

Title	The Development of Pancasila Moral Education in Indonesia
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Citation	東南アジア研究 (1995), 33(3): 303-316
Issue Date	1995-12
URL	http://hdl.handle.net/2433/56552
Right	
Type	Departmental Bulletin Paper
Textversion	publisher

The Development of Pancasila Moral Education in Indonesia

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Introduction

Pancasila is the philosophical basis for the foundation of independent Indonesia. Prescribed in the Indonesian Constitution, it has been an immovable foundation of Indonesia since independence. Pancasila consists of five inseparable and mutually qualifying principles:

- 1) belief in the One and Only God
- 2) just and civilized humanity
- 3) the unity of Indonesia
- 4) democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives
- 5) social justice for all the Indonesian people.

Pancasila also has been the key philosophical concept in Indonesian formal education. Without a clear and accurate understanding of Pancasila, it is not possible to understand properly the national education of independent Indonesia. This paper will thus examine Indonesian national education in relation to Pancasila. National education in Indonesia usually means the education since independence of the nation as a sovereign country. However, its origin is found in the efforts of the people to provide their own education during the period of colonization by the Netherlands.

I Tides of Education for Nationalism

1. Education for Nationalism in Indonesia

Two tides are apparent in the education movements developed by Indonesians in the early 20th century. One is the movement that was born out of the demand for education from religious groups, particularly Islam; and the other is the educational movement that grew out of the political aim of national independence [Djumhur and Danasuparta 1974: 149].

The educational movement based on Islam was born mainly by two organizations, Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul Ulama. Muhammadiyah was established in 1912 by Ahmad

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Dahlan, aiming for the reform of the Islamic system. It tried to realize Islamic society based on the genuine ideas of Islam by reviving al-Quran and Sunna, the original teachings of Islam. The central strategy in achieving this aim was the modernization of Islamic education. In practice, the modernization took the form of establishing educational institutions where secular education was provided [Soegarda 1970: 213-217]. Muhammadiyah grew rapidly in Central Java, and today it is found all over Indonesia.

On the other hand, Nahdatul Ulama was established in 1926 in opposition to the Islamic reform movement principally championed by Muhammadiyah. Its founder was Hasyim Asy'ari, the leader of a pesantren, a traditional Islamic educational institution. He tried to revive traditional Islam in Java through this new organization [Zamakhsyari 1982: 96].¹⁾ To this end, much energy was poured into educational enterprises to spread and develop the institution called madrasah alongside pesantren. The new institutional features of madrasah that did not exist in pesantren were a grade system, set class periods, secular subjects in the curriculum and tuition fees.

Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul Ulama have continued to compete with each other as two major Islamic powers up to the present. They, however, share common aspects in that they both emphasize educational activities. Both free themselves from the heavily religious principles of education and concentrate on secular education. This tendency is, however, stronger in Muhammadiyah.

The second tide of education was that related with the nationalist movement. Here, the education for women that bloomed at the beginning of the 20th century draws our attention. Raden Ajeng Kartini is well known as a pioneer of the national movement as well as the women's liberation movement. And she also made efforts for the diffusion of women's education.²⁾ In those days in Java, on reaching the age of puberty, girls of the nobility used to be confined to their room and prohibited to leave the house. Experiencing this convention, Kartini thought that education was of paramount importance in order to emancipate women and raise their social status. She felt the importance of professional education in enhancing women's social status. With this belief, she tried to realize her ideal by establishing a school for girls in 1903 in Jepara in Central Java, the place of her birth, and in Rembang where she lived after marriage. Although her ideal was not realized by her death in 1904, the torch of the women's liberation movement through education did not die.

In 1904, Dewi Sartika established a school for girls (Sakola Istri) in Bandung, and in 1905, Rohana Kuddus established a school for girls called Kerajinan Amai Setia in Kota Gedang, West Sumatra [Djumhur and Danasuparta 1974: 156-159]. They made much of professional education for women that would provide them with opportunities for social advancement in the future.

1) On the problems of pesantren, see Nishino [1990].

2) On the personality and life of Kartini, see Sitismandari [1977].

The main educational organizations based on the national movement gave their first cries of birth in the 1920s in several parts of Indonesia. Among them, the Taman Siswa and the INS educational institution (Ruang Pendidikan INS) were famous for their great influence on education in Indonesia after its independence. The former was established in Jogjakarta in 1922, and the latter in Kayutanam in West Sumatra in 1926. In the next chapter, I will introduce the educational ideas of the two founders of these organizations, namely, Ki Hajar Dewantara and Mohammad Syafei.

2. *Educational Ideas of Ki Hajar Dewantara*

The "Father of National Education" is an honorific title given to Ki Hajar Dewantara. Kenji Tsuchiya accurately described Dewantara's contribution to the movement for national integration in Indonesia [Tsuchiya 1988; 1992]. In this section, I would like to look into the characteristics of Dewantara's ideas on education by analyzing the principles of Taman Siswa.

When Dewantara established Taman Siswa as an educational institution for nationalism in 1922, he summarized its purposes in seven principles. These principles were formalized as "the Principles of Taman Siswa" (Azas Taman Siswa) in the first general meeting of Taman Siswa held in 1923 [Dewantara 1962: 48-49]. The first principle is the *Among* system (*Amongsteem*) which is the basis of the educational idea of Dewantara. *Among* means "nurture" in Javanese. The concrete meaning of *Among* is that education is to promote the natural talents (*kodrat alam*) of a child and not to make him/her learn through compulsion and punishment. As the second principle, Dewantara emphasized the importance of guiding children to think and act of their own free will. He said, however, that the *Among* system comes into existence only when the principles of natural talents and free will combine. These two principles correspond with the seventh principle, which is to "dedicate oneself to children." The twentieth century was called "the century of children." The new education movement that advocated child-centered education became prevalent in Europe and its wave surged over the Asian countries. Dewantara was one of those who was strongly influenced by this wave. He absorbed the educational ideas of Maria Montessori, who presented a theory on childhood education, and Rabindranath Tagore, known as the genius poet of India.

The ideas of Dewantara, however, are not an imitation of the new education that started in Europe. In the third principle, he appealed for education firmly based on the Indonesian culture (the principle of culture). Rejecting the colonial education under which only small groups of people could benefit, he advocated the formation of democratic education, whereby all Indonesian people would have equal access to education (principle 4: the principle of democracy). To this end, he insisted that the country should not receive foreign aid that would eventually curtail the liberty of the country (principle 5: the principle of non-cooperation) but should rely on her own power (principle 6: the principle of self-reliance). He proposed to make the traditional educational institutions, such as

pondok, pesantren and asrama, the basis of national education. He thought that cohabitation of teachers and pupils in these institutions would foster moral as well as intellectual education, which ultimately would lead to the realization of a well-balanced, total education. In this way, the characteristics of the education in Taman Siswa were, on one hand, to introduce the ideas of the new education from Europe that advocated child-centered education and, on the other hand, to convey the traditional educational system in Java that aimed at the total development of children.

When Indonesia achieved independence, Dewantara reexamined the seven principles prescribed in the purposes of establishing Taman Siswa. He made public "the five principles of Taman Siswa" (Panca Darma Taman Siswa) in 1947 [Dewantara 1961: 12-13]. Although there were no fundamental differences between them and the seven principles, he made some revisions according to changes resulting from Indonesia's independence. One of them was the principle of non-cooperation with the colonial government. With regard to the new government that had won independence, this principle was reversed to cooperation. The principle of cooperation with the independent Indonesian government positively supported the spirit of Taman Siswa rather than contradicted it, because the idea of Taman Siswa was based on Indonesian culture that was inseparably related with nationalism.

The five principles of 1947 are the principle of freedom, the principle of natural talent, the principle of culture, the principle of nationalism (*kebangsaan*) and the principle of humanity (*kemanusiaan*). The first three principles have the same content as in 1922. The principle of nationalism took over from the principles of non-cooperation and self-reliance. However, the caveat was introduced that hatred and hostility towards other nations should not be born out of the principle of nationalism. This is why the principle of humanity came to be prescribed. Dewantara warned that the principle of nationalism should not be in conflict with the principle of humanity.

From what I have mentioned above, it is clear that the five principles of Taman Siswa of 1947 were revised from the principles of 1922 in order to correspond with the five principles of Pancasila. The term *panca* is common in both principles. In addition, humanity, nationalism and democracy are the common terms and principles that are advocated in both the Pancasila and the principles of Taman Siswa of 1922. It may well be said that the Taman Siswa founded by Dewantara is an institution that clearly showed the way of national education in Indonesia after its independence, rather than a mere organization of private schools which existed in Indonesia.

3. *Educational Ideas of Mohammad Syafei*

The life history of Mohammad Syafei has several similarities to that of Dewantara. Syafei was born in 1899, ten years after Dewantara, and died in 1969, again ten years after Dewantara. Although there is the decisive difference that one was an exiled from his country (Dewantara) and one left of his own free will (Syafei), both studied in the

Netherlands, in the 1910s and 1920s respectively, and were strongly influenced by the new education movement. Just as Dewantara founded the Taman Siswa after he came back to Indonesia, Syafei founded the INS education house in Kayutanam in West Sumatra. In the beginning, INS was the abbreviation of "Indisch Nederlandse School" (Indonesian Netherlands School, in Dutch). After independence, it changed to the English "Indonesian National School." At present, it is known as "Institut Nasional Syafei" (Syafei National Institute, in Indonesian). The term "education house" (*ruang pendidikan*) was from the German institution of the new education movement, *Landerziehungsheim* [Soejono 1979: 72].

After Indonesian independence, Dewantara became the country's first minister of education and culture in 1945, whereas Syafei became the third minister of education and culture in 1946. During the war of independence against the Netherlands, the Indonesian archipelago turned into a battle front. Under such conditions, it was impossible for them to demonstrate fully their ability in the improvement of the educational administration. However, after independence, their ideas became vital forces in establishing national education in Indonesia.

The educational ideas of Syafei are similar in many respects to those of Dewantara. As mentioned, Syafei studied the new education in the Netherlands. He was particularly influenced by John Dewey and Georg Kerschensteiner. What he learned from Dewey was the importance of scientific and rational thinking, and the acquisition of practical abilities. From Kerschensteiner, he learned the idea of education through work. Based on the idea that independent activities form a child's personality, the INS education house emphasized the education of manual work and self-expression. In his writing, Syafei described examples of activities he had devised using paper, clay, grass straws and coconuts [Syafei 1978].

When Syafei studied in the Netherlands, he refused any aid from the Netherlands, the colonial government. In building the INS education house, he adopted the policy of having teachers and pupils build the school building, tables and chairs with their own hands. He aimed to foster the spirit of mutual aid (*gotong royong*) through cooperative works among teachers and pupils. This is in accord with the principle of nationalism advocated by Dewantara. Criticizing the education of the colonial government, which placed too much emphasis on intellectual education, Syafei advocated total education in which intellectual and moral education were integrated. He pursued the kind of education that promoted the total development of children, emphasizing the traditional value of mutual aid in Indonesia [Soejono 1979: 73] as well as introducing the ideas of the new education in Europe.

Syafei's educational ideas also correspond with the five principles of Pancasila. In the *Principles of Education* (1968) Syafei presents 29 principles [Syafei 1979: 33-35]. The first five principles are belief in the One and Only God, humanity, social justice, democracy and nationalism. Obviously these five principles refer to Pancasila. Under the colonization of the Netherlands, the education movement for nationalism advocated by Dewantara and

Syafei was reflected in the direction of national education in the future, independent Indonesia.

II Pancasila-ization of the National Education

1. *Change of Educational Goals*

Turning to the post-independence period, I would like to trace the process in which Pancasila was formalized as the basis of national education. First, taking laws and regulations related to education, I shall describe the change of the position of Pancasila in the provisions related with the aim of education.

I have described the five principles of Pancasila at the beginning of this paper. They were prescribed in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution and regarded as the official text of Pancasila. However, in examining the legitimacy of Pancasila [Nugroho 1985], it is necessary to note two documents presented before the promulgation of the 1945 Constitution. The first is the text of the speech given by Sukarno at the first meeting of the Investigating Body for the Preparation for an Independent Indonesia. This speech, in which he proposed the national principles of independent Indonesia, was advertised as "the Birth of Pancasila" (*Lahirnya Pancasila*) by Sukarno himself. This is the birth of the term *pancasila* meaning five principles. When Sukarno was faced with the question whether Indonesia should be an Islamic country or a secular one, he denied both. As a compromise, he set forth the principle of belief in the One and Only God (*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*).

The other document is the Jakarta Charter (*Piagam Jakarta*) written on 22 June 1945, by the Committee of the Investigating Body for the Preparation for an Independent Indonesia for the purpose of drafting the preamble of the Constitution. In the Jakarta Charter, a compulsory provision limited to Muslims only was added to the first principle, "the belief in the One and Only God." When the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (the 1945 Constitution, UUD '45) was promulgated on August 18, the day after the declaration of independence, this compulsory provision was erased.

When Pancasila was specified as the national principles in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution, national education after independence became free from the colonial education and started to follow the principles of Pancasila. Its starting point is perceived in the decision by the Executive Committee for the Central National Assembly on 27 December 1945. The Central National Assembly worked on the formation of national policies. Its decision was made public as "the principles of education as the true means for founding the nation" [Soegarda 1970: 37]. These educational principles, consisting of 10 items, are inspired by the spirit of Pancasila. Humanity and nationalism (the second and third principles) are reflected in the provision of educational aims, and the principle of equal educational opportunity is based on social justice (the fifth principle). Also, reflecting the first principle of "the belief in the One and Only God," freedom of religion was clearly expressed in the provision of religious education.

Although the direction of education was set in this way, the situation was too confusing to put these principles into practice, because of the war for independence. However, preparations for the establishment of an educational law were continued in order to form a legal basis of national education, and nationwide education meetings were held in Solo and Jogjakarta. In this way, the Fundamental Law of School Education (UU tentang Dasar-dasar Pendidikan dan Pengajaran di Sekolah) was promulgated in 1950. Provision 4 of this law states: "The foundation of education lies in the principles of Pancasila, the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and the national culture of Indonesia." Thus, Pancasila legitimately became the basis of national education. The person in charge of drafting the proposal for this law was Ki Hajar Dewantara. This is why people say that this law comprises the theory and principles of Taman Siswa [*ibid.*: 220].

Pancasila was made as the basis of national education after Indonesian independence. However, as "the integrated unity of diverse values" is "too vague to understand" [*ibid.*: 113], some intellectuals came to call Pancasila "a bowl without substance" [Darmaputera 1988: 172]. Because of this nature, Pancasila has been interpreted differently in connection with various ideologies of each period.

Under the Sukarno regime, Pancasila as the educational aim was emphasized in connection with socialism. This reflected the attitude of Sukarno regime characterized by the dominance of communism, although it reconciles the three powers of nationalism, Islamism and communism. The Higher Education Law of 1961 (UU tentang Perguruan Tinggi) states that the purpose of higher education is "to breed the builders of a socialist society that embodies the spirit of Pancasila." In this period, education for socialism was regarded as the ultimate goal of education under the name of Pancasila.

With the change of political regime from Sukarno to Soeharto after the incident of 30 September 1965, Pancasila came to be interpreted in connection with an ideology that was contrary to socialism. According to the General Principles of National Policies (GBHN) formulated in 1973 at the People's Consultative Assembly, the supreme decision-making body in Indonesia, the purpose of education was "to bring up people who can realize the ideal of Pancasila." The ideological basis of the Soeharto regime is said to be an anticommunist stand and an emphasis on economic development. This is obvious in his educational policy. Education for communism was abolished according to the anticommunist policy. By emphasizing economic development, the aim of education was changed to foster a "development-oriented person" (*manusia pembangunan*) who can contribute to the promotion of the national development plan.

2. Genealogy of Civic Education

Before the Pancasila moral education, the central role in permeating the spirit of Pancasila among school children was played by civic education. Focusing on this subject, I will consider in this section how the treatment of Pancasila has changed in the framework of civic education.

Even after the attainment of independence that had been Indonesia's ardent wish, the educational scene continued in confusion for a while due to the disruption entailed by the war of independence. In civic education, the textbook, *Indische Burgerschapskunde* (Citizenship of East India) written during the Dutch colonial period was used as a teacher's guide without revision [Tromps 1934]. It was only in 1955 that a textbook written in Indonesian, entitled *Inti Pengetahuan Warganegara* (Knowledge of a Citizen) was published [Simorangkir 1955]. This textbook was made with the aim of making students aware of their responsibilities to themselves, society and the nation as citizens of Indonesia. Although it refers to Pancasila, it gives no detailed explanations. The highlight of this period was the promulgation of the 1950 Constitution, which proclaimed the introduction of European parliamentary democracy. This period was thus called "the period of liberal democracy." However, political leaders of this period paid little attention to Pancasila in spite of its principle of democracy.

In 1959, the 1950 Constitution was abolished and the 1945 Constitution, which vested powerful authority in the president, was adopted again. From then until 1965 followed a period called "the period of guided democracy." Sukarno gathered power and established the NASAKOM Order that aimed at balancing the three powers: nationalism, Islamism and communism. This political attitude was reflected in civic education. The textbook of civic education, *Manusia dan Masyarakat Baru Indonesia* (Indonesian New People and Society) published by the Ministry of Education in 1960 [Soepardo *et al.* 1960], was nothing but Sukarno's political credo. This is proved by the fact that majority of references cited in the textbook are the speeches of Sukarno himself. There is a chapter on Pancasila. The concept used in this chapter was drawn from Sukarno's speech "the Birth of Pancasila" at the meeting of the Investigating Body for the Preparation for an Independent Indonesia. In civic education, Sukarno's ideology was taught uncritically in a manner of indoctrination (*indoktrinasi*) [Numan 1976: 53].

The event of 30 September 1965 became the trigger for a big change in the field of civic education. First, textbooks used in the period of guided democracy were banned. Until new textbooks could be made, civic education was to cover four areas: Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, decision-making by the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly and the United Nations. When the curriculum was totally revised in 1968, civic education (Pendidikan Kewargaan Negara) was included among "the group of subjects that aim for the development of the Pancasila spirit," along with religion, the Indonesian language and physical education. The purpose of civic education was "to understand and practice the Pancasila spirit prescribed in the preamble as well as the provisions of the 1945 Constitution." An instruction was added that pupils should not study civic education only as knowledge, but also acquire the attitude to life of living up to the Pancasila spirit. However, the curriculum of 1968 does not give detailed explanations on the attitudes and behaviors that constitute living up to the Pancasila spirit.

When it was pointed out that it was difficult to achieve full understanding of

Pancasila in the framework of civic education, a new subject called "Pancasila moral education" (Pendidikan Moral Pancasila) appeared in the curriculum revision of 1975 in place of civic education. In the following chapter, I shall present clues for understanding the characteristics of national education in Indonesia by clarifying the characteristics of this new subject.

III Pancasila Moral Education

1. *Establishment of Pancasila Moral Education*

Soeharto took over from Sukarno on 11 March 1966, and in 1969 he started the five-year development plan (Repelita) to restore the national economy that had declined during the Sukarno age. At the same time, Soeharto tried to solve the problem of national unity. Judging that the key to national unity lay in the permeation of the Pancasila spirit, he repeatedly stressed to the necessity of substantiating Pancasila in every speech he made on national administration throughout the 1970s. His advocacy was published in a book entitled *Pandangan Presiden Soeharto tentang Pancasila* (President Soeharto's View of Pancasila) on 11 March 1976 [Krissantono 1976], just 10 years after he succeeded Sukarno. This book was provided to schools as a textbook.

Soeharto thought that the national crisis was caused by the treatment of Pancasila. In his opinion, Pancasila was made light of during the period of liberal democracy and misinterpreted during the period of guided democracy. In 1975, he referred to the Five Members Committee chaired by Mohammad Hatta to provide a definitive interpretation of Pancasila. The committee members had all been leaders of the national movement before independence, and thus they were regarded as the generation who could present a unified interpretation of Pancasila. In 1977, the Five Members Committee made public *Uraian Pancasila* (the Interpretation of Pancasila) [Panitia Lima 1977]. In response, "the Guidelines for Understanding and Practices of Pancasila" (Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila, abbreviated as P4) was enacted in the People's Consultative Assembly in 1978. Behavioral norms consisting of 36 items based on Pancasila were formalized in the guidelines.

Even before the formulation of P4, the idea of Pancasila moral education existed in the General Principles of National Policies (GBHN) decided by the People's Consultative Assembly in 1973. According to this guideline, the curriculum should contain Pancasila moral education and the principles that the spirit and values of the 1945 Constitution should be bequeathed and advanced regardless of whether by public or private endeavour and at all educational levels from kindergarten to university. When the curriculum was revised in 1975, two hours per week was provided for Pancasila moral education at all stages of education, from elementary to higher education, and in all types of schools. When P4 was outlined in 1978, the 36 behavioral norms it prescribed became the educational purposes of Pancasila moral education. Thus, P4 was regarded as the source of Pancasila

moral education.

Courses called P4 Training (Penataran P4) were held to permeate P4 widely throughout the country. In 1978, when P4 was formalized, Soeharto advocated the implementation of P4 training. In 1980, it was started for new students in junior and senior high schools and universities. This training, which aims to foster the understanding and practice the P4, the 1945 Constitution and the General Principles of National Policies, is similar to the Pancasila moral education in content. This P4 training, however, has the characteristics of being assigned as a duty to all Indonesian people, not simply to public officials, beyond the framework of school education. It may well be said that the P4 training, along with the Pancasila moral education, is "a huge national enterprise" to propagate the Pancasila spirit throughout the nation.

2. *Content of Pancasila Moral Education*

We can assume that the Pancasila moral education is a subject that is beyond the "realm" of moral education in a narrow sense by analyzing the content of the textbook and course of study. The previous section showed by tracing the genealogy of civic education that the Pancasila moral education has an aspect of civic education, but at the same time, as its name signifies, it also has an aspect of moral education. Pancasila is understood as "the unity of various values." It may be natural, therefore, that Pancasila moral education, which was born with the purpose of bequeathing and advancing the Pancasila spirit among the young generation, comprises various aspects. In this section, I will clarify the structural characteristics of Pancasila moral education by focusing on the aspects of civic education, moral education and education in national history.

The major source of the civic aspect of Pancasila moral education is the 1945 Constitution. Here I will look at the provisions in the Constitution in relation to Pancasila. The goal of the first principle of Pancasila, the belief in the One and Only God, is to understand the freedom of religion prescribed in article 29 in the Constitution. As for the idea of humanity, the second principle, the goal is to learn to respect the fundamental human rights which are prescribed in the articles on rights and duties of citizens. For the third principle, "unity of Indonesia," the goal is to learn the dignity of national independence through the understanding of article 32 (national culture), article 35 (national flag) and article 36 (Indonesian language). There are many provisions related to the fourth principle, democracy. The 1945 Constitution is a relatively short document consisting of only 37 articles, but the first 22 articles are all provisions on national organizations. As regards social justice, the fifth principle, article 33 contains important provisions on national economy and social welfare. The goal of this article is to understand that the economy and development should be based on the principles of familiarization (*kekeluargaan*) and mutual aid (*gotong royong*).

As regards the moral aspect, 36 norms of "the Guidelines for Understanding and Practices of Pancasila"(P4) became educational goals.³⁾ In the first principle, "the belief in

the One and Only God” based on the spirit of religious tolerance, its aim is to learn tolerant and generous attitudes towards adherents of different religions. For the second principle, the aim is to respect the value of humanity and to learn the attitude of compassion and mutual aid. The third principle, “unity of Indonesia” aims to foster love of the nation and people of Indonesia based on the national ideal of “unity in diversity.” As for democracy, the fourth principle, the aim is to understand and practice democracy guided by the principles of deliberation (*musyawarah*) and unanimous agreement (*mufakat*). The aim in the fifth principle, social justice, is to acquire the virtues of fairness, diligence, thrift and simple life based on the principles of familiarization (*kekeluargaan*) and mutual aid (*gotong royong*).

The aspect of education in national history contains broadly three elements. One is the development of the national movement before the independence of Indonesia; the second is the process of formation of Pancasila; and the third is the process of disseminating Pancasila to the citizens of independent Indonesia. In other words, it is the history of the evolution of Pancasila. With the curriculum revision of 1984, a new subject called the history of national struggle (Pendidikan Sejarah Perjuangan Bangsa) emerged. Education in national history came to be dealt with mainly in this new subject as a part of Pancasila moral education.

Sofyan analyzed the trends in each grade. In his analysis, he separated the content of Pancasila moral education into civic education, moral education and national history. He found that in the higher grades, the proportions of civic education and national history increases, whereas the proportion of moral education decreases [Sofyan 1980: 16]. In the lower grades in elementary schools, the main goal is to teach the moral norms contained in P4, but in the upper grades in elementary schools, political, economic and historical studies account for the predominant part of the subject, and this trend becomes stronger in the higher stages of education, from junior high school to senior high school.

3. Methodologies of Pancasila Moral Education

The purpose of Pancasila moral education is, on one hand, to cultivate moral feelings and attitudes, and on the other hand, it also aims to give students political, economic, social, religious and cultural knowledge related to Pancasila. Therefore, the teaching methods generally applied also need to be diverse, according to the multiple facets of this purpose. In this section, I would like to consider the characteristics of methods of Pancasila moral education by analyzing the Course Studies (GBPP) provided by the Ministry of Education and Culture.⁴⁾

The teaching method most generally used is class instruction by way of lecturing or

3) Kirdi [1986: 65-72] describes the moral order of individual and moral duty of the nation based on P4.

4) For details, see Tim Pendidikan Moral Pancasila [1981].

story telling, which is effective in conveying knowledge and information to a group of students. This method is very often used at junior and senior high school levels, where the content of Pancasila moral education assumes a stronger color of civic education. Discussion is another method that is frequently used at higher grades in elementary school up to senior high school. This discussion method is based on a sort of deliberation (*musyawarah*) that is the traditional method of decision-making in Indonesia. This method helps to promote a deeper group thinking and develops a positive attitude and companionship among students in the class. Discussion itself also plays an important role in bringing up a democratic people. The method of question and answer is frequently combined with a lecture or a discussion. This method has the advantage that students' problems are clarified through questions asked by the teacher. These methods of lecturing, discussion, question and answer are used in class as a group unit and are classified as traditional teaching methods [Bambang 1983: 116].

By these traditional methods, however, it is difficult to guide students according to their individuality and competence. As a method to supplement these shortcomings, there is a lesson based on the principle of individual guidance. Lessons such as writing essays after reading a book or analyzing newspaper articles are examples of individualized lessons in Pancasila moral education [Tim Pendidikan Moral Pancasila 1981: 238-239].

The guiding methods mentioned above are effective mainly in teaching knowledge. However, in order to bring about the formation of moral attitudes and behavior, which is the main focus of the Pancasila moral education, an appropriate method is required. Role playing is recognized as an effective teaching method in guiding attitudes and behavior of pupils and students. Through role playing, students are encouraged by their own will to choose the ideal behavior by themselves and put it into practice. Next to role play, teaching methods such as social plays, simulations and games are used in the training of P4.

The evaluation method of Pancasila moral education also needs to be grasped comprehensively from the angles of knowledge, attitudes and behavior. To evaluate whether students have acquired the knowledge related with the Pancasila moral education, objective written and oral examinations are commonly used. Pancasila moral education is one of the required subjects in entrance and graduation examinations. Because of this, objective tests that examine the acquisition of knowledge are heavily emphasized at junior and senior high school level.

For attitude evaluation, questionnaires and interviews are used. A questionnaire is suitable for implementation with a group, whereas an interview is effective for individual guidance for problem students. While a questionnaire grasps the consciousness of students through language, an interview enables the evaluation of attitudes and feelings.

An effective method for evaluating behavior of students is observation. This method includes the "episode record method" and "check lists." In the former method, students behaviors that appear to be useful in guidance are kept in a record, and in the latter, behaviors are itemized for evaluation and checked if students adopt those behaviors.

What is clear from the foregoing classification of the methods of guidance and evaluation used in the Pancasila moral education is the variety of approaches. Since the aim of Pancasila moral education is the all-round development of students, comprehensiveness and diversity are also essential in its methods.

Concluding Remarks

In 1989, the National Educational System Law (UU tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional) was enacted. As I have mentioned, the Fundamental Law of School Education was established in 1950 and the Higher Education Law in 1961. These two laws were made under the political regime of Sukarno and had limited features, and thus a law covering all aspects of national education was needed. The National Educational System Law (Article 2) prescribes that "the basis of the national education is Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution." It also requires teachers to possess the spirit of Pancasila as a qualification as well as a duty. As for the content of education, "Pancasila education" is a required subject in all stages and types of education.

In this paper, I have probed into the development of Pancasila by tracing the historical process by which Pancasila permeates into national education. It became clear that Pancasila moral education functions as a driving force for national integration through school education. This role of Pancasila was reinforced and consolidated by the establishment of the National Educational System Law. It may well be said that Pancasila moral education is above all else "the education for nationalism." Its development is attracting the attention not only of the Indonesian people, but also of neighboring countries such as Malaysia and Singapore.

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