strength as a process driven by the emerging of national awareness that was created by the intelegence community and spread through the political parties of national movement that become the mass movement againts the colonialism (Kohn, 1965: 72-73). However, the journey of nationalism was not always good and has not come to an end. There is an impression that the improvement in various fields has affected nationalism. Guibernau (1996: 150) tried to summarize the multiple problems faced in particularly by the developing countries:

In the Third world conflict will be unavoidable and will stem primarily from two main sources; the differences arising between the ethnic group included in the mostly arbitrarily created states received from the colonial period, and the wide gap between a small affluent elite and large numbers of people living in conditions of property.

Nationalisme in the early stage had succeed in tied the heterogenous population to fight against colonialism. However, in the decolonialisation process, particularly in the *nation building*, nationalism revitalization and redefinition are required to face the more complex chalange. Tjokrowinoto (1996: 42) said that nationalism may play two main roles: (1) as the ideology to face the loyality and *parochial* solidarity, (2) as a defence mechanism towards the external power threat such as the colonial power, the penetration of *transnational coporation, mulitnational corporation,* and another globalization effect from various international institutions. All of these needs a nationalism elaboration that is not only emphasizing the political ideology aspect - the nationalism of romantic, citizenship, culture, economy, ethnic, and the government implementation.

Nationalism and Citizenship

The weakening of Indonesian nationality spirit as an nation that has been developed since the national movements era seems also be caused by the weak nationalisty vision and a fundamental vagueness in viewing our Indonesia-ness. Eventhough yuridically the Indonesia citizenship law has been altered from *Undang-undang Nomor 62 tahun 1958* to *Undang-undang Kewarganegaraan No. 12 tahun 2006* about the Nationality of the Rapublic of Indonesia, the people attitude and behaviour toward the nationalism itself is still affected by the old nationality law.

All these time, the nationality understanding is still refers to the classic Rennaisance terminology, a nation is "*a daily plesbicite"* that depends on its citizen to live together in a new colective identity that is beyond the line of premodial-sectorian (Harjanto, 2002: 86). Normatively the nationality in this term of comunalistic is possible to be developed. The problem is that kind of Indonesi'a nationality has been reduced to a political concept which lost its philosophical meaning, that is often debated with the religious politic concept. In fact, inherently the concept has already contained the interests conflict of its members, according to the political preference in facing the development day by day.

Meanwhile, in the statehood oreder, the citizen awareness has not enough space to grow. All these time the understanding is mainly emphasize the citizenship as a law concept, which has no power to transform the society to become a modern and democratic entity. In fact, citizenship is not only a legal aspect of an individu in a *Westphalian* independent country, but also contain the social-politic attribute which have the personal effect and *sentripetal* (to unify) ability and closely related to the political participation matter (Marshal, Kymlicka, dan Norman,1991).

The influence of *Undang-undang No. 62 tahun 1958* is strong in Indonesia citizenship. the law was diver the main citizen (native) and descent citizen (Chinese). It is interesting to question what kind of citizenship concept that should we fight for? To answer the question, first of all we need to clarify the nationality and citizenship concept. As the writer understands, the nationality concept has

various characteristic and criteria in every country, depend on its traditions. These can be viewed when the nationality status will be attached to individuals. At least the nationality will be based on two main principal, according to its descendant (*ius sanguinis*) like the old days of Indonesia. The other is the birth principal (*ius soli*) that is used by the United State of America. The other kind of the two principals are naturalization process, political Asylum, and lottery.

The *ius sanguinis* implementation will ususaly create an *ethnic nationalism* and *ethnocultural nationalism* which is based on myths about the similarities if our ancestors and the ownership the inherited lands. Inconclusion, this conception will be mainly concerned about the physical prove of its descendant, language, and religion. This vision may result in a less democratic society. While in the *ius soli* will directed to the strengthen of *civic nationalism* (Fieschi dan Varouxakis, 2001: 22; Harjanto, 2002: 88). In civic nationalism is developed upon a social contract. For the common interest in the public investation and their way of life. In certain point this concept can accommodate the ethnic and culture diverensiation as far as the country is able to protect its neutralization. In short this model offer "*community of equal citizens*"concept, eventhough in other side is not always result in a partisipative democratic. Moreover, they are uprooted from their precedent and history and very depending on individual voluntery. It often be used as a camouflage myth for a majority interest while performing subordination to the minority (Kymlicka, 2000: 51).

Hence the question, what kind of ideal nationality should we adopt, partucularty in this pular community of Indonesia? There is no absolute answer. However, in the plural community and the contex of global community, there is and alternatve vision worth for consideration, the multicultural nationalism. The promoter of this community model believe that creating a community which is socialy fair and unified by the mutual values will result in a "social and political ideal of togetherness in difference" (Rawls, 1971). This vision is actually combining the purpose of *civic natioanalism* and the *ethnocultural nationalism*.

Nationalism and Culture

Maybe it is rather odd to hear that someone fighting for their independence through the national culture. Cabral (1973: 41), an independence hero of Guine-Bissau, Africa, who wrote the book tittled *Return to the Source*, had said that culture has become an element to fight againts foreign domination: "a strong manifestasion in the idealogy or ideal of physical reality and the dominated historical society". Moreover, Cabral (1979: 143) in his book tittled *Unity and Struggle* stated that culture is a vital element in the freedom process. National freedom is expressed as a cultural action, the political expression from the society in fight. In this case culture can be a positive effect for the society and their condition.

Franz Fanon (1979: 143), an Algeria activist, whose profession was a psyciatric is respected because he had contributed in achieving the independence, in his book tittled *The Wretched of the Earth* said that

> … national culture claim in the past was not only able to rehab the nation, but also function as the justification for the hope of the national culture in the future. In the balance of affective spirit, colonialism should be responsible for the significant change in the native…. The constancy in following the extinct cultural form is a demonstration of nationalism. However, that demonstration is now a setback to the law of inertia. No ofense and redefinition in those relationship. There is only a consentration on our core culture that is weaker, stagnat, and empty.

Said (1996; 13) , an intellectual humanist, the pioneer of the Postcolonial Theory and a fampus culture critic in the Middlea East, have a similar opinion. He was disproving the arguments saying that the culture of colonized countries and the national identity is still a single and pure entities. It is actualy otherwise, the culture and national culture identity of colonized countries had been ruined by the West. Said (1996; 14) said:

> … culture is like a theatre where various political power and ideology are interrelated. Other than a peacefull Apollinia politeness range, culture has become a battle field where various causes show theselves explicitly and fihgting each other…. it is also the West belieh that culture is more importanta, seperated it from the daily life. As the result, many professional humanist can not define the relation between the dirty proctacted cruelty of various practices such as slavery, colonial suppression and racialism, and the imperial conquest imperial in one side and the poetries, fictions, and phyloshopy of the society in the other side.

From the above explanation hence the question: can the heterogenous (plural) culture in a country be a positive power to enhance the nation's integration? We are getting usual to justify the opninion of Sosiologist Emile Durkheim (1964: 79) which written in his great work title *The Division of Labor in Society*, that similarity is the source of social solidarity encouraged by the collective consciousness (especially the *mechanic* solidarity, which is deifferent from the *organic* solidarity). The mechanic solidarity is based on a "*collective consciousness"* which refers to the trusts totality and collective sentiment that relatively exist in that community in common. Therefore, it depends on the individuals who have similarities in characteristic, belief, and normative patern.

Differ to the organic solidarity, this solidarity emerge form the bigger working distribution which create a society structure that have a higher dependency. The dependency is increasing as the result of the better specialization in the working distributionthat will result in a more passionate differentiation in the individual communitu (Johnson, 1986; 184-185). In this way the solidarity emerge because

the differentiation in the individuals that modified the collective consiousness. The organic solidarity is basically able to achieve the national solidairyt and integration because the individual or ethnical dependency among individual is higher. The question is parallel to example of society consciousness needed in the United State of America written by Bellah (1985: 117), in the book titled *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life.* The book explains that our concept of inter-ethnic/race communitu itself has to provide space for the confession of differentiation. Our traditional opinion is strong yet mislead in term of community, that human only feel the feeling as community as they considered themselvel "the same" with another member in their own society. However, in this matter Bellah (1985: 118) stated that the community needed in Amrica is the plural community covered with the integration feeling and relation originated from the collective activities, condition, tasks, location, and other – particularly based on the collective human experience – yet recognizing and valuing the cultural differences and another kind of differences.

Economy Nationalism

In the economy dimention, economy nationalism is often conotated to the effort to isolized the economy from the foreign influences. This is understandable in terms that most of the Third World countries have just detached from the colonialism chains. It can be concluded that the economy nationalism of the Thirs World is a reflection od the society refusal reaction agaits the foreign domination. The cause is the long history of disappointment, suffer, jealousy, and dissatisfaction. The problem is: is the nationalism view is still relevance in answering the global economy chalange?

Aswering this question is interesting because we can trace the up and down of Indonesia economy nationalism and compare it with another country. In the economy nationalism history of Indonesia there are two extreme points. The first is the moderate point where the supporter of this point belief that inviting the foreign capital and investment is needed to accelerate the economic growth. The technocrats who are pragmatics and inspired by the Harrod-Domar opinion about the importants of capital accumulation are the main suppoter of this point. The state intervemsion, according to this community, is intended to "indegenizing" credit, which is to provide interest subsidy for the credit to the native entrepreneurs who are commonly the small and middle scale credit. This moderate side can be seen in the *Rencana Urgensi Ekonomi* (Economy Urgency Plan) proposed by Soemitro as the Minister of Trading and Industry in Kabinet Natsir in 1951. It can be said that this was the first time of industrial development socialization with the technocrats color. Soemitro's moderate attitude toward the foreign capital is a reflection of the politic trend during that time because the six cabinets formed and deformed during 1949-1955 were dominated by the member of PSI, Masjumi, and PNI. However, Soemitro also concern with the effort to improve the native's entrepreneurs because of his obsession to handle the dualism of economy.

The second extreme point is the nationalists who are emphasizing the importance of improving the native entrepreneurs bussiness, nationalizing the foreing companies as the effort to free ourselves from the imperialism prison, and improving the role of the State-owned enterprises (also known as BUMN) to develop the national industry. Therefore, economy nationalism is identical to the "gerakan pribuminasi" and eliminating the foreign domination in certain sectors. The famous example of the second pole is the *Benteng* programe which were introduced in 1950 by Djuanda as the Minister of Prosperity at that time. The purpose of this program is to improve the native's bussiness group through the import limitation of a certain comocity and providing a business chance behind the protection wall. Djuanda was also introducing the Five Years Plan in 1956 with the most ambisious plans were some big scale industry projects performed by the national company and funded by the state's budget without more dependence to the foreign donation. The fact showed that the *pribuminasi* program was halting. The natives entrepreneur who had the priority in *Program Benteng* was lost the competiosio againts the foreign and Chinese entrepreneurs. The confiscation of the plantations and companies owned by the dutch, and the nationalization of the Ducth assets in 1958 was driven more by the explotion of the "anger" upon the Ducth refusal of the requirements resulted from the Round Table Conference (also known as *Konferensi Meja Bundar*). Then come the "Ali-Baba" entrepreneurs, the first strategic alliance after the independence day between the natives entrepreneur (Ali), who received the lisence and special treatment but lack of business ability, with the Chinese entrepreneur (Baba), who did not received any special treatment but very good in business and trading. We can conclude that the natives entrepreneur mostly could not passed the "test" when the "protector" (politically called *patron*) was no longer in power.

In Order Baru era the nationalism color was also expresses in a certain level. Before the Malari (*Malapetaka Lima Belas Januari 1974*) incident, the government policy was tend to implement the open door policy toward the foreign capital. The law of UU 1967 about PMA was to attract the foreign investment and UU 1968 about PMDN was to retract the national capital parked abroad, these marked the very liberal economy rehabilisation. The post Malari period had provided the chance of the nationalist sentiment reappearance. The oil fortune has made the government able to implement a more inward-looking trading stratgey and help the low economy entrepreneurs through various subsiized credits. How is our economy nationalism today? We are aware of uor nationalism when the foreigner bought most of our assets and Indonesian company stocks. Many people said that the privatization of BUMN has reduced to "asingisasi (foreinging)", by selling the BUMN's stocks to the foreign investors/companies. As consuments, are we aware that we like imported products more that the products produced domestically? Do you know how much the local contin in batik, clothes, milk, tahu, tempe, instant noodles, car, and motorcycle? Most of the material of the farming and industry in Indonesia are still imported. Awared or not, we are consuming imported salt, sugar, and rice. The import suntitusion industri is considered out of date, and the export promotion strategy is implemented more. The globalization promoter

said that this is an inevitable trend. An keniscayaan. However, it does not mean that nationalism is being abandoned. One of the proof is that England does not want to completely join the European Union because the Poundsterling currency, as the national symbol, will be dissolved if they accept the Euro currency. Japan has accentuate the Japanese language and protect their agricultural products. The Korean nationalism is expresses from the great motto of Samsung: "*We do business for the sake of nation-building*".

Our future dilemma will be: which will be the priotity, to use the domestic product (that will be followed by the protection), or the orientation to effesiency which means cosuming a cheaper and better quality product ignoring the origin country? This is the time to review nationalism in the middle of globalization wave. This is a great homework for the goevernment, and the politic parties that emphasize nationalism as their political platform.

Ethnic Nationalism

This ethno-natioalism was originated from the assumption that the nationalism phenomenon has been existed since human know the concept of biological relationship. In this point of view, nationalism is seen as a concept that naturally rooted in every society group in the past called *ethnie* (Anthony Smith, 1986), a social group tied up by the cultural attributed of collective memories, values, myths, and symbolisms. According to Smith, ethnie is a inspirational source that defined the cultural borders that separates a nation to another nation like today. The implication of this point of view is that nationalism is a cultural phenomenon rather that the political phenomenon which rooted in the pre-modern entity and culture. Eventhough the nationalism transformed into a political movement, this is superfisial because the nationalist political movements is basically based on the cultural motivation, particularly when the cultural identity crisis occurs. From this point of view, the nationalism political movement is the facility to regain the ethnical pride as the basic capital in developing a country based on the culture similarity (John Hutchinson, 1987).

The ethno-nationalism that open a discourse about the origin of nationalism which based on the cultural relationship and similarities cannot provide a satisfying explanation, particularly if we observe the nation's borders formed in the contemporer society. The etnonationalism may be use to observe the nationalism phenomenon in the "monoculture" country such as Germany, Italy, and Japan. However, the same explaination will not be appropriate to expalin the nationalism in the multi culture country such as United State of America, France, Singapore, and Indonesia. Of course there is a domination of a certain ethnic or race in the multiculture nation that in certain level become the source of nationalism isnpiration. However, it does not mean that the nationalism building is homogenous because the nationalism foundation is also supported by the non-ethnic bonds.

Out of this konundrum, tracing the nationalism genealogy through ethnic traces may be too far considering that the nationalism phenomenon is relatively new. It can be traced in the history of the emerging of the nation-state concept in Europe about the 18th century which is the part of the populist revolution wave in destroying the hegemony of aristocracy. This kind of history reading indicates the origin of nationalism as the modernity son that was born by the Enlightment, a thinking revolusion that bringin the egaliterianism spirit. However, the nationalism concept was not only cover the bright aspect of modernity offered by the European enlightment because it is the result (the by-product) of the modernity conditioning with the social transformation of the European society at that time.

We can conclude that nationalism is the European invention to anticipate the rampant alienation in the modern society (Elie Kedourie, 1960). As an ideology, nationalism has the capacity to mobilize mass through the development promises which is the modernity teleology. This created conditions was the result of the Industrial Revolution when the bisg scale urbanization had force the sociate of that era to create the collective identity (Ernest Gellner, 1983). In other word, nationalism was created by the industrialism materialistic which brought the social and cultural change in the society. Form this deterministic point of view Gellner proposed an argument that nationalism created the nation, not otherwise.

As a modernity product, the development of nationalism is in the intersection point of politic, technology, and social transformation. However, nationalism cannot be viewed as a process from top to bottom where the dominant class have the more important role in the nationalism creation than the dominated class. It means, the comprehensive understanding about nationalism as the product of moderinty must also include anything occurred in the lowest society class where assumption, hope, needs and the common interests of the common society toward the nationalism ideology had made the ideology able to penetrate and strongly rooted (Hobsbawm, 1990). In this level the social elements such as language, history similarity, past identity, and social solidarity has become a strong bond of the nationalism power.

In this lower look perspective Benedict Anderson (1991) sees nationalism as an idea of imagined community. It is imagined because every emember of a nation, even the smallest one, does not know every member of that nation. Nationalism emerge from the shadow of community that always present in the mind of everty nation's members to be the reference of the social identity. The constructive view adopted by Anderson is interesting because it place nationalism as a collective imajinative resul in developing border between us and them, a border contructed culturally through the printed capitalism, not merely an ideological fabrication of the dominant group.

The uniqueness of Anderson's concept can be analized deeper to explain the emerging of nationalism in the post colonial countries. It is not a coincidence that the Anderson's concept is mostly based on the observation toward nationalism development in Indonesia. However, there is one matter on the Anderson's seminal work that can be the subject to the orientalism criticism, such as discuss

by Edward Said about the West scientist outlook in representing the non-West society (see Simon Philpott, 2000).

In his book, *Imagined Communities*, Anderson discuss that the nationalism of the post-colonial society in Asia and Africa is the emulation result of what had been provided by the nationalism history in Europe. The nationalist elites in the post-colonial society just imported the nationalism modeular form of the European. This is the problem of Anderson opinion because it denies the apropriasion process and the imagination itself, that was implemented by the post-colonial society in creating the different nationalism building different to the European (Partha Chatterjee, 1993).

Essentiallu, the post-colonial society nationalism was created on a differeance as a resistence form toward the colonialism domination. John Plamenatz (1976) created a dichotomy between the West nationalism and the East nationalism. This chategory may heard too simple, eventhough Plamenatz is worth to hear. According to Plamenatz, the West nationalism was established from the society reaction who felt the culture uncomfortability toward various changes resulted from the capitalism and industrialism. However, they were lucky because their culture is possible to create a condition to accommodate the modernity standards. Whereas, the East nationalism was born in the society that was obsessed to what had been achieved by the West, yet culturally they are inequpped by the appropriate modernity pre-conditions. Therefore, the East nationalism, in this matter the post-colonail society, full of ambivalence. In one side, ot was a emultion of what had happended in the West. While in the other side, it was rejecting the West domination.

Partha Chatterjee tried to solved this anticolonialism nationalism by separating the material world and the spirit world that created and institusion and social practice of the post-colonial society. The material world is "the outside world" that include the economy, state structure, and technology. In this domain, the West superiority must be recognized and must be leraned and replicated by the East. The spirit world, in the other side, is the "other world"that bring the essential mark of the culture identity. The bigger East ability to imitate the West abilty in the material world, the bigger the necessity to preserved the spiritual culture difference. In this spiritual domain the post-colonial society claimed the full sovereignty of the West influences.

However, Chatterjee added that the spiritual world is not static, it transformated continuously through the media in post-kolonial society and creatively created the imagination of a different them that had been developed by the modernity toward the West society. This result in a unique combination between the East spiritualism and the West materilsm that force tje post-colonial society proclaimed their "modern" culture that was different fromthe west.

Dichotomu between the spiritual world and material world as explained by Chatterjee in one side followed bu the Cartesian toward the speration of the body and soul. However, in the other side of the spiritual world in the post-colonial society is a respon form toward neglegance of the spirit rule by the west civilization. Therefore, the post-colonial society tried to tah the chance to develop

an authentic identity and rooted to everythis they had. The result was a modern material building covered with the siprit of the weather difference of the land which is the modern material building covered by the West spiritualism. The implication of this strategy in the post-colonial nationalism can be seen from the nationalist elite developing a nationalism ideology that high in spiritual contain as the representation of the high cultural of the West civilization.

The East spirituality Orientation had inspired the Pancasila concept proposed by Soekarrno for the first time in the BPUPKI meeting on 1 July 1945. In his speech he claimed that Pancasila was not his creation, but a concept which rooted in the Indonesian culture, that had been burried during the 350 years colonialism. For Soekarni, his duty was just to dig up Pancasila from the earth and presenting it for the Indonesia society (Soekarno, 1955). In a deeper observation, there are some problematic points in Soekarno's claim. First, the 350 years colonialism is just a myth (Onghokham, 2003). This myth had been the rethotic strategy to burn the anti-Dutch sentiment during that time. Second, is Pancasila a concept that is really the indigenous product? Soekarno's speech expresses that Pancasila is the combination of the European ideas, the humanism, socialism, nationalism, combined with the Islamism of the modern Islam movement in the Middle East. In the political context of that time, Pancasila was offered as the reconsilation effort between the secular-nationalist community and the Islam-nationalist community.

Of course we cannot avoid the possibility that one or more of th ePancasila principals had been in the society of Nusantara as claimed by Soekarno. This explain than Chatterjee's explaination about the East spiritualism that was the domain of post-colonial society sovereignty is problematic when it used to look for the spirituality roots in Pancasila as the national ideology. It is problematic because when we are looking for the East spirituality root claimed as the "natural" product were actualy the appropriacy of the west concepts which rethorically represensting something that has the local culture root. It is clear in the 'gotong-royong' concept that Soekarno called as the core of Pancasila. However, if we trace it, this concept is the result of the colonial political construction (John Bowen, 1986). Another indication can be seen in one of the element tah form the Indonesia Nationalism, the Javanese culture (aristocrate) that is claimed as the root of the Indonesian culture. This claim becomes unstable after we read John Pemberton (1994) explaination that shows how the Javanese aristocracy itself is not purely local, but it was formed of the assimilation process with the European culture during the centuries of colonialism era. Of course we mau critisize Bowen or Pemerton as an observer that had the orientalism bias. IRonicaaly, we do not have an authentic prove to claim that Indonesia nationalism is created by the local culture heritage.

The above argument shows that Indonesia nationalism as the nationalism model of post-colonilaism society is more complex and abivalemaccording to the Plamenatz categorization of the East and West nationalism pr Chatterjee explaination of the East spiritualism as the only area where the post-colonialism is able to develop it authenticity. It means that, the spiritual domain in Indonesia

spiritualism contains the elements that is tightlu bonded on and born from the dialectic process with colonialism. To claim that Indonesia nationalism is "naturally" rooted in the local culture has no strong historical foundation. We can conclude that, and surely can be debated, Indonesia as a nation concept of nationalism ideology is supported by the colonialism product which inspired by the modernity spirit where the West culture is te main isnpiration.

This conclusion has the political implication. However, this will not cancel the nationalism building developed by the nationalist elites in decades. But we should aware that it is too soon to say that Indonesia nationalism has reached its final point. The Indonesia nationalism will continue grow to find its form in the history flow that will always flow dynamically.

Nationalism and Governance

As mentioned earlier, the terminology of "nationalism" is a idea to create and defence the sovereignof a nation by realizing a collective identity concept for a group of human. The concept seem easy to be implemented, but it is not. The problem is not merely the fighting awareness, but also a change requirement or the shift of social culture values that needs the truthfulness and justice. Even the truthfulness and justice is not enough without the transparency and openness – these three components are important, particularly to obtain the "truthfulness" as the social capital (Fukuyama, 2000: 8).

The social capital, in short can be defined as a sequence of informal values owned together by the members of a society which allow the cooperation among them. If the group members expected another members to be honest and trusted, they will trust each other and this will smooth the cooperation. And also otherwise, if there is lie among them, then it's difficult to trust and cooperate. Trust is like the lubrication for the smoothness of the group or society efficiency. Once more, the values generated the social capital should be substantively contain the honesty, tranparancy, and justice. These values will facilitate the creation of the collective comittment such as: the sense of belonging, solidarity, and mutual help.

If *trust* is the significant standard of the social capital, there is a clear sign that the social capital in Indonesia is degrading. Many Indonesian aware that the trust to various isntitusion, from the Indonesian government, the Parliement, judge, prosecutor, police, has been degrading and reach its lowest historical point during the multidimensional crisis.

We can see this degrading occurs in the society attitude that tend to be vigilante if they caught any criminal. They often do violence toward their victim. Trust is a moral virtue, but it is destroyed by a selfish attitude or excessive or opportunism and power aroganism (Fukuyama, 2000: x). It's hard to measure the selfishness or aroganism level, but the fact is this phenomenon is increasing in today Indonesian. Therefore, we need the trust, from a clean, honest, and trustworthy government or the apparatus.

In this matter we can learn from a famous political philosopher of the 20th century, hannar Arendt in the book titled *The Human Condition* (1958). She said that there are two main nature in the human action: *unpredictable* and *irreversible*. It means that every action that human do in public is unpredictable and irreversible. To prevent the unpredictable, human need promises. The promises must came from the humanity conscience, when promise made must be followed by the effort to fulfil it. While to prevent the irreversible, there is forgiveness. We know that no one had never made any mistakes. *No body is perfect*. It means that we should give those who had made mistakes a chance to repair their mistake, not insulting them. In this matter, Hannah Arendt had firgive martin Heidegger who was a Nazi figure after he said sorry for what he had done during Hitler reign.

One more thing we can implement in Indonesia to strengthen our nationalism in this united nation, the needs to remove the approachment of *dominat groups* of Indonesian as a bigger unity, or foreign group in smaller groups as the element that developed Indonesia. This objective condition in Indonesia expressing the pradox is not always express its positive or negative side. However, there are condusive factors that can work in achieving the firm nationalism as axpected. The same opinion is also exposed by the Sosiologist of Universitas Indonesia, Sujatmikok (1999: 3), in his work tittled *Integrasi dan Disintergrasi Nasional,* in fact Indonesia has the basic capital for a firm nationalism and nation intragration, which is a mutual agreement written in Sumpah Pemuda 28 Oktober 1928 and the Proklamasi kemerdekaan 17 Agustus 1945, these can be the bond of the nation integration. Sujatmiko added the negative side that Indonesai is entering "the crisis momen" (51-100 years stage) because the disappearance of the first generation who did the historical momentum agreement. The generation after 1945 (particularly the intellectual/students, or the middle class youth) are more rational, assertive, and they don'r accept the "blind integration" or "integration without reserve". To solve this problem we need a balance justice and "renegotiation" between the central and regional in politic-law, economy, and social-culture. The pattern of *once and for all social contract* can no longer maintained by the economy dependcy to the central government.

Sujatmiko (1999: 3) also said that the "lower" nationalism development by the society (*popular nationalism*) need to be improved, not the "upper" nationalism by the formal government or the *official nationalism* that may lead to *statism-militerism* which will be the disintegrator. This lower nationalism is needed in the development of nation integration paradigm based on the balance between the rights and oligation.

This opinion is similar to the Buchanan opinion in his book tittled *Secession: The Morality of Political Divorce from For Sumter to Lithuania and Quebec.* Buchanan (1991: 115) said the valid reason that a region asked for separation maybe the freedom and diversity is being treathened, experiencing a discriminative redistribution, defensive, and forcing the past integration. This is why the aspect of freedom, respect, and togetherness is important.

This is in lime with Hirschman (1970: 133) opinion in his book *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty*. Hirschman said that the nation disintegration (*exit*) occur because there is no more togetherness as a nation (*loyalty*). However, the protest from the regional area (*voice*) should not be considered as the sign of "disloyalty", but the sign of the unfairness of the nation's nationalism and integration. The good *voice* will maintain the integration and event rise the *loyarty.* But the abandoned *voice* will lead to the *exit* (Hirscman,1970: 337).

Nationalism and Gobalism

Nationalism is a social invention in the human history, at least in the last a hundred year. No social space in this earth has escaped from it. Without nationalism, the human history will be completly different. The end of the cold war and the spread of the globalism idea and culture (internationalism) from 1990s until today, especially supported by the development of information and communication technoligy, does not merely bring nationalism into its end. It is otherwise, the nationalism narrations are more intensive in various interaction and transaction of social, politic, and international economy in developed county such as America (particularly after the WTC tragedy), and the third world country such as India, Chine, Brazil, and Indonesia.

The development of nationalism as a concept that representing a political view is more complex tan the semantic transformation it represented. The complexity of nationalisme concept had made Max Wber frustration when he was intended to provide a sociological explaination about the nationalism phenomenon. In a short artikel written in 1948, he express a pessimist attitude that a consisten theory of nationalism may be developed. No solid reference in understanding nationalism will hence uselessness. Any explaiantion of nationalism, whether from the dimension of biological relationship, ethnic, language, or cultural values, according to Weber, will only lead into an uncomprehensive understanding. Weber's worry is natural because of his commitment toward the modernism epistemology for the universal knowledge. Maybe with the sam reason, two social science father, Karl Marx and Emile Durkheim, had considered this nationalism issue seriously, eventhough their idea were isnpiring the explanation of the nationalism phenomenon.

Weber is maybe right. However, it does not mean that natonalism must be considered as taken for granted and to be put far away from the theory observation. The great socialism implication in various social dimention has invited many intelectual to try to understand and ctitically observe the concept of nation and nationalism, however big its paradox and ambivelansy. Of course the effort to solve the nationalisme mistery is not as easy as Weber said, there are various factors that develop nationalism.

If nationalism is abuilding, the nationalism essentials may be in various floor. The consequency is that the nationalism theory is particular most of the time, not universal as expected by Weber. However, this is not a problem in *postmmodern*

paradigm when science is no longer monolithic and homogene. Various opinion will enrich the human's understanding of the phenomenon surrounding them.

It is realized that the globalism has made nationalism not as great as it is during the end of World War II. This is understandable because human and their various aspects the mixed into one, without the state-nation borders, the role and effectivity of the state-nation is questioned. Because some countries that have the characteristic of territorium, control of violaence, power structure, and legitimation are slowly lost its function. However, in the middle of universal-global era, many misses nationalism because of the historian and sosiologist concern of today's social-culture. Featherstone (2001: 270) in *Consumer Culture and Posmodernism* said that the today's development of life phenomenon is very destructive for the religion and the culture in term of its emphasizing of hedonism, the pleasure chaser here and now, and expressie lifestyle, and the development of narsistic and the selfish personality. Multinational capitalism movement, Americanization, imperialism media and consumerism culture seem ti assume that the local tradisional diversity had been gone because of the universal power, eventhough it is imposibble.

Conclusion

Indonesia nationalism is not a narrow nationalism and not an anacrositis nationalism: "*survival of barbarism*" of as the "*spirit of archaism*" that underlie "*the nationalistic craze for distinctiveness and cultural self-sufficiency*". Today, many people condiseder nationalism as its by-product such aas the nation-state can be said ancient. however there are many people seen nationalism and its by-product is stiill relevant to defence and developed a nation's life. The extreme dichotomy between the historical phenomenon such as *nationalism, modernism,* and even, *post modernism,* is actually will mislead us considering that it is the nationhalism vision of the future.

Facing the globalization era, Indonesian may no adopt the postmodernism era however strong the interdependency occured. To face the outside world, Indonesia msut maintain the sation unity. While to maintain the Indoensian nationalism the main requirement is the readyness and the presistence and flexibility in elaborating teh more relevant nationalism forms tp be more relevant with the age of chalange. Whatever form nationalism is, it has to adjusted with the plural Indonesian condition and the clean, transparent, and accountable government.

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