

Sardiman, Ajat Sudrajat, Djoko Suryo: *The Revitalization of Deliberation Values...*

THE REVITALIZATION OF DELIBERATION VALUES IN THE EDUCATION OF DEMOCRACY IN INDONESIA: A STUDY OF SOEDIRMAN FIGURE VALUES

Sardiman, Ajat Sudrajat, Djoko Suryo³

Abstract

This research aims at analyzing the importance of deliberation values in developing democracy education in Indonesia. This research is a qualitative-historical research, i.e. reconstructing the expression and role of Soedirman struggle and his figure values, especially the value of deliberation. The values were then explored thoroughly using a sociological approach and some of the religious dimensions to get an idea of a more fundamental deliberation value as the principles of democratic development. The results show that Soedirman was successful becoming a leader both within the civil and military community and capable of upholding the values of the deliberation in performing his figure tasks. However, the deliberation values tend to be fading in this reformation era. Also, democracy is liberal and tends to be overly practiced. This should be improved by developing democracy education through the revitalization of deliberation values. The revitalization can be realized by performing dialogues and following deliberation traditions practiced by Soedirman in order to strengthen the implementation of Pancasila-based democracy (Pancasila Democracy).

Keywords: Figure values, deliberation, democracy.

³Yogyakarta State University, Gajah Mada University. Email: sardiman@uny.ac.id

Introduction

Talking about the deliberation values in Indonesia may remind us the content of the fourth principle of *Pancasila*. The fourth principle is “Democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives.” Based on the fourth principle of *Pancasila*, the *founding fathers* have determined that democracy becomes the principle in the implementation of Indonesian democracy. Therefore, democracy in Indonesia is well-known as “Pancasila Democracy”

In fact, the implementation of *Pancasila*-based democracy in the nation and state life in Indonesia does not run as it is. *Pancasila* democracy has not been implemented consequently since it was introduced by the *founding fathers* in Proclamation era, during the period of independence defense, Liberal Democracy, Guided Democracy, being reviewed in New Order, and continued in Reformation era. Even, many people in the Reformation era consider that democracy is “over”. This was conferred by the President Jokowi in his speech at an inauguration of Hanura Party Central Board in Sentul, Bogor, 22 February 2017 (Kompas. Com. 22, February 2017). The “over” democracy is also indicated by the widening of extreme political articulation opportunities such as liberalism, radicalism, fundamentalism, sectarianism, terrorism, and teachings which contradict with *Pancasila* ideology. *Pancasila* gets less attention. Even, it becomes jokes for some people (there was an artist who mock the fifth principle of *Pancasila* as *bebek nungging/twerking ducks* (Rachmanto, 2016: 1).

The overly practiced democracy leads to the unreadiness of infrastructure and

immature mentality of the society especially in relation to politics. This is indicated by horizontal conflicts which frequently occur after the implementation of general elections, either in legislative general election, presidential election, or governor election, for instance a chaos that was triggered by arguments of the defeated parties and cheating allegations addressed to the winner of the elections. Moreover, the growing of money politic practices show that the political actors feel unconfidence to exist in the Indonesian democracy stage. The developed democracy tends to be build based on desire, short term reasons, and without affection. Life which is marked by the arising desire and ambition as well as lost of affection has brought public space as a conflict arena and unsafety situation. For instance, violence increases in the form of murder, fighting among groups in the society, and among students. They occur because brotherhood and deliberation values have been faded.

The decreasing of deliberation values has resulted in the weakening of peaceful feeling and mutual respect among humans. People feel suspicious do not trust each other. Thus, transparency as the important element in democracy life can not be developed. Consequently, various problems in social life can not be solved. The accumulation of various problems in the society may create massive disappointment which impacts on trust crises toward the government as the facilitator of nation and state life. This, for sure, must not happen.

Based on the explanation above, some questions can be formulated as follows. Why doesn't *Pancasila*-based Democracy run consequently? How significant are the deliberation values in developing democracy

education in Indonesia? How can deliberation values be revitalized and actualized?. With regard to those questions, it can be confirmed that there are problems in the implementation of democracy in Indonesia.

This paper provides description about the issues dealing with some questions above through the studies of Soedirman's figure, especially deliberation values.

Research Methods

This research is a qualitative-historical research, i.e. a qualitative research employing a historical method. This research is intended to understand the meanings of individual or group attitude and action which describe social or humanitarian problems (related to Soedirman figure) (Creswell, 2009: 59). This research was conducted in Cilacap, Yogyakarta and various regions in East Java. The subjects of this research include Soedirman and some informants who know Soedirman as the source-persons. This research deals with the efforts of reconstructing past human activities regarding the role expressions and struggle of Soedirman and formulating his figure values. The steps taken after determining a research title consist of collecting sources (heuristic), criticizing sources (verification), interpreting (to build) meaning and the last is writing (Gottschalk, 1983:34, see also Helius Sjamsuddin, 1996).

In collecting sources, the researcher obtained many documents from Headquarters of Army in Bandung, interview results performed by History Team of Army to the sourcepersons who lived at the same era as Soedirman and knew him well. In addition, interviews were conducted with the witnesses when Soedirman became the leader of guerilla. Selecting the appropriate sourcepersons should consider: who, when, where, and how the role played by the sourcepersons regarding the events or figures

which will be reconstructed (Abd Rahman Hamid & M. Saleh Madjid, 2011:19-22). After criticizing the sources, the researcher performed an interpretation. This stage include analysis and synthesis processes (Kuntowijoyo, 2013: 78). The objectives of these processes are to analyze deliberation values as the results of the role expressions and struggle of Soedirman. In analyzing the deliberation values, sociological approaches were applied with some religious dimensions in order that the values become more meaningful (inspired by concept of *scientific cum doctinaire* (Mukti Ali, 2004: 57) Some explanations are linked to verses of the Koran. Therefore, hermeneutics method is required. This method is employed as a tool to strengthen interpretation process, explain and rationalize the values which have been analyzed (Palmer, 1969:23). More-over, psychological approach is used (Sartono Kartodirdjo, 1982) to know the attitude and behavior of Soedirman thoroughly so that it may help formulate the values behind his attitude and struggle. The last stage is writing or making a report. This writing process include the efforts to answer some questions, such as: "*what, who, when, where, how and why*" (Berkhofer, 1980: 284). With regard to this, explaining skill is needed based on the causality principle (Suhartono W. Pranoto, 2010:). Then, the presentation of the writing uses an active-dynamic language and has dramatic power (to build the readers' spirit and emotion) (McCoy, 1974:11).

Research Findings

Background of Soedirman Figure

Soedirman was born in Rembang, Bodas Karangjati, Purbalingga, on 24 January 1916. He was a son of Karsid and Sijem who were ordinary people (*Dinas Sejarah TNI AD*, 1985:229). When he was a baby, he was taken by R.Tjokrosoenarjo family as an adopted child. The family belongs to high social class known as *priayi*.

R.Tjokrosoenarjo is an Asistant of *Wedono* (Head of Sub-district) in Rembang, Bodaskarangjati. He is a husband of Tarsem or Turidawati (Sijem's sister) (S. Kadarjono, 1961:12). R. Tjokrosoenarjo and Turidawati did not have a child. Therefore, R. Tjokrosoenarjo took Soedirman as an adopted child. Sijem did not mind about it. Sijem family then lived in R. Tjokrosoenarjo family environment.

Soedirman's childhood has a unique story. Since he was a child, Soedirman's personality was influenced by sub-culture around his family. Borrowing a terminology of Clifford Geertz (1976), in R. Tjokrosoenarjo family, there were some figures from different sub-cultures, i.e. R.Tjokrosoenarjo and his wife named Turidawati who represented *priyayi* subculture, Siyem represented ordinary people (*wong cilik*) subculture, and small praying house with the religious teachers represented religious person (*santri*) subculture. R. Tjokrosoenarjo had inherited some values such as heroism, religious, and disciplines. Turidawati as a mother was represented as a noble woman who taught politeness value, while Siyem had taught modesty and hardwork values. In addition, the environment of small praying house and religious teachers at school had instilled religious faith and obedience to Soedirman.

Soedirman grew to be a religious, discipline and hardworker person. During his study in MULO (*Meer Uitbreid Leger Onderwijs*) Wiworo Tomo, he started to show his strong figures. Soedirman actively involved in various organizational activities at his school. During his study in MULO, the Islamic values of Soedirman had improved. He never missed five times prayers. Even, he frequently performed a midnight prayer and *sunnah* fasting (based on Mokh. Samingan's testimony). Among his classmates and teachers, Soedirman was known as a pious and religious student, so he was called "*kajine*" or a religious person (Soekanto, 1981:51).

After he graduated from MULO Wiworo Tomo, Soedirman was fully active in Muhammadiyah organization. Firstly, Soedirman was active as a member and then he became leader of Hizboel Wathan (HW) boyscout organization in Cilacap. He guided his juniors in HW to perform discipline, to be hard worker and independent, do not complain and desperate, have strong belief, and do not miss five times prayers (Sardiman AM., 2000: 51).

Instead of being active in HW, Soedirman was also active in Pemuda Muhammadiyah organization (Muhammadiyah Youth Organization) to develop his skill. In addition, he was appointed as a leader of Muhammadiyah Youth organization in Banyumas in 1937 due to his skill and capacity. Then, he was elected as the leader of Muhammadiyah Youth organization in Central Java province (*Dinas Sejarah TNI AD, 1985:198*). With regard to this, his responsibility was heavier. Therefore, his duties as a Minister of H.W. in Banyumas Region was given to Soeparno, a teacher at Mu'alimin Muhammadiyah Purwokerto. However, Soedirman was still actively involved in the programs held by H.W. (S. Sulisty Atmodjo, 1991: 15). In this position, Soedirman became so busy that he sometimes did not think of himself.

Soedirman also concerned on education for native people. He became a teacher in HIS Muhammadiyah Cilacap and he was an idol teacher for his students. Also, he was elected as the principle in that school. Soedirman had an obsession to improve the education for the natives. Through education, the intelligence and social life quality of the native people will improve. This is a strategic step to decrease the influence of ideology and bad practice performed by the colonials (Sardiman AM, 2000:102).

Entering Japanese colonialism era, Soedirman became a popular figure in the society. After Japan formed *Pembela Tanah Air* (PETA) or Country Defender Corp in 1943,

Soedirman was recruited as a *daidanco* of PETA in Kroya. When Japan developed *Jawa Hokokai* organization in 1944, he was recruited as well. (Tjokropranolo, 1992: 26).

After Indonesian independence, Soedirman became a commander of BKR (*Badan Keamanan Rakyat/ Peoples Security Board*) in Banyumas. "Government Edict" concerning the establishment of TKR (*Tentara Keamanan Rakyat/ Peoples Security Army*) on 5 October 1945 was followed up by forming TKR in many different regions. Moreover, Soedirman was appointed to be the commander of TKR Regiment in Purwokerto. After TKR was managed nationally, Soedirman was appointed as a Division V Commander of TKR or as a colonel who ruled Kedu and Banyumas regions (Nasution, 1977: 26-27).

In November 12, 1945, a conference was held in TKR Headquarters in Yogyakarta to elect the TKR commander. In that conference, Soedirman was elected as a candidate of Great Commander of TKR (Johannes, 1978, *Berita Buana*, 15 February, 1978). He was inaugurated on 18 December 1945 because Soedirman had to concentrate to encounter Ambarawa battle toward the Allies force which was supported by Dutch force.

By 1946, the situation in Jakarta was getting unsafe. The central government of the Republic of Indonesia was moved from Jakarta to Yogyakarta, on 4 January 1946. Due to the critical political situation, the strategy of diplomacy was performed by Sutan Syahrir. As the Prime Minister, Sutan Syahrir discussed with the Dutch and the Allies as the mediator to determine Indonesia's future. One of the diplomatic strategies was performing Linggarjati Agreement in 1947. Moreover, Renville Agreement was implemented in Amir Sjarifuddin cabinet in 1948. Personally, Soedirman disagreed with that agreement since Dutch was tricky i.e. in the perspective of *de facto*, they only admitted that the regions of the Republic of Indonesia consisted of Java, Madura and Sumatera. Soedirman, in this case, fought for the sake of 100% sovereignty of RI

(Kedaulatan Rakyat, 5 July 1946). Moreover, after Renville Agreement was signed, the Dutch only recognized RI's regions in the perspective of *de facto* consisting of Yogyakarta and some parts of East Java. The content of that Agreement was a "disaster" and clearly betrayed the ideals of Proclamation (Adam Malik (1984:192). Even, as a complaint, Oerip Somohardjo resigned from his position as an advisor in military field (Nasution, 1984:77).

Soedirman was really disappointed and shocked. But, as a democratic state official and religious person, he tried to understand the political reality gracefully. He kept fighting until the Dutch left from Indonesia. Soedirman became a victim of Re-ra policy (his degree was lowered) and he had to face FDR/PKI or Indonesian Communist Party rebellion led by Muso and Amir Sjarifuddin in Madiun which sparked on 18 September 1948. Soedirman mind fighting the native people. The rebellion can be overcome immediately.

It seems that the accumulation of Soedirman's psychological burden affects his physical condition. He was sick and had to be cared intensively. When he was sick, the Dutch conducted military aggression to the RI regions in 19 December 1948. Knowing that the Dutch had attacked, like a miracle, Soedirman got up and took over the command to lead the battle toward the Dutch (Pour, 2010: 81). His physical was actually vulnerable, but his spirit was never weakening. He had to lead guerilla war. For about six months, he took more than 1000 km journey, his mental, physical and wealth were dedicated for the sake of the Indonesian sovereignty.

Soedirman's Figure Values

In general, value is considered something that is important in humans' life. Due to its importance, value becomes a belief that could influence someone's behavior. According to Hill (1991: 4)

when people speak of values they are usually referring to those beliefs held by individuals to which they attach special priority or worth, and by which they tend to order their lives. A values is, therefore, more than a belief; but it is also more than a feeling.

In line with Hill, Milton Rokeach (1969:160) says that value is a belief that influences and directs someone's attitude and behavior even it becomes self assessment and other assessment instruments. Therefore, values are something that are essential and valuable as a belief that could be a guide in human life.

Value plays important roles, i.e. as an attracting power and a base for a human's attitude and action. In addition, it encourages humans to realize the values they find in actions. Values will drive and direct toward humans' self identification through the activities they do (Rokeach, 1969: 160). Therefore, values can be a guidance for life and personal establishment, even for national personality.

Based on the arguments above, Soedirman's figure values can be understood as something good and essential, something that is valuable and exists behind thought, attitude and behavior of Soedirman. According to the witnesses who were close and knew Soedirman well, there were leadership values owned by Soedirman. For example, according to Adisoelardjo's opinion, Soedirman's classmate, Soedirman was a helpful friend. Moreover, Sarwono, his schoolmate in MULO (1978) said that Soedirman is a firm, discipline, and religious man, diligent in doing religion's instructions. Soewarjo (1978), another schoolmate of Soedirman in MULO explained that Soedirman had good personality, modest life, firm in action and obey religion's instructions. Soedirman is a responsible, democratic, and mature person. When he became a leader of HW, he performed good characters such as leadership, hardwork, and discipline.

In addition, according to Abimanyu (1978) the Great Commander Soedirman was a pious, honest, modest, and confident and never give up. He was a wise figure, the real patriot who voluntarily dedicated his soul, physical, even wealth for the sake of the nation and state. Meanwhile, according to Suadi (1974) (the document of Army Headquarters, History Office) who knew him well when they joined PETA exercises in Bogor said that Soedirman was a friendly, democratic, mature, transparent, open person in discussing everything. Also, he was a family man. He was pleased to work hard and sacrifice for the sake of his nation; being assertive and firm (especially when the decision had been made through deliberation); having strong belief and faith but still performing high tolerance; easily apologizing and forgiving other people (Document of *Markas Besar AD, Dinas Sejarah*). Soedirman has complete values which can be a role model in social life. According to Ary Ginanjar (2009), among those values, they can be formulated into some main values. The structure of values proposed by Max Scheler as written by Wahana (2004: 60-61) consist of (1) purity values, i.e. religiosity and piety, (2) spiritual values, i.e. honesty and affection; (3) vitality values, i.e. nationality, unity, democracy; (4) happiness values, i.e. modest and hardwork. Soedirman figure values can also be arranged based on the sequence of the principles of Pancasila, i.e. First Principle, Religiosity; Second Principle, affection, caring, responsibility; Third Principle, nationality spirit, unity, and sacrifice; Fourth Principle, democracy, deliberation; Fifth Principle, i.e. modesty, discipline, and hard working. This paper analyzes Soedirman figure values, especially democratic and deliberation values which had been practiced by Soedirman empirically.

Democracy, derived from Greek's word *democratia*, *demos* which means society, dan *kratia* which means government (Hasan

Sadeli, dkk. 1980: 784). Democracy is governmental system from, by, and for the people. Something in life is actually derived from the people, discussed by people, and agreement is taken for the sake of people's goodness. In general, democracy is the order of the government that admits the right of the people to determines or influences political decisions either directly or indirectly (representative system).

Historically, democratic values have grown in Old Greek Rome Era. Precisely, when there was a change of military tradition into a social life order or dialogue-based political social order in Athena- deliberation is intended to look for an agreement. They also started to solve various conflicts through deliberation, peacefully, without violence (Doni Koesoema, 2007: 210). Also, in establishing a social life order or governmental system, a dialogue was also performed to achieve agreements in regulating life.

Historically, democracy is closely related to deliberation. Deliberation is a process of thoughts sharing. Deliberation is an opinion sharing performed by some people who deal with a problem (Ilyas Ismail, 2009:242). Deliberation can be performed to take decisions regarding simple problems in family life scope and also in a government, national and state life. Deliberation is also an important political activity in realizing people's well being. Deliberation offers freedom of thinking to develop thoughts and alternative ideas which are appropriate to formulate an agreement which can be used as a guidance of life. The more freedom and wider thinking the people have, the more alternatives ideas to formulate rules in social life will be. Due to the importance of the deliberation aspects in people's lives, Khalifah Umar bin Abdul Aziz states that "indeed, deliberation and thought sharing is a blessing and key of wellbeing. The decisions made based on deliberation and thought sharing

will not be wrong and firm heart will not be lost" (Ali Muhammad Ash-Shallabi, 2014: 35).

Democratic life is, therefore, can not be separated from deliberation activity. Democracy is togetherness, not competition or hostility because the real democracy is intended to find out the solution for all. Soedirman is a democratic figure who liked deliberation much. For him, deliberation is a part of worship because it is instructed by God. It is explained in the Koran of Ali Imran: "*...so pass over (their faults), and ask for (Allah's) forgiveness for them; and consult them in affairs (of moment). Then, when thou hastaken a decision put thy trust in Allah. For Allah loves those who put their trust (in Him).*" (the Koran, Surah Ali Imran (2): 159).

The God's verse teaches human in order to perform deliberation optimally to reach the best agreement. Then, the agreements are implemented and rely on God for the results. It means that there is no complaint and no one blames each other, because in a deliberation, each has used his/her thought sincerely and seriously. This is the best practice in the nation and state life. So, if the democracy applies representative system, those who represent people should be wise, pious, good, smart, visionary, and sincere for the sake of people's wellbeing. These characters are possessed by Soedirman.

The Revitalization of Deliberation Values as Democracy Education Processes

Why is the revitalization of deliberation values needed to be realized in the nation and state life in Indonesia? It links to the implementation of democracy in Indonesia. There are many critics which state that the implementation of democracy in Indonesia is not in accordance with the nation's personality, Pancasila. Pancasila-based democracy is democracy that is based on the principles of deliberation and togetherness values intended for people's wellbeing.

Pancasila Democracy contains religious awareness aspects and refuses atheism; builds truth and love; based on good attitude and personality of Indonesia; balance among individuals and society, between human and their God physically and mentally (Taufik Abdullah (ed.) (2015 : 273). In its implementation, individual's freedom is not absolute but it should be suited with social responsibility, public interests and common interests in the nation and state life by keeping the principles of togetherness. Therefore, there is no "majority dominance" or "minority tyranny" in the implementation of Pancasila Democracy (Taufik Abdullah (ed.) (2015 : 274). All problems in the nation and state life are solved based on the principle of togetherness through deliberation. Pancasila Democracy is a democracy which is based on deliberation and appropriate with Indonesian personality. Unfortunately, this noble democracy does not run as it is.

For the reason of applying modern democracy, Indonesia has popularized an election model which utilizes the principle of *one man one vote*. In this case, Indonesia has implemented the elections of President, Vice President, and also Governor directly. However, the election process usually remains many basic problems. Constitutionally, this practice is not relevant with Pancasila Democracy. Also, it has grown passion and has limited conscience in democracy. In this context, there is a competition in which political groups will defeat other political opponents. If the political opposition is lost, then the winning political group will be happy. The empathy of the citizens disappears. *Win-lose-solutionis* applied. Money politics practices for the sake of winning the political power are increasing. As a consequence, dissatisfaction of the loser may sometimes cause a chaos.

In the reformation era, there is a term "overly practiced democracy", even some call democracy as an "emergency democracy" (Alfan Alfian, 2009: 48). During the New

Order, democracy was "blurred", but the Reformation era offers wider freedom of democracy. The implementation of democracy has accelerated in the reformation era. The direct Presidential election, *one man one vote*, is the proof of the implementation of democracy. However, Indonesia does not show readiness regarding the culture, structure, and infrastructure for example, the practices of impolite political manners, *win-lose-solution*, low self esteem of democracy actors so that it leads to money politics practices, conflicts and crash among candidates because of low political awareness.

The description above shows that the democracy in Indonesia is built through general election and politically it is unable to create safety and wellbeing of the people. The national and local general elections only become power seizure for the elites. The general election using political party system is still fragmented and unable to create a clean and dignified government; authoritative, protective, and stable government; and attentive government toward the people interests (Soepriyatno, 2008: 5). The strong, civilized, and noble people's representatives who are prioritizing mind and heart to perform deliberation for the sake of the people's wellbeing are rare.

With regard to the problems above, the tradition of deliberation should be revitalized, performed, and strengthened in every institution, either in government or private institution, even representative / legislative institution. The revitalization process of the deliberation values is a process of democracy education intended to realize a democracy that is appropriate with Indonesian culture. The revitalization process will educate society to be smarter in selecting and determining their representatives in legislative and executive institution, i.e. people who have a wide vision so that they can perform deliberation wisely based on sincere heart (not only ambition for winning) for the sake of the people's wellbeing.

According to Muh. Yamin, deliberation principles offer some advantages. (1) Deliberation will smoothen the way of struggling and working based on God's teaching (because deliberation is a God's instruction, as stated in the Koran. Surah asy-Syura (42): 38). (2). The nation is not only thought by individuals, but it becomes the responsibility of all components of the nation. (3). Deliberation will reduce or even eliminate mistakes of the nation life practices (Taufik Abdullah (ed.), 2015: 213).

The revitalization of the deliberation values can be performed by learning from history. Educating through a history-based learning is a "toll road" educational process because it provides direct examples. Therefore, it requires people who have wide insights, who are willing to use heart and clear thoughts, who always respect other, and who have "positive thinking." Educating and learning through history have become traditions during Prophet Muhammad Saw era (Najib Khalid al-'Am, 2002: 121). History-based education offer some benefits, i.e. (1) Learning history may give influences on mental and thoughts of the learners. Even, the events are still lasting or leaving marks/sites/evidences which can be observed by using five senses. (2) It provides an open dialogue, so that it will develop thinking and insight, either by teachers or students.

Theoretically, history has provided a lesson explained by Morthon White (1969: 1) stating that learning the past can become a mirror/to be imitated (the good ones) for present time and it can give enlightenment for the future. Moreover, history is full of moral learning (Wang Gungwu, 1968: 5). History can be a media for the nation's character building. Howard Gardner (1993: 7-8) gives a strategy to improve the leadership and nation life by learning and performing dialogue with the histories of the great figures, such as Marthin Luther King, Jr., Margaret Thatcher, and Mahatma Gandhi. The analogue of this idea is performing dialogues and implementing the

examples from Soedirman's leadership practices which always prioritize deliberation. Therefore, the revitalization of the deliberation values by performing dialogues and imitating deliberation practices of Soedirman in the nation and state life is an educational process to implement Pancasila Democracy.

Since Soedirman became a leader of HW and Muhammadiyah Youth (Pemuda Muhammadiyah) in Banyu-mas, he often practiced deliberation in making decisions. The deliberation offers various opinions. For Soedirman, those different opinions are an advantage. The most important thing, for him, is how each person can understand or recognize the weakness of their opinions and be willing to respect others' opinions (Sardiman AM. 2000:60).

Also, when Soedirman became a teacher and principle in HIS Muhammadiyah, he was popular as a democratic and inspiring principal. He was also known as a fatherly and mature person to his subordinates (Dimiyat's testimony, in Sardiman AM, 2000: 89).

The deliberation skill of Soedirman was also performed when he was making an agreement with Japanese army concerning weapon submission (S. Sulistyono Atmodjo, 1991: 58). In the beginning, Japan refused to submit their weapons to Indonesia because it violated the provision of the Allies. Soedirman reconfirmed and convinced regarding the future of Japanese people in Indonesia after Indonesia's independence. Soedirman tried to reconvinced Japan about the advantage and disadvantage if they refused to submit their weapons to Indonesia (Mayjen Abimanyu's testimony, 1977). Considering Soedirman's charisma and the honesty of Indonesian delegation, Resident Iwashige and the official of Japanese Army agreed to submit all the weapons to Indonesia, under the condition that their safety was guaranteed and the weapons would be returned if the Allies asked them (Radik Utoyo Sudirjo, 1985: 41). Soedirman then agreed on it. Due to late night,

the weapons handover was performed in the next morning. Soedirman then gave instructions and his authority to Abimanyu to run weapons hand over process from Japan.

In the battle, Soedirman never skipped deliberation tradition. When dealing with Ambarawa battle, Soedirman performed a deliberation with other commanders to arrange strategies to win the battle. In that meeting, Soedirman proposed a great and sudden attack simultaneously from various sectors from the nearest distance. Then, the reserve army was formed in the second layer and the attack was done simultaneously. The attack was proposed on 12 December 1945 at 04.30 WIB. (T. Wedy Utomo, 1978). In that strategy, there was no *"supiturang"* strategy (Abimanyu's testimony, 1978). All agreed with the ideas proposed by Soedirman. The great attack ran as it was. In the battle, the Indonesian strugglers successfully casted out the Allies and Dutch from Ambarawa. That is the advantage of deliberation, i.e. building togetherness.

In a critical situation, Soedirman still kept performing a dialogue and deliberation to determine the next step of struggle that should be taken, for example, when the Military Aggression II which was performed by the Dutch on 19 December 1948. The Dutch Armies had entered the city, the shot guns had been directed to the palace, Soedirman still firmly wanted to meet the President of Soekarno. Soedirman asked the President to leave the palace immediately and led the guerilla war. However, the President chose to keep living in the palace and asked Soedirman to leave the palace to take rest because he was sick (Salim Said 1991: 98). Soedirman did not want to live in the city because it was so risky and he wanted to go outside the town to led the guerilla war. Through this dialogue, they finally understood the argument each other. Pay attention to the dialogue between President of Sukarno and Soedirman below (Cindy Adam.s report (2011: 306)

"Dirman, you are a soldier. Your place is in the battle with your armies. Your place is not my place to flee. I must live here..... Soedirman answered "... if Bung Karno washere, you would probably be killed... and if I move from here, the Dutch would probably shoot me? (Sukarno said). In those things, I certainly would die....." Soedirman immediately balled his hand up and said ".....I would warn the Dutch, if they hurted Soekarno, there was no forgiveness. The Dutch would experience a massacre.

Soedirman then stepped outside slowly. A moment later, he anxiously visited Bung Karno and asked. "What is the last instruction before I leave?". Sukarno answered, "do not perform battle in the streets of the city...but move your armies outside the city. Dirman, performed the battle until death. I ask you to deploy all the armies to villages. Move your armies in all valleys and hills. Place your subordinate at every bush. This is guerilla war. Eventhough we had to return with amputation without using drug or using banana leaves as the bandage, do not let the world says that our independence is a gift in a diplomat's bag. Show world, we buy independence expensively, with blood and sweat and desire that is never off...Indonesia ... will never give up".

That is the dialogue between the President and Soedirman. The agreement was achieved with different opinions (President Sukarno was still in the palace with the possibility of being caught by the Dutch, while Soedirman was out of the city to lead guerilla war). Both gave spirit each other for the success of each for the sake of the united Indonesia, NKRI.

During guerilla war, Soedirman never skipped the deliberation habit. Every step that he took was often deliberated with his guards in advance. Even, when he stayed several days in Bajulan, Nganjuk, in the middle of the forest, there was a cemetery and he used that place for doing the meeting. Therefore, the monument existing in Bajulan described Soedirman who chaired the deliberation. On

12 January 1949, Soedirman performed a deliberation with Minister Soepeno and Minister Soesanto Tirtoprodjo, the member of BPKNIP Nona Soesilowati in the resident house in Banyutowo. They discussed about Military Government and emergency laws (Tarjo, 1984: 36). Soedirman had dialogues and deliberations with some commanders in each sector. This was usually done through courier that usually brought letters from him to the field commanders or vice versa. For example, the testimony of Mbok Mangoensoekarto or Sri Soekamti who had ever become a trusted courier of Soedirman. Even, Sri Soekamti was almost killed by the Dutch army because she was accused as the Indonesian army's wife (Buana Sunday, 7 December 1975).

Due to the habit of performing dialogues and deliberations, those values had been embedded to Soedirman's personality. Therefore, in ordinary condition or daily life, when he was "talking" with his friends, Soedirman often talked about the importance of deliberation to solve the problems, including the problems of the nation and state life. For example, when Soedirman was talking with I.J. Kasimo, Soedirman said that various opinions and different opinions in the government were solved easily through deliberation. Soedirman had ever said to I.J. Kasimo (1970) as follows. "Mr. Kasimo! Actually, if we perform good ethics as the base of all different opinions among us, we can solve the problems easily at dining table while having a cup of tea" (I.J. Kasimo's testimony, 1970) (the document from Army Headquarters, History Office).

The real deliberation to achieve an ideal agreement is considered the best for the society. In this case, deliberation becomes a filter in order to get the best agreements. The filter in this context is dialogue and thought *sharing* among deliberation members whole heartedly and wisely. Employing a fresh mind, they proposed their best ideas and insights which were expected to realize people's

wellbeing for the sake of the nation and state's advancement. For example, the election of President and Vice President or Governor and Vice Governor through deliberation will obtain the candidates who had been filtered their quality to struggle for the people's interests. The mechanism of democracy performed with the real deliberation, wise attitude, and sincere feeling will avoid money politics practices and power ambition. Democracy that is based on deliberation is the form of the Pancasila Democracy strengthening.

Conclusions and Suggestions

Conclusion

The implementation of democracy in Indonesia, since the introduction of Liberal Democracy, Guided Democracy, Pancasila Democracy in New Order, until now in Reformation era, has not been relevant with the concepts of the real Pancasila Democracy. Even, liberal democracy is developing recently and tends to be "over" because it has neglected deliberation values and principles. The representative system that forms the highest forum to deliberate and build togetherness has transformed into competitions and conflicts that are characterized by *win-lose-solution* characteristic. The problems related to democracy must be overcome by revitalizing the deliberation. One of the strategies is performing dialogues and taking the examples of deliberation that had been practiced by Soedirman. This process is an indirect educational process to strengthen the implementation of democracy in Indonesia based on Indonesian culture or Pancasila Democracy.

Suggestions

Based on the conclusions above, some suggestions are offered as follows:

1. This research is a theoretical research. Therefore, it is important to conduct further research about the implementation of Pancasila Democracy.

2. It is necessary to conduct seminars and studies regarding the implementation of democracy in the Reformation era linked to the concepts of Pancasila Democracy or deliberation-based democracy.
3. Deliberation values are important to be habituated in school environment, for example through character education programs.

References

- Abimanyu. (1977). "Tak betul konferensi TKR yang pertama berlangsung di bulan Nopember '45. *Berita Buana*, 10 Nopember 1977.
- Abu Anas Shalahudin Mahmud As-Sa'id. (2005). *296 kunci rahmat*. (alih bahasa Saefuddin Zuhri). Jakarta: Pustaka Azzam. (Miftah min Mafaatiihi Ar.Rahmah, t.t)
- Adams, Cindy. (2011). *Bung Karno penyambung lidah rakyat Indonesia*. (alih bahasa Syamsu Hadi). Yogyakarta dan Jakarta: Media Pressindo dan Yayasan Bung Karno.
- Adam Malik. (1984). *Mengabdikan Republik, jilid II: angkatan 45*. Jakarta: Gunung Agung.
- AlfanAlfian. (2009). *Demokrasipilihlahaku (warna-warnipolitik kita)*. Malang: In-Trans Publishing..
- Ali Muhammad Ash-Shallabi. (2014). *Biografi Umar bin Abdul Aziz*. (alih bahasa Chep. M. Faqih, FR) Jakarta: Beirut Publishing. (Siratu Umar Bin Abdil Aziz, t.t)
- Al-Qur'an & Terjemahnya*. (2011). Jakarta: Lentera Abadi
- "*Amanat Panglima Besar*," (11 April, 1946). *Al-Djihad*.
- Ary Ginanjar Agustian. (2009). *Bangkit dengan 7 budi utama*. Jakarta: PT. Arga Publishing.
- Berkhofer, Robert F. (1971). *A behavioral approach to historical analysis*. New York; the Free Press.
- Buana Minggu*, 7 December 1975..
- Creswell, John W. (2009). *Research design: qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches*. Los Angeles: Sage..
- Dinas Sejarah TNI AD. (1988). *Sudirman prajurit TNI teladan*, Jakarta: Dinas Sejarah TNI AD Dephankam.
- Doni Koesoemo A. (2007). *Pendidikan karakter: strategi mendidik anak di zaman global*. Jakarta: Grasindo..
- Gardner, Howard. (1995). *Leading minds an anatomy of leadership*. New York: BasicBooks.
- Geetz, Clifford (1976). *The religion of Java*. Chicago-London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Gottschalk, Louis, (1989), *Mengerti sejarah*, alih bahasa Nugroho Noto Susanto, Jakarta: UI Press.
- Gungwu, Wang (1968), *The use of history*, Ohio University Center for Studies South East Asia Program
- Hamid, Abd Rahman dan Muhammad Saleh Madjid, *Pengantar ilmu sejarah*. Yogyakarta: Ombak.
- Hassan Shadily, et al. (1980). *Ensiklopedi Indonesia*. Jakarta: IchtiarBaru- van Hoeve.
- Helius Sjamsudin. (1996). *Metodologi sejarah*. Jakarta: Depdikbud.
- Hill, B.V. (1991). *Values education in Australian schools*. Melbourne: ACER.
- Ilyas Ismail, A. (2009). *Pilar-pilar takwa: doktrin, pemikiran, hikmat, dan pencerahan spiritual*. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers.

- Jahja Muhaimin. (1971). *Pembangunan militer dalam politik di Indonesia 1945-1966*. Yogyakarta: UGM.
- Johannes, H. (1978). "Pemilihan Panglima Besar". (15 February 1978). *Berita Buana*.
- Julius Pour. (2009). *Doorstoot Naar Djokja: Pertikaian Pemimpin Sipil-Militer*. Jakarta: Kompas
- Kadarjono, S. (1961). *Swargi Djederal Sudirman*. Surabaya: Panyebar Semangat.
- Kartawisastra. (1980). *Strategi klarifikasi nilai*, Jakarta: P3G Depdikbud.
- Kedaulatan Rakyat*, 5 July 1946
- "Kita tidak mau menerima imperialisme Belanda kembali". (18 Februari, 1946). *Al-Djihad*.
- Kompas. Com*. 22, February 2017).
- Kuntowijoyo, (Peny). (2017). New edition. (2013). *Pengantar ilmu sejarah*. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana.
- "Lebih baik diatoom". (6 January 1946). *Kedaulatan Rakyat*.
- Majalah Amanah*, edisi VIII, Nomor 82 Tahun 1989.
- McCoy, F.N. (1974). *Researching and writing history: a practical handbook for students*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Mohammad Hatta. (1978). *Memoir*. Jakarta: Tintamas,
- Mukti Ali. (2004). "Metodologi Agama Islam", dalam Taufik Abdullah dan Rusli Karim, *Metodologi penelitian agama*, Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana.
- Najib Khalid al-'am. (2002). *Mendidik cara Nabi Saw*. (terjemahan M. Iqbal Haetami). Bandung : Pustaka Hidayah. (Min-Asalib ar-Rasul fi at-Tarbiyah, 1990).
- Nasution, A.H. (1977). *Sekitar perang kemerdekaan Indonesia*, Bandung: Angkasa.
- Palmer, Richard E. (1969). *Hermeneutics: interpretation theory in Schleiermacher, Dilthey, Heidegger, and Gadamer*. Northwesterern: University Press Evanston.
- Rachmanto. (2015). "Meneguhkan Pancasila," *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, 1 Juni 2016.
- Radik Utoyo Sudirjo. 1985. *Panglima Besar Sudirman: sebuah kenangan perjuangan*. Jakarta: BP. Alda-Almanak RI.
- Rokeach, M. (1969). *Beliefs, attitudes and values atheory of organization and change*, San Francisco, CA. : Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Salim Said, (1991). *Genesis of power General Sudirman and the Indonesian military in politics 1945-1949*, Jakarta: SH-ISEAS.
- Sardiman AM.. (2000). *Panglima besar Sudirman: kader Muhammadiyah*. Yogyakarta: Adicita
- Sartono Kartodirdjo. (1982). *Pemikiran dan perkembangan historiografi Indonesia: suatu alternatif*. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- "Sebabnja Panglima Besar Kembali keJogjakarta" (23 October 1946). *Al-Djihad*.
- Setyo Atmodjo, S.(1991). *Mengenang almarhum Panglima Besar Jenderal Soedirman: pahlawan besar*. Jakarta: Yayasan Panglima Besar Jenderal Besar Soedirman
- Soekanto, SA., (1981), *Perjalanan bersahaja jenderal Sudirman*, Jakarta: Pusaka Jaya.

- Soepriyatno, (2008), *Nasionalisme dan kebangkitan ekonomi*, Jakarta: INSIDE Press.
- Solichin Salam. (1963). *Jenderal Sudirman pahlawan kemerdekaan*, Jakarta: Jayamurni..
- Suhartono W. Pranoto. (2010), *Teori dan metodologi sejarah*, Jakarta: Graha Ilmu.
- Tarjo, N.S.S. (1984). *Dari atas tandu pak Dirman memimpin perang rakyat semesta*, Yogyakarta: Yayasan Wiratama 45, Angkasa Offset.
- Taufik Abdullah. (2015). *Sejarah pemikiran Indonesia modern*, Jakarta: Direktorat Sejarah dan Nilai Budaya, Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI.
- Tjokropranolo, (1992). *Panglima Besar TNI Jenderal Sudirman pemimpin pendobrak terakhir penjajahan di Indonesia*, Jakarta: P.T. Surya Persindo..
- Wahana, Paulus. (2004). *Nilai etika aksiologis Max Scheler*, Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Wedy Utomo, T. (1978). "Mengenang Pak Dirman dengan pasukan Infanteri", *Angkatan Bersenjata*, 29 December 1978.
- White, Morthon. (1969). *Foundations of historical knowledge*. New York, Evanston and London: Harper Torchbooks- Harper & Row, Publisher