



## Indonesia According to Sam Ratulangie: a Contribution of thoughts from Minahasa to Indonesia

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### ABSTRACT

This article departs from the central issue that Indonesia is currently again faced with the issue of religious radicalism and ethnic sentiment. The roots of the Pancasila ideology, namely nationalism, religion and communism, which are the basic values of the nation's ideology and philosophy, are starting to be opposed to one another. Religious people once again put forward the issue of communism as the source of the nation's problems. Meanwhile, lay people and academics tend to see the politicization of religion in it. This also had an impact on national-local ideological turmoil. The assumption that Pancasila is not yet fully understood and fully supported at the local level, so it is full of conflicts and interests, makes the author interested in raising this title. Minahasa, as part of Indonesia which has a Christian majority, feels that it has contributed to the process of becoming Indonesian. Using a descriptive-analytical method, this article aims to describe the ideas of Sam Ratulangie - thinker, fighter and futurologist from Minahasa - about being Indonesian, then analyze them to obtain the contribution of Minahasa ideas and thoughts to Indonesia. This article ultimately concludes that Minahasa plays a very important role in the process of becoming Indonesian.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

This article actually started from an incident 16 years ago. When completing his thesis with the title "Between Pancasila and Global Ethics", Om John Titaley, as the supervisor at that time, assigned the author to read written sources from Soekarno, with the aim of ensuring that the meaning and ethical values of Pancasila were pure and consistent. can be understood based on the actual situation and context. The author then tried to collect and summarize all of Soekarno's thoughts about Pancasila. From these efforts, the author found a source in the form of a speech from Soekarno, which revealed that his political teacher at that time was Sam Ratulangie. Since then, the author's direction has begun to focus on the figure of Sam Ratulangie. At the same time, in North Sulawesi a book was also being launched by the Governor at that time, A. J. Sondakh, with the title, 'Si Tou Timou Tumou Tou', which explored many of Sam Ratulangie's thoughts. The author became increasingly interested when he studied the sources regarding Sam Ratulangie's insights, there was a statement from Soekarno that he first heard the term 'Indonesia' from Sam Ratulangie.

Looking at the current situation and conditions in Indonesia, with the PKI issue starting to emerge again, the rise of religious radicalism, ethnic sentiment, identity politics, which are then packaged with political interests for public consumption, are seen as triggers for a 'Time Bomb' - problems of the past that unresolved - which is ready to explode. This "time bomb" is what Sam Ratulangie once wanted to solve. For this purpose, the author would like to reiterate Sam Ratulangie's explanation about being Indonesian, which according to the author is still relevant to answer the challenges of the 'now' era.

To understand Sam Ratulangie's understanding of being Indonesian, the author tries to describe and analyze Sam Ratulangie's insights regarding this matter. The analysis model that the author will apply here is socio-historical analysis, namely describing and analyzing the situation and social context during Sam Ratulangie's time. After that, the author tries to map Sam Ratulangie's various insights and dissect them using a discourse analysis model, and finally the author will try to re-interpret the relevance of his thoughts about Indonesia today using a re-interpretation analysis model. These three phases of analysis, by John B. Thomson, are called the 'depth-hermeneutics' analytical approach.

## **THEORETICAL REVIEW**

Sam Ratulangie is a Christian nationalist from Eastern Indonesia who is rarely mentioned or socialized by Indonesian historians. Nowadays, he is not as famous as Bung Karno, Bung Hatta, Moh. Yamin, Suharto, and others who indeed fulfilled the 'requirements' as leaders of the nation, namely 'Islamic' and 'Javanese'. However, in the pre-independence era, Sam Ratulangie was almost known throughout the archipelago, even abroad. Nowadays, when the Indonesian nation begins to be hobbled by various ideological cases, especially in religious and social relations, only then do intellectuals begin to highlight and realize how brilliant the Minahasan Son's thinking is. What was 'predicted' by Sam Ratulangie in the pre-independence era, is slowly but surely starting to appear true in this reform era.

Gerungan Samuel Saul Jacob Ratulangie, usually called Sam Ratulangie, was the third child of the Jozias Ratulangie and Augustina Gerungan family who was born on November 5 1890 in Tondano. He has two older sisters and five children from his two marriages. From his first wife, Suzane Houtman, a famous psychiatrist at that time, he was blessed with two children (the eldest a man, the youngest a woman), and from his second wife – after divorcing his first wife – Marie Tambajong, who worked as a teacher, he blessed with three daughters. Little Sam Ratulangie really loves his hometown. He likes riding horses, raising chickens, taking care of flowers, and swimming in the lake.

After graduating from ELS (Dutch Elementary School) and Hoofdenschool (King's School) in Tondano, he continued his Secondary Engineering studies in Jakarta and graduated in 1908. After that, he worked for the Railway Service in Yogyakarta as a low-level employee with the rank of under-master. *opzichter*. However, as an inlander (the Dutch term for native people), he experienced discrimination at his workplace. He has to work overtime if he wants to get adequate wages, while 'caucasians', by only working half the time, they already get much higher wages. Because he continued to force himself to work hard, he was then attacked by tropical malaria which almost took his life. This discriminatory factor then made him determined to fight for the rights of exploited and discriminated against inlanders. For him, the only way to get there and for his form of struggle to receive proper recognition, is to be supported by a high level of knowledge. This was the reason why he continued his studies in Europe, because at that time, only in Europe were higher education institutions available.

First he went to the Netherlands with T.G. Mulia (later to become a famous Christian figure), Gunawan Mangunkusuma (one of the pioneer founders of Boedi Oetomo) and several other colleagues. In the Netherlands, he took lectures at the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, in 1913-1915, and obtained a Middelbare Onderwijs Akte teacher's certificate in the field of Wiskunde en Paedagogiek, which, with it, gave him the authority to teach secondary school in the field of physical and natural sciences. After that, he wants to continue his studies at doctoral level. However, because a secondary school teacher's diploma was not enough to take a PhD in the Netherlands, on Mr. Abendanon (former Minister of Education in the Dutch East Indies), he then moved to Eidgenössische Technische Hooghshule (ETH) in Zürich, Switzerland, which was also where Albert Einstein studied in the period 1890-1901. In 1919, or 14 years after Einstein, Sam Ratulangie obtained a Doctorate in Physics and Mathematics, and he was the first physicist and mathematician in Asia at that time.

While studying in Europe, he carried out several activities. Among other things: First, when World War I broke out (1914), he worked as a war journalist. It was in this activity that he saw how sadistic the impact of war was; Second, while in Amsterdam, Netherlands, he was active in the Indische Vereeniging organization, and was even elected as Chairman of that organization in the period 1914-1915; Third, while in Switzerland, he was active in the Societe d'etudiants Asiatiques (Asian Students' Union), and even chaired it in 1916 with

members including Jawaharlal Nehru (who later became Prime Minister of India), Tojo (who later became later became Prime Minister of Japan), Manuel Queson (who later became President of the Philippines), Douwes Dekker (who later became one of the Indonesian nationalists), and others who also later became very influential figures in his country of origin.

Upon returning to his homeland in 1919, he worked as a teacher of science and natural sciences at AMS Afdeeling in Yogyakarta. Even during his only teaching opportunity, he was still cursed with curses, how could an inlander teach young Dutch *sinyos*. Finally, he decided to leave the classroom to become fully involved in the world of politics. From then on he became a teacher without a classroom. However, with his political maneuvering, his 'classrooms' became scattered throughout the archipelago, from Jakarta to Serui, Irian Jaya.

In 1922, Sam Ratulangie founded and led a business project called *Algemeene Levensverzekering Maatschappij Indonesia* (Indonesian Insurance Airline) in Bandung. It was this business project that attracted Sukarno's attention because it was the first time he saw the name Indonesia used in general. In 1928, Sam Ratulangie made his first speech at the People's Council Forum. The substance of his speech was to remind the Dutch, as well as the Indonesian people, about the upheaval that would occur in the Pacific region. Sam Ratulangie had 'predicted' that there would be a war in the Pacific which would have an influence on the Dutch position in Indonesia. Sam Ratulangie's prediction was expressed again by Soekarno in his plea before the Dutch colonial court in 1930. Sam Ratulangie's analysis of the turmoil in the Pacific was then recorded in 1937 with the title, "*Indonesian in den Pacific: Kernproblemen van den Asiatischen*" (Indonesia in Pacific). This book is currently being studied by scholars who are involved in pacifist studies.

Apart from touching on the turmoil in the Pacific, Sam Ratulangie in several speeches at the People's Council, also succeeded in exposing the Dutch government's practice of "*Hongi Tochten*", namely the destruction of spice plants belonging to the Maluku people for the benefit of the Dutch trade monopoly, in-kind taxes which required Indonesian people to plant and producing new types of plants that were needed by the Dutch, monopolizing salt production, imposing high export fees on people who had rubber businesses, as well as the practice of land rental ordinances which were accompanied by violence in various sugar producing areas. This statement, which is supported by precise and accurate statistical data, has succeeded in proving that all the wealth of the Indonesian people has been brought to the Netherlands to enrich the Dutch state, while the Indonesian people are increasingly being pushed into the abyss of poverty.

As a member of the *Volkstraad*, Sam Ratulangie was once given a diplomatic mission on behalf of the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies Government to lead a delegation to the Philippines (to President Quesson who was a good friend of Sam Ratulangie) in the context of political diplomacy to return Miangas Island, an island at the northern tip of Sangir-Talaud, became the territory of the Dutch East Indies Government (which later became the

territory of the Indonesian state). At that time Miangas Island was still an island disputed by the Dutch East Indies Government and the Philippines and was under the supervision of the World Organization at that time (UN). Due to his services, Miangas Island was included in the Dutch East Indies (which later also became Indonesian territory).

In 1930, Sam Ratulangie became a member of the National Faction. In this faction, he legally fought for the liberation of the people from Dutch oppression and oppression, as well as fighting for Indonesian independence. By the Dutch, this faction was then considered very dangerous and had to be monitored.

In the religious field, as a Christian who wanted to be independent apart from dependence on zending, in 1933, Sam Ratulangie initiated the formation of the Protestant Church Conference in Minahasa (KGPM), a church that was independent and funded by its own congregation. Thus, KGPM was founded a year earlier than the Evangelical Christian Church in Minahasa (GMIM), which was only founded in 1934.

In 1934, together with Amir and A.F. Dahlan, Sam Ratulangie published the Indonesian language weekly newspaper, "Review". Through this newspaper, Sam Ratulangie exposed the corruption of Dutch colonialism to the Indonesian people more widely. The sharpness of his pen is what made the Dutch take the initiative to find the reason for his arrest. Only at the end of 1936, Sam Ratulangie was captured by the Dutch and detained for four months in Sukamiskin prison, Bandung. The arrest of Sam Ratulangie, by the Indonesian people, especially Minahasa, was seen as an excuse for the Dutch to remove Sam Ratulangie from the national political scene. For this reason, the people then held demonstrations fighting for Sam Ratulangie's freedom. Even though he was detained in Sukamiskin prison, Bandung, this does not mean that his political movements were also imprisoned. It was precisely while he was in prison that he then, for four full months, wrote the famous book 'Indonesia in the Pacific'.

In 1938, he published the Dutch-language political weekly magazine, "Nationale Commentaren" (NC). This weekly received great attention from Indonesian intellectuals, and its influence even reached foreign countries. This magazine greatly influenced the Philippine independence movement, and the Philippine government commemorated Sam Ratulangie's services by erecting a monument (statue) of Sam Ratulangie in Freedom Park, Davao City. Through this magazine, Sam Ratulangie expressed his comments regarding social, economic, political and cultural conditions. One of his comments was that Indonesian national unity is political unity, namely unity based on political will to build a unified nation. For this reason, he believes that we must fully recognize the existence of cultural and ethnological differences between groups in our society, but we must also ensure that these differences are not used as a means of separation (divide et impera) by anyone and anywhere. NC Magazine provides communication and a new breath for the wider Indonesian community.

Between 1938 and 1942, Sam Ratulangie was involved in social activities, such as leading the Marine Engineers Union, the Marine Workers Union, the Celebes Help Committee, the Jakarta Social Commission, and the Tanjung Priok Workers Help Committee.

In 1943, or a year after the surrender of the Dutch to Japan in Indonesia, Sam Ratulangie accepted Japan's offer to become an advisor to the Japanese army in Jakarta (at first he refused!). According to August Supit, one of Sam Ratulangie's close relatives, this offer was also due to the fact that Sam Ratulangie was a close friend of Prime Minister Tojo (Japanese Prime Minister who was once a member of the Asian Student Union in Switzerland which at that time was chaired by Sam Ratulangie). According to Daniel Dhakidae, Sam Ratulangie was actually very impressed and sympathetic with the spirit of Japan's struggle as one of the Asian nations that rose up against the supremacy of Western nations. This is evident from several of his works which glorify the greatness of Japan.

The following year (1944), Sam Ratulangie was asked to move to Makassar to become an advisor to the Japanese Navy government which covered all of Eastern Indonesia, except West Irian which in 1944 had been controlled by General McArthur. Sam Ratulangie then started fighting for the aspirations of the people in Eastern Indonesia, including Irian Jaya. It is very likely that because of this cooperative factor with Japan, Sam Ratulangie became known in history as a soft nationalist. Sam Ratulangie is not actually a soft nationalist. In 1949, before he died, he had actually explained his political position that in resolving problems, he tended to try to ensure that problems were resolved as peacefully as possible; without any loss of life or property on either side of the conflict. However, he also stated that, if this relationship ultimately leads to co-optation and colonization of the people, then it must be resisted, but any form of resistance must be accompanied by common sense (mature thinking), not just relying on muscles.

In 1944, Sam Ratulangie founded the "Source of People's Blood" (SUDARA) association in Makassar, which according to Japanese instructions, through this organization an anti-allied spirit should be built. However, in practice, Sam Ratulangie changed his direction to an anti-colonialist (including anti-Japanese) spirit. The main goal is an independent Indonesia. Sam Ratulangie aroused the national spirit and love of the people's homeland, so that the Japanese began to be labeled as a very dangerous and threatening person and so they began to be monitored. Japanese hatred towards Sam Ratulangie actually started when Prime Minister Tojo (Sam Ratulangie's friend) was replaced by Prime Minister Kunaiki Koiso (a person who did not know Sam Ratulangie) on July 17 1944.

Even though he was not actively involved in the big BPUPKI meeting - because it was thought that at that time he was still under pressure from Japanese supervision in Makassar - Sam Ratulangie actively participated in rejecting the Jakarta Charter. According to E.A. Pangalila-Ratulangie, one of Sam Ratulangie's children who at that time was with Sam Ratulangie as a direct witness, as told by Omar Samuel Ratulangie Ichwan, that after hearing the

proposal that the Jakarta Charter be adopted as the state Constitution, Sam Ratulangi at that time also immediately contacted the Islamic representative from the Aceh area, Mr. T. Moch Hasan, and the Islamic representative from West Sumatra, H. Agus Salim, by asking, "Is it true that for a country whose people are predominantly Muslim, the basis of the state must also be Islamic?" It turns out that both of them answered the same in principle, namely: "It doesn't always have to be like that!". This was enough for Sam Ratulangi to talk to Mr. A. A. Maramis (one of the signatories of the Jakarta Charter) to reject the Jakarta Charter, don't just get carried away. Another testimony was also delivered by Moh. Hatta, as explained by Goerge Aditjondro, namely that the day before the PPKI session began, Hatta invited four Islamic leaders from Java and Sumatra for a preliminary meeting. According to Hatta, he had received information from a "Japanese Navy Officer" who said that the Christian community in the area of Eastern Indonesia occupied by Kaigun strongly objected to the inclusion of Islamic Sharia in the basic sentence of the state, to the point that they threatened to separate themselves from the Republic of Indonesia. The question is, who is the "Japanese Navy Officer" that Hatta is referring to? Then, who told the Kaigun officer that the Christian community in Eastern Indonesia would separate from the Republic of Indonesia if Islamic Sharia was included in the state's foundations? According to Aditjondro, that person was Sam Ratulangi, because at that time he was serving as Advisor to the Japanese Navy.

In 1945, Japan surrendered to the Allies and a new chapter in the history of Indonesian Independence began with the proclamation of the Independence of the Republic of Indonesia on 17 August 1945. Sam Ratulangi was involved in the session of the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI). It was in this session that he introduced his idea of a federalistic nationalism. The results of this trial also appointed Sam Ratulangi as Governor of Sulawesi (the first Governor of Sulawesi).

After the Proclamation of 17 August 1945, it turned out that the atmosphere in Sulawesi was still volatile. Japan still refuses to give up its rights to rule in Sulawesi, there is even a threat that if there is a seizure of power by the youth of Sulawesi, Japan will not hesitate to face it with the force of arms. The atmosphere became increasingly heated when Allied soldiers began to land back in Sulawesi. For this reason, in November 1945, Sam Ratulangi issued a petition, known as the "Ratulangi Petition", to the UN stating that Sulawesi was an inseparable part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). However, the petition which was signed by 450 young people from Sulawesi as well as kings, religious figures, political leaders, etc., was not taken seriously by the Dutch, because according to the Dutch in their international campaign, the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence on August 17 1945 is not the struggle of all Indonesian people. The Dutch version of Indonesia's struggle for independence was only limited to the island of Java. For this reason, the Dutch still acknowledged that Sulawesi, especially Minahasa, was still within its colonial authority. This was the background to the upheaval in

Minahasa on February 14 1946, which was known as the "Red and White Incident".

In the First Dutch Military Aggression, which actually started at the end of 1945, Sam Ratulangie, by the Dutch, was arrested and exiled to Serui Yapen, West Irian. Just like in Sukamiskin prison, Bandung, when Serui was in exile, he did not just sit there without taking any meaningful action. It was precisely when he was in Serui Yapen that he initiated the formation of the "Irian Indonesian Independence Party" (PKII), on November 29 1946, and began preparing his manuscript entitled "Indonesia in the International Stage" (1949). This manuscript had not yet been completed because he was too busy with socio-political affairs and was under constant pressure from the Dutch.

The Second Dutch Military Aggression, which reached its peak in 1948, increasingly worried the people of Eastern Indonesia, especially Sulawesi. Rebellions occurred everywhere, society began to divide and began to voice disintegration. For this reason, in 1948, Sam Ratulangie, together with Mr. I Gusti Ktut Puja, Ir. Prince Mohammad Noor, dr. T. S. T. Pondaag and Soekardjo Wirjopranoto, issued the 'Ratulangie Manifesto', 10 November 1948. The manifesto contained an appeal to the leaders of Eastern Indonesia so that they would oppose any attempt to separate Eastern Indonesia from the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

After being released from Serui, Sam Ratulangie lived for a while in Yogyakarta before being arrested again by the Dutch colonial government, interned, and then sent to Jakarta to serve a period of exile in Bangka with Bung Karno's entourage.

Sam Ratulangie's exile plan could not be continued because his physical endurance was decreasing. Even though he is physically weak, his spirit is still burning, he can no longer carry out political activities, apart from holding interviews with the press, both national and international. Because his health was disturbed, he temporarily lived in Jakarta while undergoing treatment. On June 30 1949, shortly after joking with his youngest daughter (Uki), Sam Ratulangie breathed his last breath due to a heart attack. His last message to his family shortly before he died was as follows: "... I have no inheritance for you, but I can only leave you many friends, who will tell you that I know your father."

## **METHODOLOGY**

Using a descriptive-analytical method, this article aims to describe the ideas of Sam Ratulangie - thinker, fighter and futurologist from Minahasa - about being Indonesian, then analyze them to obtain the contribution of Minahasa ideas and thoughts to Indonesia. This article ultimately concludes that Minahasa plays a very important role in the process of becoming Indonesian. Sam Ratulangi's ideas about being Indonesian were strongly influenced by local Minahasa insights, and it was Sam Ratulangie's ideas that then influenced Soekarno's national outlook, and influenced the idea of being Indonesian now and in the future.



## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### *Sam Ratulangie and His Indonesian Insights: A Discourse Analysis*

According to Harry Kawilarang, much of Sam Ratulangie's legacy in the form of his nationalist and intellectualist thoughts in the pre-independence era is now buried and only smells of nostalgia. All of his devotions are just oral stories from various historical witnesses. This is because in the 1950s, after the Second Dutch military aggression, excessive chauvinism and vandalism occurred in Indonesia by prohibiting people from speaking and reading Dutch, which then led to the burning of books about Indonesian knowledge that were in Dutch. This had a bad impact on Indonesian society in general, and Minahasa in particular, because most of Sam Ratulangie's works of thought were written in Dutch, and were included in the list of books burned at that time.

We should thank Prof. W. J. Waworoentoe and his team (Unsrat Manado lecturers) have reintroduced Sam Ratulangie's ideas. This happened in 1976, when he served as Chancellor of Sam Ratulangie University (Unsrat) Manado, Prof. W. J. Waworoentoe saw that Unsrat (at that time) did not have a clear vision. For this reason, he then formed a team to carry out source excavations which could ultimately be used as a reference for Unsrat's vision. The reason is because the University carries the good name of Dr. G. S. S. J. Ratulangie, the sources to be explored are more directed towards Sam Ratulangie's written works - fortunately, most of Sam Ratulangie's works are still neatly stored in Dutch libraries. It was during the study process that this team rediscovered various writings from Sam Ratulangie, and the most important thing in this project was the formulation of the Si Tou Timou Tumou Tou (ST4) philosophy, a philosophy initiated by Sam Ratulangie, as the vision of Unsrat Manado.

#### **1. National Insight**

Sam Ratulangie really cares about the diversity that exists in the country, which then unites into the Indonesian nation. He also tried to provide a solution for thinking about being Indonesian with the unique characteristics and uniqueness of existing diverse entities

##### **a). Indonesia According to Sam Ratulangie**

The name 'Indonesia', before the time of Sam Ratulangie, had already been promoted, among others, by J.R. Logan in 1850. Logan chose the name *Indonesie* to refer to the land of the Indian Archipelago, and *Indonesiers* for its inhabitants. However, the various terms used at that time did not contain political elements, but only referred to ethnological issues. In ethnographic terms, the word 'Indonesia' consists of two words, namely *indus* which means 'India', and *nesos* which means 'archipelago'. So 'Indonesia' ethnographically means 'Indian Islands'. This term is actually based on a naming project by Vasco da Gama regarding the discovery of the Indian islands, who then called the group of islands around them the Indian Islands, which was proven later to be not an Indian archipelago. On this basis, efforts emerged to fight for the change

of the name of the Indian Ocean to the Indonesian Ocean. The term 'Indonesia' only gained its political meaning after it was proposed and socialized by Indonesian students studying in the Netherlands who were gathered in the Indische Vereniging organization in the 1914 era.

Based on Soekarno's testimony, the proposer of the name was Sam Ratulangie. Sam Ratulangie uses the term 'Indonesia' to refer to a unified political region consisting of thousands of islands filled with diverse tribes, religions, races and groups. When he served as Chairman of the Indische Vereniging in the Netherlands (1914-1915), Sam Ratulangie proposed the idea that "Our Motherland, which consists of thousands of islands, should be given one name, namely Indonesia." Upon returning to his homeland in 1919, Sam Ratulangie had begun to socialize the name 'Indonesia' which contained political meaning. In 1922, Sam Ratulangie founded an airline called Algemeene Levensverzekering Maatschappij Indonesia (Indonesian Insurance Airline) in Bandung. The emergence of the Indonesian Insurance Carrier really attracted the public's attention because it was the first time that the name Indonesia was used officially in society. So, it is natural that Sam Ratulangie would later be called the pioneer of using the name Indonesia in Indonesia.

In the same year (1922), Sam Ratulangie together with Dr. Douwes Dekker (Danudirjo Setiabudi), Suwardi Suryaningrat (Ki Hajar Dewantara), Ir. Crame, and others, held a large meeting in Bandung to discuss the nation's Zelf Gouvernement. In this meeting, Sam Ratulangie then campaigned for the term 'Indonesia' as the name of a new national unity struggling to win the independence of its homeland from the grip of the colonialists. Other speakers at that time still used the term Dutch East Indies or Insulinde for the same meaning, but Sam Ratulangie, with firm and fiery pressure, continued to use the term Indonesia, so that since then the term 'Indonesia' has become very popular. popular among the people, as well as motivating the young people in the Second Youth Congress to name Indonesia as a unity of islands that is struggling to gain independence. On this basis, Soekarno admitted that Sam Ratulangie was the first inlander to socialize the name.

According to Minahasan culture observers, Justus Tandayu and Dolef Koilam, as a Minahasan, the term 'Indonesia' is actually already familiar to Sam Ratulangie, because he has often heard this term in the daily conversations of residents in his hometown. "Indonesia" in the Minahasa language consists of three words, namely indon or endon (literal meaning: 'take it!', 'take it back!'; this word contains the meaning 'hold it and take it'), indone'i or endone (literal meaning: 'bring it here from there!', 'take it back from there!', 'take it back from there!'; this word means that something that was taken is near the subject), and sia (literal meaning: 'him'). So 'Indonesia' means 'the (read: homeland) that was reclaimed from there (read: colonialists)'. The 'he' in question is the 'he' who is near us (our own homeland). This word also contains the meaning that if something has been recaptured or taken back, then it must be held and then carried; not just abandoned. Politically, it can be interpreted that after the nation's independence has been achieved, it must be held and then brought to a more stable and humane condition or atmosphere; towards a just and

prosperous society. Minahasa people often use the term 'Indonesia' as an expression of command, for example if a parent wants to order their child to get something to bring, then this word is often used. Or in a sports game such as football, this word is often expressed when a player is ordered by a teammate to seize the ball from the opponent, then dribble it.

**b). Federalistic Nationalism**

Sam Ratulangie is a federalist believer. In the Manado daily "Fikiran" (31 May 1930) and the publication "National Commentaren" (26 November 1938), Sam Ratulangie stated his views on nationalism, that:

“The national unity of the Indonesian people is a political unity. Unity is based on political will to foster national unity. By fully recognizing the cultural and ethnological differences between groups, by also recognizing the political consequences regarding state building, propaganda must be carried out as strongly as possible for recognition, acceptance and realization between groups of the Indonesian people.

It is not permitted that these groups can be used as a means of separating 'Divide et Impera' from any party. However, to achieve this goal, it is an absolute requirement for leaders to be aware of the unity of political will towards everything that is outside the boundaries of the unified ideology of Indonesia, while one of the requirements is also to recognize the right of each ethnological group to freedom in certain areas. ...”

At the PPKI session on 18 August 1945 in Jakarta, Sam Ratulangie offered his concept of federalism that:

"... I will not say the words deconcentration or decentralization, but the meaning, Your Majesty Mr. Chairman, is that regional governments on several large islands are given the broadest possible rights to manage their needs according to their own thoughts, according to their own wishes, of course using the mind of agreement, that these regions are regions of Indonesia, of one country. However, in my opinion, the needs and needs of the regions there must receive full attention, namely by enacting a regulation that will hand over to the regional government full authority to manage the needs of its own region..."

In a press interview in 1949 before he died, Sam Ratulangie reiterated his nationalism that:

"I am a federalist. However, if you interpret 'federalist' as nationalist who is opposed to the Republic of Indonesia, then I firmly answer: "No". However, if you define 'federalist' as an adherent of a federated form of Indonesian order, which is the true meaning of the word, then the answer is: "Yes". In summary, I can say that, I am an adherent of the federalistic structure for Indonesia which structures the territorial units of the federation, so that these units politically, psychologically and economically have a vitality or levenskrachtig"

Sam Ratulangie's thoughts on the concept of a federal state were actually visible when in the Netherlands, he expressed his opinion on the "Sarikat Islam" (1913) and "Minahasa ideals" (1914). In Sam Ratulangie's view, a heterogeneous nation must be built based on equal recognition of existing forms of diversity, both religious and ethnic; no discrimination. It is a shame that the concept and reality of the United Republic of Indonesia (RIS) in 1949 did not last long because of the departure of the drafter.

## **2. Political Insight**

Sam Ratulangie's political principles at that time were difficult to predict because they tended to be dualistic. It is not surprising that many local and foreign journalists are confused by his political 'position' which is sometimes cooperative, but sometimes also non-cooperative. Sam Ratulangie actually doesn't like politics, because according to him, politics can only be an encouraging factor and tends to divide people's commitment.

In 1914 - when he served as chairman of the Indische Vereniging in the Netherlands, Sam Ratulangie received reports from his members that the Budi Utomo organization and Sarikat Islam in the country were experiencing problems, especially regarding their political identity. One is more Javanese, while the other is more Islamic. This issue also ultimately forced Indische Vereniging to take a stand, while also emphasizing its political identity - Sam Ratulangie, as chairman of Indische Vereniging, emphasized that his organization was staying away from political upheaval, because according to him, this could be a divisive factor. According to him, the most important thing is to deepen knowledge about the feelings of indigenous people in Indonesia and resolve the lethargie of the people and bring it to a new phase and awareness of social relations; not just being an enthusiast in politics.

Sam Ratulangie also adheres to the principle that as much as possible every problem is resolved peacefully, without any victims from either side of

the conflict. In his writing about *Sarikat Islam* (1913), Sam Ratulangie, as explained by Daniel Dhakidae, stated that the Dutch East Indies would definitely one day become an independent nation (een zelfstanding volksbestaan). No nation can remain in a state of colonization forever. He tried to attract the attention of the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies to prepare for a non-negotiable and inevitable separation (de onvermiddelijke scheiding), in the form of an exchange of cultural elements that brought benefits to both parties, who had been united by one history for centuries. Each other. For the Dutch, everything was just the cry of a half-baked little prophet in the desert that was impossible to achieve. When Mohammad Hatta, before the court in The Hague on March 9 1928, said in his plea that the issue of Indonesian independence was not a matter of yes or no, but a matter of early or late. This is actually an echo of what Sam Ratulangie had said 15 years earlier.

In 1949, before he died, he explained his political position that in resolving problems, he tended to try to ensure that problems were resolved as peacefully as possible; without any loss of life or property on either side of the conflict. However, he also stated that, if this relationship ultimately leads to co-optation and colonization of the people, then this must be opposed. The form of resistance he means is resistance accompanied by common sense (mature thinking), not just any revolution.

### **3. Economic Insight**

Sam Ratulangie is not an economist, in fact he has never studied the field formally, but his various analyzes of it, according to economist L.W. Sondakh, more than even economic experts. Sam Ratulangie is a mathematician and he is skilled at playing with numbers. The economic analysis is also based on the certainty and accuracy of the figures.

Sam Ratulangie's economic insights are very varied, but the main thing is his stance against the Dutch colonial system which was considered to have oppressed and impoverished the Indonesian people. He collaborated with various predictions from within (internal Indonesia) and from outside (external Indonesia).

Internally, through his speeches in front of the People's Council, Sam Ratulangie succeeded in exposing the Dutch government's practice of "Hongi Tochten", namely the destruction of spice plants belonging to the Maluku people for the benefit of the Dutch trade monopoly, the in-kind tax which required the Indonesian people to plant and produce various types of spices. new crops required by the Dutch, a monopoly on salt production, the imposition of high export fees on people who had rubber businesses, as well as the practice of land rental ordinances which were accompanied by violence in

various sugar producing areas. This statement, which is supported by precise and accurate statistical data, succeeded in proving that all the wealth of the Indonesian people was brought to the Netherlands to enrich the Dutch state, while the Indonesian people were increasingly plunged into poverty. At that time, there was no statistical data that was as accurate as Sam Ratulangie's explanation.

Externally, Sam Ratulangie reminded the Netherlands of the problems that would occur in the Pacific region, which, according to Sam Ratulangie's perspective, were problems involving economic interests that would ultimately threaten the Netherlands' position in Indonesia.

He put forward the Pacific issue comprehensively starting from his speech in the People's Council on June 14 1928 entitled "Schaduw en der onrust", followed by a speech on July 15 1936 entitled "Slagschaduw". Sam Ratulangie's analysis of the turmoil in the Pacific was then recorded in 1937 with the title, "Indonesia in den Pacific: Kernproblemen van den Aziatischen" (Indonesia in the Pacific). This book is currently being studied by scholars who are involved in pacifist studies.

It was through this book (as well as previous speeches) that he was later called Indonesia's first futurologist. Everything he predicted was correct and using accurate data. In 1937, he increasingly emphasized the signs that war would erupt in the Pacific. These signs originate from a shift in the centers of world trade and economy, from the Atlantic continent before WWI to the Pacific afterward. This book also contains predictions about the emergence of strong economic regionalization in the world, which is determined by the Pacific region. That is what we now know as AFTA (Asean Free Trade Area) and APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation). AFTA and APEC became a reality in the 1990s, although they were only fully implemented in 2010, but were predicted long ago by Sam Ratulangie.

In welcoming the APEC Conference in Bogor, the newspaper Kompas, Jakarta, published on November 11 1994, published an article on the front page entitled "Own Interests and Sam Ratulangie's Predictions" which began with the article: "The Names Are Different, But The Area Coverage Is The Same".

In his book, "Indonesia in the Pacific", Sam Ratulangie states that the development and shifts in the map of a region's economic power cannot be separated from the political currents at play in each region. The concept of independence (liberalism) which emerged in the 20th century has encouraged the need to organize international relations on the basis of equality. Sam Ratulangie firmly stated that the principle of equality does not apply to international agreements. The domain is interest, interests and interests are

none other than economic interests: raw materials, industrial markets and sources of foreign exchange through investment.

For this reason, Sam Ratulangie is of the opinion that, in competing interests, the law of survival of the fittest applies. The weak will always be the ones who suffer. To avoid regional inequality in the international sphere, an International Court of Arbitration and an International Court of Justice are needed. (This court has been established in The Hague).

Based on the belief that what dominates international relations is interest, he began to spread the teaching that independence cannot be achieved without struggle. The colonials would not voluntarily abandon their soft barns in the Asia Pacific. The problem that arises then is when will the colonials run away from their barns?

To find the answer, Sam Ratulangie then mapped the various political currents that live in the Pacific region. Sam Ratulangie divides the Asian region according to the level of dependence (independence), namely:

1. Countries with a high level of dependency due to colonialism are Malaya and Indonesia.
2. Countries with a moderate level of dependency, namely Siam and the Philippines; as well as
3. Fully independent countries, especially Japan.

Apart from the three schools above, Sam Ratulangie still shows the influence of other schools such as: Pan Asiatism (which is dominated by the motto of Japan; Greater Asia; and modern Pan-Islamism which through the charisma of Khemal Attaturkh from Turkey which influenced Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Arabic, North African, Jordanian and Egyptian). With the differentiation and differences in political currents, Sam Ratulangie had doubts about the existence of strong world peace, including his doubts about the effectiveness of the League of Nations.

By looking at the large influence of various political currents around the Pacific region, according to Sam Ratulangie, Indonesia, with its high level of dependence, is a paradise for modern investments, and will become the country with the largest level of foreign investment in Southeast Asia.

Sam Ratulangie's explanation above is based on the summary that:

1. Economically geographically, Indonesia has a decisive position because it is located in the middle of an important consumption and production area for the world.
2. Geo-economically, Indonesia is rich in natural resources, both minerals (coal, petroleum, etc.) as well as agricultural and fisheries resources which are important for the world economy.

3. Socio-economically, because the standard of living is not high, it has a large supply of workers and also a wide range of consuming forces.
4. Climatologically, Indonesia has a good tropical climate with regular changing seasons.
5. Financially, Indonesia does not have sufficient national capital, resulting in an industrial vacuum.

With these characteristics found in Indonesia and combined with its people being passive towards international activities, Indonesia has become the most fertile ground for the growth of capitalism and imperialism.

Apart from touching on the issue of pacifism, Sam Ratulangi also in several interviews and speeches at the People's Council, gave his views on building an ideal Indonesian economic system. In 1934, a company that promoted and exported Indonesian industrial goods asked Sam Ratulangi for his opinion on domestic industry. He conveyed his thoughts in five points of analysis, namely:

1. Because industry only produces raw materials, especially agricultural products, the need for industrial goods has to be imported from abroad.
2. The Indonesian people's level of thinking will increase so that this increase will also result in an increase in the level of need for industrial goods.
3. It needs to be spread widely so that people consume industrial products made domestically, but efforts must be made so that the profits from this industry stay within the country so that the country can gain profits.
4. The government must pay serious attention to ensuring that the need for trade and industry comes from domestic capital and the profits from staying in the country. This is an absolute demand for reasons of justice for our society.
5. The government should base its politics on the economic power of the people.

In this discussion which took place ten years before Indonesia's independence, Sam Ratulangi emphasized that industrialization was important for Indonesia but there must be a difference in treatment between domestic industry and native industry. Indigenous industries require special attention and treatment from the government, because Indonesia must be built with an economy that stands on its own feet based on the people's economy.

In 1935, before the People's Council, Sam Ratulangi delivered a speech on the problem of Indonesia's economic dependence on foreign countries. In his speech entitled *Verarmings Factoren* (Factors that impoverish Indonesia), he explained that Indonesia's exports depend on foreign markets, but what is more important is how to meet the needs of the Indonesian people for industrial goods that cannot be produced domestically. Sam Ratulangi proposed that imports of industrial goods be freed up as widely as possible without attracting foreign capital to invest in Indonesia.



Foreign investment will mean that Indonesia's natural wealth and cheap labor will become prey to foreign capital, because foreign capital will be entrusted with a very large burden of capital services, which in the future will result in even greater dependence on foreign countries. .

Most of the capital formed in Indonesia through investment will leave this country if that capital is in the hands of people who have no roots in Indonesia, whether racially, culturally or politically ideologically.

The government must find a way out of the lack of capital by utilizing the two elements of production that are abundant in our country, namely the gift of natural wealth and cheap labor in order to produce as many goods as possible for the economy, and priority must be given to industry that meets needs. people's tree.

Sam Ratulangie was concerned about Indonesia's economic condition at that time, for this reason he stated, "We see materials leaving our country, most of which return here after being processed abroad." He is concerned because the returned industrial goods are expensive and the price is borne by the Indonesian people as consumers.

In an interview when he was released from detention in Yogyakarta, Sam Ratulangi said that Indonesia's economic development must pay attention to the diversity of the Indonesian nation which consists of many tribes or groups who have different levels of living and natural conditions (*uitenlopende graden van ontwikkeling*) , so that each National plan must be described in further detail to be adapted to the local location. For example, to advance agriculture in Bali the handling will be different from Minahasa.

Based on his presentation, it can be seen that Sam Ratulangie's economic insight is more based and oriented towards the rights and interests of society. Sam Ratulangie dreams of an independent country, free from dependence on foreign capital.

#### **4. Religious Insight**

To understand Sam Ratulangie's thoughts on religious matters, we need to refer back to one of his very provocative and controversial writings, which he wrote in the Netherlands in 1913, namely about the 'Islamic Society'. Sam Ratulangie's writing about Sarikat Islam has been studied by Th. Sumartana. For this reason, in the following presentation, the author refers a lot to Th. Sumartana.

Sam Ratulangie succeeded in capturing an Indonesian national insight at its roots, and reflecting an idea for the future. In other words, he succeeded in formulating the starting point for basic ideas about Indonesian nationalism. Sam Ratulangie was the first Christian intellectual who was able to appreciate the historical meaning and rise of Islam in Indonesia. In the midst of fear, doubt and even scorn towards Sarikat Islam, Sam Ratulangie actually places Sarikat

Islam in a very positive position, namely as a representative of an awakening for all people, namely the oppressed people, including all religious communities in society.

This small book, which is only 34 pages long, was written in the Netherlands, at a relatively young age (23 years). His views regarding the Islamic Society (SI) were able to cross the boundaries of socio-political relations at that time, his views on the national movement were also able to cross the historical vision of that time. Negative religious and regional sentiments do not appear in his writing at all. This proves, on the one hand, Sam Ratulangie's independent and independent intellectual character, and on the other hand, he also emerged as a Christian who was able to emerge from the hysteria of fear, hatred and prejudice that existed among the zending and church officials at that time. What is clear is that this article is a breakthrough and also a bridge between Islam and Christianity in the arena of national movements in Indonesia. At that time there had never been such a positive relationship as shown by Sam Ratulangie. He is an example of openness and breadth of views which can provide a starting point for a broad national outlook to give place to the work of all religions without exception, to solve pressing humanitarian problems.

Regarding the revival of SI, Sam Ratulangie responded enthusiastically: "Wij staan op het keerpunt der koloniaal geschiedenis. De tijden zijn ernstig." (We are at a turning point in colonial history. This is a critical moment). (Ratulangie 1913:3). National awakening as seen in SI is a manifestation of the search for a lost self in the jungle of chaotic, tangled and inhumane relationships between humans and between groups. This not only concerns the colonial system but also concerns relations between religious groups who are mutually suspicious and closed to each other. It was further explained that the goals formulated by SI also underline the struggle of the people as a whole, namely: "verbetering van den economischen toestand en de inlandsche maatschappij en bevordering van het godsdienstleven" (improving the quality of the economic life of the people and native communities as well as improving the spiritual life of the people). (Ratulangie 1913:3). In such an understanding it is impossible for Sam Ratulangie to separate the birth of SI from other organizations such as Indische Partij and Budi Utomo. All three are organizations that voice the aspirations of the people, all of them have a causal relationship... namely as "een kind van het dezelfde omstandigheden" (are children of the same historical environment). Even though one uses the banner of Islam and the other uses a more neutral and liberal banner, they all emerge from the same seed, the basic link is the aspirations for the oppressed people. All of these strengths can be seen as potential liberation and become the main support for a new national spirit and insight in the future. Budi Utomo and Indische Partij are said to be an intellectual force, and SI as a people's force, both of which will form a perfect combination in the future (Ratulangie 1913:15). At the time this book was written, very influential SI intellectual figures, such as Haji Agus Salim or Abdul Muis, had not yet emerged.

Sam Ratulangie saw that the revival of Indonesian society was born from the womb of its own consciousness. The inlander group became a beast of burden (animals of burden) from the arbitrariness and lameness of colonial social, cultural, political and economic relations. The awakening was a protest against the humiliated state of the bumiputera community.

Sam Ratulangie sees the people's awakening as a process of national emancipation, in which all groups of colonized society become part of the subjects of change in people's lives. This means that all religions including Islam, Christianity and all religions, are challenged by the same social conditions. In this connection, we can see that Sam Ratulangie's insight clearly recognizes that the Islamic revival is not only an Islamic revival, but is basically a revival of the Indonesian nation. Likewise, the revival that occurred among Christians was not something that occurred exclusively only among Christians. In this kind of insight, we can say that Sam Ratulangie has helped lay the foundation for an inclusive system of relations between religious groups. An inclusive national perspective, which is open and able to accept the presence of other groups in a greater common task, where one another does not hinder, ensnare and trip up each other, but in a relationship that positions them as a force for renewal and liberation.

Sam Ratulangie is under no illusions that the people's awakening movement will be easy to carry out. He also realized that there were complicated dilemmas faced by the people's movement, namely in particular the need to formulate a national outlook that was able to accommodate all the aspirations of the people who were different and very diverse in nature, a type of pluralism that was not only formed horizontally but also vertically. One of the crucial things concerns religion. Sam Ratulangie said that Budi Utomo was mostly supported by members who had a Javanese national identity, while SI moved within further and wider boundaries, namely Islamic identity. There is always the possibility that there is a conflict of interest between these two communities, ... "en krijgen wij de situatie: Islam tegen niet-Islam" (and we arrive at the reality we fear, namely Islam facing non-Islamic groups). (Ratulangie 1913:17). This kind of antithetical situation was widely predicted by observers at that time. At least for Sam Ratulangie, however, SI is a religious organization, so there will be meetings between religious propaganda and other religious propaganda, "en is and de propaganda een conditio sine qua non voor een godsdienstige vereeniging?" (Ratulangie 1913:17). Sam Ratulangie also admitted that in Muslim life there is no separation between religion and politics: "geen scheiding van godsdienst en politiek".

In the early days of this nation's intellectual struggle to seek national insight, societal pluralism emerged as the main agenda. How does Sam Ratulangie try to find a way out of this complicated dilemma? He tries to see SI from another side without reducing SI's integrity and uniqueness. For Sam Ratulangie, SI is not only an organization that started from religion which then gave birth to national consciousness, but on the contrary there are also other aspects that must be taken into account carefully, namely: SI is a symptom of the growth of national consciousness that grows in a religious environment. He

said: "Niet de nationale tendenzen door dan godsdienst vinden wij in de SI, maar het nationaliteitsgevoel met de religie" (We not only find national consciousness through religion, but also find national consciousness growing in the context of religion). (Ratulangie 1913:18). Starting from the understanding that the core driving force of Indonesian nationalism is the question of human dignity, we clearly see that Sam Ratulangie's national-religious insight departs from a view of the meaning of humanity, broad humanism which is the basis of national insight.

It is important for us to pay attention to Sam Ratulangie's basic views. Because in this kind of thinking framework, one of the meeting points of these religions as a force for people's liberation from oppression, has been tried to be formulated. Sam Ratulangie tries to see what religion can do in their plural situation, and do something real to defend the interests of those who suffer. Religions are challenged to become a moral force in society, a force for liberation and a force for renewal. Religion is not denied its essence, but is made more focused on efforts to improve human destiny. Here we see Sam Ratulangie as a 'pragmatist'.

Sam Ratulangie then closed his writing with the sentence, "One day the Indonesian nation will become an independent nation, that's for sure. History will never forget a nation that lived under colonialism for centuries."

## 5. Community Insight

To understand his thoughts about social projects, we need to refer back to his writings written in the Netherlands in 1914, namely about 'Minahasa ideals'.

This article is actually a text of a speech at the Indische Vereeniging meeting (which later became the "Indonesian Association") in the Netherlands. At that time, Sam Ratulangie was appointed chairman of this organization, and in his speech he tried to invite his colleagues to fight together to build their nation. He projected this pattern of nation building through a federalistic mindset, namely giving freedom to each region to develop its potential. Thus, his federalist spirit had actually begun to emerge since 1913 and 1914.

This article should be read in a comprehensive series with his previous article on Sarikat Islam (1913). The main theme expressed is that a heterogeneous nation must be built on the basis of conducive support from religious and tribal elements (federal perspective). It is only when there is support from various religious and tribal alliances that a heterogeneous nation can be built. In the field of religion, he has tried to explain the position of Sarikat Islam in the context of nationalism. For this reason, in the social section, he then tries to explain his national concept based on the basic building blocks of primordial conduciveness. In his position as a federalistic nationalist, Sam Ratulangie thus does not fall for primordial sentiments, but on the one hand, he tries to understand how primordial contributions make to the national style, and on the other hand, he tries to understand that each tribe has its uniqueness and distinctiveness. itself which thereby stimulates tribal solidarity, is recognized and then preserved.

Sam Ratulangie's speech in the Netherlands in 1914 was actually also a response to the challenges of the identity crisis experienced by political parties in the country; a problem which then forced him to explain the political position of the organization he led. In response, Sam Ratulangie emphasized that his organization was staying away from political upheaval, because according to him, this could be a divisive factor. According to him, the most important thing is to deepen knowledge about the feelings of indigenous people in Indonesia and resolve the lethargy of the people and bring it to a new phase and awareness of social relations; not just being an enthusiast in politics. To explain his meaning, he then took an example by explaining the Minahasa ideals.

Because Indonesia is a very prosperous region, naturally one of the countries in North East Asia can take advantage of the war situation in Europe to expand its territory. Especially because the islands outside Java, especially Celebes, could be occupied without much difficulty. Realizing the dangers that will befall the Celebes community, it is important to take anticipatory action by increasing solidarity based on shared ideals among the Celebes community, especially Minahasa.

Sam Ratulangie is aware that the largest people in Indonesia are the Javanese, but for him, Minahasa, as part of another archipelago, cannot simply merge its customs with those of the Javanese people. The Minahasa people must find a path that is in accordance with their customs, because only then can they create and increase their solidarity.

Minahasa in Sam Ratulangie's view is a reconstruction, and this reconstruction has only been made since the Minahasa people met Europeans. This cultural exchange project then raised a problem, namely that increasing knowledge led to development, and with this development the Minahasan people no longer wanted to farm. So Minahasa children leave their area and work in offices and so on to become low and middle level employees. This is not good because Minahasa land is quite fertile and requires labor to cultivate it. He had known before that agricultural and carpentry schools were failing in Minahasa because parents wanted high schools for their children. Many Minahasan children are employed as employees throughout Indonesia. It needs to be stated here that the Minahasa people's habits have been lost and they live as Europeans. In social relations, they behave at the same level as Europeans. Their work outside Minahasa caused them to be nicknamed the Dutch of Manado because they worked only to earn money.

According to Sam Ratulangie, in fact it was the people who left Minahasa who were the best, so the only ones who remained were the less good ones. The point is that education in Minahasa must be improved in educating Minahasan children in a better direction.

Sam Ratulangie, hereby, has thought about the situation of Minahasa in Indonesia. In fact, the will of the people cannot be restrained because that will is usually the result of sects that will grow in size. If it is not acknowledged, then those who do not acknowledge it will become victims. So, Sam Ratulangie's

political strength is in recognizing and recognizing the will of the people even though it may not be in line with his own will.

Sam Ratulangie's societal insights ultimately lead to his famous concept, namely *Si Tou Timou Tumou Tou* (Humans live to humanize other humans). In 1925, he was invited to give a lecture at the PIKAT (Mother's Compassion for Children for Generations) meeting in Amurang, Minahasa. In the substance of his lecture, Sam Ratulangie gave a statement - in response to a question from Mrs. Loing-Kalangie about how an educator educates himself - that it is the duty of parents to educate their children to be good children. According to Sam Ratulangie, Minahasa people have not been familiar with the formal education system (in schools) for very long. When people began to study various questions about and to educate children, only then did people begin to realize the importance of polite education for children; Only then will people really understand that polite education has enormous benefits for 'humanizing humans' as an education for the mind. For Sam Ratulangie, education does not have to take place formally in schools, but the main and first thing is at home by parents. In the family, children always pay attention to the behavior of parents, which ultimately has a deep influence on the development of children's character. That's when parents are required to introspect themselves and learn from what they have applied to their children. Sam Ratulangie then closed his lecture with the phrase, "Therefore, know yourself, perfect yourself, and in this way, from within you, the heart's dream of becoming a true human being will emerge from within you." That is the meaning of how an educator educates himself.

ST4 Sam Ratulangie's spirit also emerged again when in 1948 (after Indonesia's independence), he was invited by the KRIS organization in Surabaya to provide solutions to problems occurring within the organization.

According to E.A. Pangalila-Ratulangie, one of Sam Ratulangie's sons, in 1945-1948, the ranks of Indonesian People's Service fighters from Sulawesi participated in defending the Republic of Indonesia in Yogyakarta. At that time there was a dispute between the Civil KRIS and the Military KRIS, as well as KRIS soldiers and former KNIL soldiers from Minahasa. Because it couldn't be resolved, they asked for guidance and advice from Sam Ratulangi. He listened seriously to the reports from both sides. After that, he just said: "*Si Tou Timou Tumou Tou*". Apparently, these words seemed to have supernatural powers so that the two parties made peace again.

The sentence is short, concise, but clear. The people at that time, especially the Minahasa people, already knew who and how Sam Ratulangie's political activities were. From his various thoughts, whether expressed orally through stinging speeches, or through accurate, provocative, evolutive pen writings with a future orientation, the public at that time could already be led to a goal and objective or social ethical ideal. which is future oriented.

#### **A. Being Indonesian in the 'Now' Era: Re-interpretation Analysis of Sam Ratulangie's Thoughts**

Sam Ratulangie with his thoughts is like a jewel for Indonesia. What he said in the past was actually also to answer Indonesia's challenges today. His

various thoughts, which are presented in a strong, even accurate, analytical style and evidence, are actually a manifestation of Indonesia's needs today. His humanist spirit strongly influences all aspects of his thinking and actions. In fact, on that basis he saw that Indonesia was very plural and complex. To unite and maintain the integrity of Indonesia, we need an appreciation for human humanity that is neatly wrapped in existing diversity. Ignoring an entity or prioritizing a particular entity means setting off a time bomb that is ready to explode anytime and anywhere.

Sam Ratulangie is a federalistic nationalist. It is this humanistic, federalist spirit that reflects his thoughts, ideas and actions in *Ber-Indonesia*. In contrast to Soekarno, Sam Ratulangie tended to see a centralized pattern of a unitary island state, tending to be hasty, even forced, which in the end would have a discriminatory impact on other entities. Therefore, according to him, the characteristics of regions that have a history that predates Indonesia need to be appreciated, because each region has different potential and culture. Give each region the freedom to increase its dignity and status based on its characteristics and uniqueness. In the economic field, Sam Ratulangie has inherited a prediction (thought) regarding the dependence of various parties in the Pacific region. Indonesia has great potential for this purpose because it is the gateway to the Pacific region. Indonesia's rise as a developed country is actually just a matter of time, because of its very strategic location. In the field of politics, Sam Ratulangie inherited an ethical political thought. The approach taken is a humanistic approach. Politics must be polite, not just revolution, but must also use common sense, for the sake of Indonesian unity. In the religious field, Sam Ratulangie has predicted the potential for radicalism. Every form of religious praxis must prioritize Indonesian unity. In the social sector, Sam Ratulangie's position is very clear. The spirit of *Si Tou Timou Tumou Tou* is very inspiring. Humans must live to humanize other humans. To humanize other humans, humans must first become humans. This is the form of a true human being.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Sam Ratulangie can be called an Indonesian futurologist as stated in his book, *Indonesia in the Pacific* and the magazine *Nationale Commentaren*, because he predicted events such as the emergence of new world powers, the USA, USSR, Japan and China; the outbreak of the Pacific war involving the Dutch East Indies; Chinese opposition that would end with the emergence of the country's single greatest power; as well as Communist tactics that would use subversion to influence and control the Pacific. On this basis, Andi Hakim Nasution then aligned him with the famous futurologist, Alvin Toffler; by Harry Kawilarang, as explained by Sondakh, he is compared to John Naisbit, Patricia Aburbene, Paul Kennedy, Raymond Aron, and Thomas Cherwinsky; even in the field of press, S.I. Puradisastra, as explained by Kawilarang, views Sam Ratulangie as the most accomplished and perfect publicist that Indonesia has ever had. ; and then in the political field, by President Soekarno, he was equated with Nehru, Marx, Roosevelt and Mao Tse Tung. For Bung Karno, Sam Ratulangie was his political teacher, therefore the history of the Indonesian

national movement which did not mention Sam Ratulangie's role was lame and insufficient.

### FURTHER STUDY

Sam Ratulangie's life story as a whole is about fighting for human values; no more hierarchy, discrimination and co-optation. What exists is equal rights based on the mandate to humanize humans. For him, life must humanize other humans (Si Tou Timou Tumou Tou). This is the essence of Sam Ratulangie's humanist spirit.

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