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THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PANCASILA AS THE GROUNDING PRINCIPLES OF INDONESIA

Megawati Soekarnoputri

Universitas Pertahanan Republik Indonesia
IPSC Sentul Area, Bogor, West Java, Indonesia 16810
megawati.soekarnoputri@idu.ac.id

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Abstract

Grounding Pancasila is the driving force and energy to make Pancasila in the concept of political, economic, social, cultural, as well as mental and spiritual development. The study aims to analyze the power of Pancasila as a basic assumption of Indonesian to respond to recent challenges faced by this country. This study employs a deconstruction approach that aims to describe how Pancasila become Indonesia's Basic Principles. The historical methods are heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography. Sources of data obtained are reading Soekarno's thoughts through his work "Under the Flag of Revolution". Soekarno's formulation of Pancasila thought was rooted in a sense of nationalism that wishes the Indonesian people to live side by side in peace and prosperity, and integrate all elements. This study concludes that as a basic philosophy (*philosophische grondslag*), Pancasila becomes a basic guideline for the Indonesian people in looking at the reality of the universe, humans, society, nation, and state about the meaning of life and the basis for Indonesian people to solve problems faced in life and our existence.

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INTRODUCTION

Pancasila is the ideological pillar of the Indonesian state. This name consists of two words from Sanskrit, *pañca* means five and *śīla* means principle. Pancasila is the formulation and guidelines for the life of the nation and state for all Indonesian people (Shofiana, 2014). The five main ideologies that make up Pancasila are the only Godhead, just and civilized humanity, Indonesian unity, democracy led by

wisdom in deliberation or representation, and social justice for all Indonesian people, and listed in the 4th paragraph of the *Preamble* (Preamble) of 1945 Constitution.

Pancasila was derived from thousands of years of civilization and traditions that have lived in Indonesia. On June 1, 1945, in a speech in front of the Board of Inquiry Effort Preparation of Indonesia's Independence or *Badan Penyelidik Usaha-Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia*

(BPUPKI), the first president of the Republic of Indonesia, Dr. (H.C.) Ir. H. Soekarno (hereinafter referred to as Bung Karno), introduced 5 precepts, which consisted of Nationality, Internationalism and Humanity, Consensus or Democracy, Social Justice or Welfare, and Godhead (Soekarno, 1964). Soekarno proposed a basic draft of Pancasila which embodied the spirit of 'all for all'. Pancasila used not only as a unifying ideology and boundaries for the life and interests of the nation but also as a basis and philosophy. It is the way of life for the nation or in other words '*Philosophische Grondslag*' the same as with the concept for some thought or as '*Weltanschauung*', from that, Indonesia nation was founded (Soekarno, 1964).

Pancasila is both an impression (crystallization) of the noble nation's ideals and the real picture of society's life in Indonesia. Pancasila has now passed the final stage as philosophy and ideology (Shofiana, 2014). Pancasila's formulation currently is the most perfect and acceptable to the nation's condition. Nevertheless, the ideology of Pancasila still faces a formidable challenge. The major challenge to the existence of Pancasila came not only from the opponents like communism but also the insiders who fail in interpreting the values of Indonesia's ideology. Another challenge emerged from the community who drift out with the currents globalization phenomenon that tends to worship liberal principles and make their way on leaving the values of Pancasila (Keraf & Kollo, 2019). It must be admitted that up to now the philosophical value of Pancasila has not been a habitual action in the everyday life of Indonesian citizens. As a consequence, we ended up with conflict and mobilization. The failure then leads to the dialogue gap between community and government tends to build a consensus that only satisfies the public needs. For example, regarding worship towards God, few people omit their beliefs. But at the same time, more and more people are also exposed to religious radicalism (Keraf & Kollo, 2019).

Meanwhile, more and more people in society ignore human values. Imposing its own will, there is no dialogue, let alone democracy (Setiyono & Triyana, 2014). What is done, it is only obedience that is born from the character of totalitarian power and carried out in totalitarian ways. For them, terror and propaganda are the key ways to gain power. The value of unity that is contained in the 3rd principle of Pancasila is also fading. This is evident from the increasing number of cases of conflict between community groups (Zahrafani, Amin, & As, 2017). Also, hate speech has increased through various social media accounts. The democratic value of Pancasila (principle 4) has also been further weakened by the increasingly widespread practice of money politics and identity politics or making ethnicity, ethnicity, culture, religion, or others a political tool (Fauzi, 2017). Not only that, they are completely anti-diversity. That is what arises with various racial problems. Meanwhile, the value of social justice (principle 5) is being eroded by the widespread practice of abuse of power by some public officials, at the central or regional levels (Fanani, 2017).

Faced with such a big challenge, it should be the responsibility of the author to ground Pancasila as a driving force and energy in society, nation, and state. Strive to make Pancasila as a guideline for development planning in all areas of life, both in the political, economic, social, cultural, defense and security sectors, as well as in the environmental sector, in political legislative decisions, budget politics, and supervision politics. Striving to make Pancasila live and provide its people, especially in five priority areas, namely the fields of clothing, food, and health, labor and social security, infrastructure and the environment, and most importantly in the fields of religion-belief, mental-spiritual and culture.

It has been a year since Indonesia and the world rocked by the COVID-19. The world is forced to enter a new civilization, which

is precisely what should open our inner eyes, mind, and soul. This is the time for Indonesian people to be truly consistent and truly implement the Pancasila. Indonesia nation needs Pancasila to be implemented. In crisis times like this, our faith in Almighty God is tested, tested to continue to fight with endeavors and trust for humanity in a spirit of unity. Enlighten the spirit of kinship and cooperation led by a policy that strives for the state in continuing to maintain life and livelihood, which is prosperous, orderly, and peaceful. Social justice for all Indonesian people. Thus, the purpose of this study is to analyze the power of Pancasila as a basic assumption of Indonesian to respond to recent challenges described above.

METHODS

To answer the problems mentioned earlier, this study uses a deconstruction approach. Deconstruction is a method of reading text. It was originated by the philosopher Jacques Derrida (1930–2004), who defined the term variously throughout his career. In its simplest form it can be regarded as a criticism of Platonism and the idea of true forms, or essences, which take precedence over appearances (Lawlor, 2017). Deconstruction shows that in every text there are always assumptions that are considered absolute. Every assumption is always contextual, assumptions are always present as a social construction in history. These assumptions exist as traces that can be traced to their formation in history.

Jacques Derrida (2002) shows that one always tends to detach texts from their context. One particular term we remove from the context and present it as a final meaning (Derrida, 2002). This is what Derrida calls logocentrism, that is, the tendency to refer to a certain metaphysics, the presence of a certain absolute object. With the deconstruction method, Derrida wants to make us critical of the text. Through deconstruction Derrida using the term 'Trace' as a concept in tracing meanings. According to Derrida (2002),

what can and should be known is the traces of the truth itself and not the truth itself. Trace (imprint) is mysterious and undisclosed, appearing as the power and shaping of writing, penetrating and energizing his activity as a whole.

The historical method referred to the techniques for conducting historical research on written materials, the so-called sources (Iggers, 2005), which consists of stages, namely heuristics, verification, and interpretation (Lorenz, 2006). Heuristics is a stage to locate the relevant sources, while in the verification stage, the temporal and spatial origins of the sources are established as well as their authenticity. Finally, in the interpretation stage is the cleansed information derived from the sources is put together through interpretation to infer 'what happened' (Lorenz, 2006).

In collecting data, this study follows the trace concept by reading Soekarno's thoughts through his work "Under the Flag of Revolution" (Soekarno, 1946a) and "To Build the World A New Vs To Build a New World" (Soekarno, 1960). The primary data sources obtained were then analyzed and interpreted by explaining historical facts through various experiences that the author obtained as the Chairperson of the PDIP (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan* or The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle) and state officials with PDIP constituents, and the Indonesian people.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Pancasila is the Basic of Pluralism

Bung Karno in his speech the Birth of Pancasila (Birth of Pancasila) on June 1, 1945, firmly stated that "Indonesia must become a country where everyone has the freedom to worship his own God and it becomes the foundation for the life of the nation" (Soekarno, 1946b). This gives meaning and conviction that whatever we do in this world, to build the nation or uphold democracy, the framework is based on our responsibility as God's people on earth (Siswoyo, 2013).

Everyone should believe in God and follow

their beliefs in a civilized way, free from egoism. Belief in God based on civilized principles, belief in God reflected in flawless morality and belief in God which demands mutual respect (Bung Karno's Speech).

This quote from Bung Karno's speech contains the expression 'religious egoism'. In the current context, religious egoism is shown in its most naked form by radical-fundamentalist groups. They spread violence and fear under the pretext of various anecdotes and reasons. Meanwhile, the government as the only powerful authority failed to crack down on this anarchist behavior pattern.

Violence is against religious values, either in Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, Buddhism, or Confucianism. The Big Indonesian Dictionary or *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (KBBI) defines the word violence as an action taken by a person or group of people that causes bodily injury or death to others or causes physical damage or property damage to others (Departemen Pendidikan Nasional, 2005). According to this definition, acts of violence tend to conflict with human nature (*fitrah*), because *fitrah* tends to lead to virtue (*al-Khair*). Virtue in humans goes against religious messages. In the context of religious life, religion can be interpreted as the teaching of obedience in matters that have been previously determined, both in the private and public sphere. This is where law enforcement becomes important. Leadership in law enforcement is essential in a nation-state, especially when decision-makers exhibit decadent and ignorant behavior. Too much violence in many areas of community life -either as a result of religious demands or other things- such as violence in regional head elections and households. Religion and violence have never been a harmonious convergence because they contradict each other.

Therefore, all obedience must reject violence. All religions are against violence and they accept that their existence brings peace and harmony between people based on truth and justice. All religions teach the

principle of love for one another, for fellow humans as God's creatures. If religious adherents ignore the basic principles of their religion or use religion as a legitimate basis for committing acts of violence and cruelty against others, it means that they have betrayed the basic principles of their religion. Islam, for example, upholds the principle of *rahmatan Lil al-Alamin*, namely love for the entire universe.

In the Indonesian context, religion provides essential principles of life through faith and trust in God Almighty. Religion helps humans in achieving their ultimate goal, namely faith and belief (Fauzi, 2017), to be a complete and inclusive religious being who truly desires the unity of various people, and who is humane, just, civil, peace-loving, and mutually supportive. Today, the diversity that is closely related to humanity, justice, civilization, and peace is being tested. In other words, Indonesian society is facing the challenges of globalization and the strengthening of political identity. This is due to the failure in creating a middle ground that allows globalization (market fundamentalism) to meet and absolute truth fundamentalism. This leads to intimidation, violence, and horizontal-vertical conflict as a way to solve the problem.

Therefore, given Indonesia's unpreparedness in facing globalization and pressure from religious-radical forces, interfaith cooperation between religious communities is important to be further enhanced. Respect for plurality is one of the prerequisites for a just and civilized Indonesian nation that can guarantee material and non-material welfare as well as the prosperity of its people. Conflict, violence, and destructive actions will occur when religion fails to respond to rapid social change. This requires the maximum use of multiculturalism through religion, which is expected to help build spiritualism that can provide strength and provide guidance in solving social problems, dealing with social frustration, repression and depravity.

When religion fails to guide its followers, confusion and frustration will arise among its followers. In other words, the inability of religious communities to face the dynamics of social change can strip religion's grip and relevance. Finally, the nation's ideals will only be realized if political leaders continue to promote interfaith dialogue. This is the only way to ensure openness and readiness to accept religious differences. This is our human path to religiosity.

Pancasila: Cultural for an Inclusive Sustainable Planet

The whole big narrative, the earth for all, the earth that maintains balance, sustainability, and the importance of future guarantees for the right to life of the entire earth, only can be done if we have a strong cultural base. A cultural base rooted in values and traditions that prevent the destruction of nature. A cultural base that contributes to the birth of 'universal guidelines' for preserving the earth.

For Indonesian people, the cultural basis for making the Earth Indonesia for all is Pancasila. Pancasila, which are the five basic principles of the Indonesian state, stands on the principles of Divinity, Humanity, Nationality, Deliberation and Consensus, and the principles of Social Justice. Pancasila was excavated from Indonesia's land by Soekarno, the Proclaimer and Father of the Indonesian Nation. The meaning is extracted from the earth of Indonesia, which means that the descendants of these principles have lived, have become a cultural tradition and a way of life in the nation and state. With the spirit of Pancasila, on September 30, 1960, the First President of the Republic of Indonesia, Ir. Soekarno, or better known as Bung Karno, gave a speech at the United Nations Board (Soekarno, 1960). He conveyed the idea of building a new world order, to build the new world in a sacred idea, to free the world from exploitative behavior, a capitalistic behavior that tries to practice various forms of political, economic, and cultural colonialism. Bung Karno also

emphasized the importance of a new balance to end Cold War tensions between the Western Bloc and the Eastern Bloc at that time. He also criticized the practices of colonialism-imperialism which created misery for the newly independent countries. Through his speech, Soekarno urged the need for a principle that underlies the New World Order which stands on the principle that independence is the right of all nations. The principle of non-intervention towards the sovereignty of every nation and equality between countries: standing equal, sitting equally low (Soekarno, 1960). That principle is Pancasila. The study uses Pancasila as a cultural resource to provide answers to major problems that will be discussed in this study. This work, allows the author to examine the values contained in Pancasila.

The first principle, God Almighty, reflects the belief of the Indonesian people in the greatness of God, the creator of the universe. The Indonesian nation is a God-blessed nation, a nation that makes tolerance and freedom of religion a living cultural value. This divine principle is embedded in Indonesian cultural traditions. A cultured deity, a deity with noble character, that is, there is no religious egoism. A deity that respects the religion and belief of every citizen. This divine principle, at the implementation level, is rooted in the tolerant tradition of religious life in Indonesia, for example, this can be seen in the tradition of *Halal Bi Halal* which is very typical of Islam in Indonesia and contains Indonesian culture. There is no such kind of *Halal Bi Halal* tradition in Islam in Saudi Arabia. Likewise, the *Nyepi* tradition for Hindu people in Bali, Indonesia. On the anniversary of the Saka New Year, Balinese people celebrate *Nyepi* by performing *Catur Brata*, namely *Amati Geni* (not lighting a fire), not working, not traveling, and not listening to entertainment (Arsawati, Gorda, & Antari, 2018). This kind of tradition does not exist in Hindu in India. Therefore, those kinds of traditions are truly Indonesian, including how the

Wali Sanga spread Islam through cultural acculturation, such as by using *wayang kulit* (shadow puppets). All of them are cultural images of divinity.

The second principle, Just and Civilized Humanity, shows the ideals of the Indonesian people to create a culture and civilization that is anti-colonial in all aspects of human life (Soekarno, 1964). Through this principle, Indonesian independence is aimed at building world brotherhood. Thus, independent Indonesia must be built by pursuing humanitarian ideals, namely free from all forms of colonialism (exploitation *de 'l'homme par' l'Homme*) (Ludigdo & Kamayanti, 2012). These humanitarian ideals gave birth to a nation and character-building program to make Indonesian people independent, confident, and free from the mentality of a colonized nation. This humanitarian precept or internationalism is intended to make Indonesian independence aims at world brotherhood. That is the reason why Indonesia is so active in fighting for new world order to make it free from all forms of colonialism, both colonization between humans and between nations. Based on these ideals, history records how Indonesia pioneered the Asian-African Conference, Non-Aligned Movement, Conference of the New Emerging Forces, as well as being active in realizing world peace through the mission of sending world peacekeeping troops.

Furthermore, related to the third precept, Indonesian Unity, this precept expresses the strong desire of the Indonesian people as one nation, which stands firmly on the principle of nationality. Indonesia, which has one nation, has one land, and upholds the language of the unity of Indonesia, is not only the core of the Youth Pledge. The Youth Pledge has laid a solid foundation about how independent Indonesia presents as a nation-state with the slogan 'Unity in Diversity' which means 'Different but still One'. With this national principle, Indonesia is built for all, not for tribes, certain religions or certain groups.

Indonesia for all, one for all, all for one. This principle of nationality stands firmly on the equality of Indonesian citizens. Article 27, paragraph 1, The 1945 State Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia or UUD 1945 states that all citizens are equal in law and government and are obliged to carry out law and government, without exception. This is a constitutional order which describes the principles of Indonesian Unity.

The Fourth Precept, democracy led by wisdom in deliberation or representation. These precepts reflect the desire or aspiration to build a democratic country, a democracy that integrates with cultural traditions in making decisions. This tradition is known as *musyawarah*. Deliberation is a democratic tradition that lives in Indonesia (Sulianti et al., 2021). In villages, Islamic boarding schools, *banjars*, and others, we can find out how this tradition of deliberation is practiced as a typical Indonesian democracy (Hendri, Darmawan, & Halimi, 2018). Therefore, Indonesia does not know win-win democracy or liberal democracy that promotes voting as in the West.

The Fifth Precept, Social Justice for All Indonesian People, constitutes the unity of democracy in the political and economic sphere, which leads to the welfare of the people. The last principle implies the strong desire of the Indonesian people to build a just society as a whole on this archipelago. The idea of social justice is also a correction to western democracy which only prioritizes political aspects. Democracy in the political sphere must at the same time be integrated with economic democracy, through the ideals of welfare, and aspirations in order to create a just and prosperous society. Based on this principle, in independent Indonesia, poverty should not exist. The constitution orders that the poor and most children should be cared by the state and the state guarantees decent work and livelihoods for every citizen.

Pancasila which is extracted from the land of Indonesia is a real picture of how

important democracy is to be built in the entire cultural tradition. A lost democracy, that loses the cultural character of its people, only becomes a procedural formal democracy, without a spirit and often only appears in the color of its freedom. Likewise, when democracy is only grafted from different cultural traditions, without the acculturation process it can create disaster. The Arab-Spring Movement in the Middle East, which was initially lauded as the third wave of democratic revival, turned out to be a disaster not only for the people of the Middle East but also for the world. The prolonged armed conflict in the Middle East after the Arab Spring starting from Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt to Iraq, Syria, and Yemen has destroyed the countries which in the past stood as the cultural centers of the world (Roberts, 2018). Without a cultural foundation, everything moves out of control, loses its human character, and ultimately threatens the sustainability of the planet earth.

Likewise, economic development that is not based on local cultural values will also run aground and will only give birth to a crisis. Bung Karno wrote in 1945 that capitalism only creates crises notably political crises (Soekarno, 1946b). One crisis is not over yet, another crisis will emerge, and all of them will continue to dialectic until the crisis will be born simultaneously in the United States and Western Europe. What Bung Karno wrote in the 20th century has now happened in the 21st century. In the 21st century, it is suspected that a historical paradox is taking place. The historical paradox is a phenomenon that shows contradictions in the history of human civilization. Advances in science and technology make everything seem connected. Distance is no longer an obstacle in human communication and interaction. Humans seem to live together in one big house. Ironically, live together but lack direct communication and social interaction. Each individual is cool to live in their respective virtual worlds, so they are isolated from each other. This is the

difference from the previous century. The 21st-century society is an information society, which makes access to the media and opinion creation very easy.

The crisis demands we carry out 'joint contemplation'. Is the progress in this age of globalization going on the right track? Judging from the rapid advancement of information technology, it seems that interconnection makes it easier and makes the world in the grip of a product called a Smart Phone. Thus, enlightening at an early stage, interconnection without a cultural basis also only creates crises. Now we see how the world faces various systemic problems such as drugs, HIV Aids, and it is easy for a government to change because of the social engineering process through social media.

Even economic development without a cultural basis only gives birth to material abundance without mental maturity. Society becomes so easily alienated from its cultural roots. Without cultural life, humans will fall easy prey to the material world. Sustainable and inclusive earth as a source of culture for sustainable living can only be achieved by promoting a cultural life with a personality, strengthening cultural identity, and strengthening national identity. Cultural life is rooted in the cultural values of the nation itself. Thus, what must happen, when Pancasila becomes the source of culture, every nation will emerge with its cultural identity and the connectivity of these various cultures, making the world the *Taman Sari* Culture of Nations.

Referring to Indonesia's own experience, Bung Karno summarized the main development agenda in the *Tri Sakti*, namely political sovereignty, economic independence, and a cultural personality. The three agendas are an inseparable, complementary, and equally important unit. *Trisakti*, with the cultural values contained in Pancasila, is the most appropriate thesis to review the entire development strategy of Indonesia which was previously exploitative, to return to the conception of the balance of the natural and natural

universe. The environment has a herbal character to make the world green and sustainable again must be rooted in the cultural traditions of the people.

Pancasila Revolution

The Republic of Indonesia was built on the spirit of devotion to the country and patriotism, a totality of dedication to life for the nation and state. There are many questions, why in such a difficult and colonized situation, the founders of the nation were able to express their best thoughts for the Indonesian nation and state? This is completely different from the current situation, where the state seems to be divided by various individual interests and the 'ego sectoral' interests of each state institution.

Reading Yudi Latif's "Pancasila Revolution" is even more interesting than the many quotes of Bung Karno's statements are increasingly relevant. This book can inspire our perspective on Pancasila (Latif, 2015). So far, Pancasila has often been interpreted in the sense that it is only the basis of the state. Pancasila is static. Through this book, Pancasila was presented as the basis for a dynamic-progressive social theory. This progressive nature was inseparable from the excavation process carried out by Bung Karno when he met a farmer named *Marhaen*. Bung Karno saw that the reality of structural poverty faced by Indonesian peasants was caused by an exploitative social order. This is where the problem of poverty is ideologically seen as a structural problem that is directly related to the political, economic, and cultural system due to colonialism. On this structural issue, Pancasila also presents as a directing star. Therefore, any structural change design that is carried out must not regardless of the ground value that is the personality of the Indonesian nation itself. Pancasila thus becomes a theory of social change and the direction for the realization of a just and prosperous society that we all yearn for. In the process of changing the community order which is Pancasila, it

must become an ideological praxis in state government policymaking.

To carry out Pancasila as an ideological praxis and a catalyst, for structural change in Indonesian society, or other words, so that we can revolutionize and ground Pancasila, the Indonesian nation must have three powers (*Trisakti*). These reflect on the three realms of social change, namely political sovereignty, independence in the economy, and have a personality in culture. Efforts to achieve *Trisakti* in the political, economic, and cultural fields can be achieved through a revolution by the demands of 'human conscience'. Demands for human conscience reflect the nature of humanity as a religious human being, social beings-and at the same time individuals who want the realization of social justice, collective freedom as a nation, and the independence of every citizen.

Thus, it is clear that the Pancasila Revolution is a multidimensional humanitarian revolution. It covers a very broad level. Bung Karno emphasized the multicomplex nature of this revolution. The multicomplex nature of the Pancasila Revolution contains at least five (five-face) dimensions of revolution. Those dimensions are the national revolution, the political revolution, the economic revolution, the social revolution, and the mental-cultural revolution (Soekarno, 1964). The five faces of the revolution must operate simultaneously to break through the remnants of the old social structure while building the foundation for a new society.

Beyond the five dimensions of the revolution, this study will only describe matters related to the problem of mental revolution. Mental revolution is nothing new. In the President's Message at the Commemoration of the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence, August 17, 1956, he firmly explained that "Now we are at the level of investment, namely the level of investing in the broadest sense: investment of human skills, material investment, and mental investment". This shows the importance of the mental revolution,

without mental wealth, the cultivation of skills and materials will only perpetuate slavery. Bung Karno said, "We should clear the forest and scratch the ground with our ten fingers and nails, rather than selling a piece of hair instead of our freedom for dollars, for rubles". That is why Bung Karno put so much emphasis on the nation and character-building program. In his view, Indonesia is a big nation, but often places a too low value on its people, or has a small mentality. The Indonesian nation has also not been able to be free from the mentality of the colonized so that it is often seized with feelings of inferiority (*minderwaardigheidscomplex*). Due to this colonial mentality, Bung Karno called for the importance of mental revolution as a new life movement. This movement aims to carry out a mental revolution as a way of building the society that the Proclamation of 17 August 1945 aspires to. Meanwhile, the contents of the New Life Movement are:

1. Improving the way of thinking, the way of working, the way of life, which hinders progress.
2. The extension and establishment in a way of thinking, a way of working, and a good way of life.

In short, the new life movement is a mental revolutionary movement to arouse these Indonesians into new people, whole-hearted, steel-willed, passionate like a *Rajawali* Eagle, with the spirit of burning fire.

Pancasila for the World

The principle of a free and active foreign policy cannot be ignored, especially in the interactions between nations in the era of globalization. The principle of freedom and activity is also aimed at friendship with all nations, following the teachings of Pancasila, namely world peace. To be free and active does not mean to take a neutral attitude or be a spectator of the events that occur in this world. Free does not mean disrespectful. It does not mean 'washing hands', to be defensive or apologetic. We are active, we have principles, we have opinions. Our principle, we affirm to the

world is Pancasila. Our stance is active towards world peace and prosperity. Active in the friendship of all nations, active in fighting for the elimination of oppression against any nation.

A free and active foreign policy in the coming decades certainly has several focuses. One of the things that are important to note is the need for Indonesia to become a bridge-builder for communication, dialogue, and negotiations between industrialized countries and developing and underdeveloped countries to maintain world peace. For this reason, Indonesia needs to be a critical and constructive good friend for advanced industrialized countries as well as a trusted friend for developing and underdeveloped countries, especially in the Asian region including the Korean Peninsula, Africa, and Latin America. We are not hostile to the rich and affluent industrialized nations. We work together on a mutually beneficial basis and do not want to be just a market for their products and investment land. We need to play a role in building an atmosphere of understanding, that lasting world peace is when there is justice in global interactions, between all countries.

In 1965 the Father of the Nation of North Korea, Kim Il-sung met the Father of the Indonesian Nation, Soekarno or Bung Karno, in Jakarta. Bung Karno told her daughter (the author), to always help in the struggle to unite Korea on the Korean Peninsula, "Stand not to choose between South Korea or North Korea. Choose the path of peace. Stick to the Pancasila ideology which will lead you to the path of peace. This path will bring you together with the leaders and people of both countries, who both fight for Korean peace and sovereignty". Then, that is exactly what has happened until now. Especially, after the author served as President of Indonesia and met with His Excellency President Kim Dae-Jung, who unofficially asked the author to become a special envoy for South Korea for North Korea. That period was in His Majesty Kim Jong-il's reign in North

Korea. At that time, the author often came to both South and North Korea. To His Excellency Kim Jong-il, the author tries to convince him that the time has come to try to unite the two Koreas into Korea.

As the author recalls, His Excellency Kim Dae-Jung had already visited North Korea. Meanwhile, His Excellency Kim Jong-il, until his death, had not yet visited South Korea. After that, unfortunately, there was a long pause, several leadership changes took place, and only after His Excellency President Moon Jae-in did this relationship re-establish. The author's intention to tell this piece of history, which is quite complicated, how long will these two countries finally materialize into a united Korean state?

Pancasila is the nation's ideology and the foundation of the Indonesian state. Five principles that guide the life of the nation and state, namely One Godhead, nationalism, internationalism, democracy, and social justice. The democratic method in Pancasila is Deliberation and Consensus. Deliberative consensus is a method of political communication that opens the space for open dialogue without the desire to dominate other parties (Kawamura, 2011). The themes that have been agreed upon are then discussed not with the majority and minority paradigms. Deliberative consensus is a way to reach an agreement, in which the agreement expresses the political decisions of affirmative action by the state to the people, especially for groups who are marginalized due to the existing political system. Not an easy thing to do, but that doesn't mean it's impossible.

On April 27, 2018, the leaders of the two countries, His Excellency Moon Jae-in and His Excellency Kim Jong-un agreed to sign the Panmunjom Declaration for Peace, Prosperity, and Unification of the Korean Peninsula (Meixler, 2018). A new history has been written, not only for the two countries but for the civilization of the Asian nation. When peace occurs, an order for a better life can begin. However, when

peace is achieved, it does not mean that the struggle will stop. The next effort is to crystallize peace as a tool to improve the welfare and quality of life of the people.

This study offers again the democratic methods that exist in Pancasila, namely Deliberation and Consensus. This study sincerely hopes that, after the peace of the Korean Peninsula is achieved, a new agreement can be reached soon, followed by concrete steps for cooperation between the two countries, not economic cooperation with a narrow pragmatic character, but broad cooperation in various fields including the environment, education, and culture within the framework of industrialization in the digital era. This study sees that Asia awaits the Korean Peninsula can become a pioneer of cooperation between nations that is more progressive and remains oriented towards justice and social welfare. Indonesia is also looking forward to better cooperation with Korea, especially in the fields of Science and Technology, as well as culture.

Pancasila, the Way of Life

Pancasila is a philosophy of humanity. Humanity is a value that never goes out of style. Although sometimes marginalized and forgotten in life, humanity will always exist. True humanity is always attached to every human being. Human beings who are truly human are human beings. Humanity is an absolute prerequisite for peace. This idea was conveyed by Bung Karno, the Father of the Indonesian Nation on September 30, 1960, before the 25th General Assembly of the United Nations, with the title to build

the world anew. Bung Karno said:

Our job is not to defend this world, but to build the world again ... The world that humans have to build is a world free from oppression, free from poverty, free from fear, free constructively to mobilize social activity, and free to express opinions. (Soekarno, 1960)

Bung Karno was a great and visionary leader. Even then, he had already imagined a world where countries were connected.

How many global obstacles did we face because countries fail to respect international agreements and seek peace through diplomacy? With increasing egocentricity, leaders are increasingly concerned with the interests of their nation, with foreign policies carried out without reference to the greater good. This trend has reduced the space available for meaningful dialogue that can lead to consensus in the way our predecessors did. Increasingly we are forced to engage in a never-ending proxy war. Every country now seems to be operating in isolation, forgetting that we all live together in the same world. To be actively involved in building this new world, every nation needs a conception and ideals, a way of life, namely an ideology. A good and correct ideology is an ideology that is always rooted, has branches, leaves, flowers, and bears the fruit of humanity. For the Indonesian people, this ideology is called Pancasila (five principles). Bung Karno emphasized that Pancasila not only contains national meaning for the Indonesian nation, in fact, Pancasila also has a universal meaning and can be used internationally.

The description of Pancasila, which consists of the only Godhead, includes people who embrace various religions and beliefs, who are a deity in a civilized way, mutual respect between adherents of any religion and belief. Second, nationalism, namely the spirit of patriotism to maintain the survival of all nations. A nationalist loves his nation and all nations because he believes that every nation is important to the world. The third principle is internationalism. Nationalism cannot be separated from internationalism. Nationalism will not grow and develop without internationalism. Thus, true internationalism is a form of true nationalism, which respects and safeguards the rights of all nations, both large and small. The fourth principle is Pancasila Democracy. Pancasila democracy contains three main elements, namely: Representation, Deliberation, and

Consensus (Fanani, 2017). Deliberation for consensus is a determined effort to find a stronger agreement. This is certainly better than an enforced resolution in the name of a 'majority vote'. The four principles of Pancasila above converge on the fifth principle, which is the ultimate goal, namely social justice that has a human face and value. Humanity is embodied in just and prosperous, free from oppression in any form, for anyone, in any hemisphere.

Pancasila can be a solution to this new phenomenon that endangers humanity in the 21st century, which is known as post-truth. Post-truth is a condition where the truth is deliberately covered up until it is no longer relevant. In socio-politics, this phenomenon is characterized by objectivity and apparent rationality. Emotions and desires take priority, even if they contradict facts and ignore the truth. Post-truth is a socio-political climate, where emotions beat objectivity and rationality and tend to reject fact verification. This term became popular after the Oxford Dictionary named it the Word of The Year in 2016. The term became very well known, especially in the events of Brexit (Britain's exit from the European Union) and the last Election in America. Post-truth is a term that was born as a result of political anomalies, which are carried out by populist politicians who are good at manipulating the emotions of the masses (McIntyre, 2018). Public opinion is led in such a way through a systematically planned deception scenario. Until sometimes, it can make the media and journalism experience indecision in digesting and reporting political statements.

In post-truth, science and technology, which should bring enlightenment, are tools for oppression and paralyzing rationality. Fluency in using academic language also legitimizes violence, becomes a means of spreading ideas that seek to eradicate humanity. Humanity will only be a discourse. This condition will give birth to 'banal people', humans who are no longer able to distinguish between right and wrong, good and evil, beautiful and bad. Humans

like this will not hesitate to commit acts of violence in the name of truth. The truth rests on personal or group beliefs only. Its negative excess is the banalization of lies. Often the goal is deliberately to arouse hostility and division. As a result, the victim's personalization was created. The 'faceless victim', in cyberspace, the victim is no longer recognizable. As a result, the perpetrators of violence have become more heartless and crueler. Without shame, the perpetrators use false identities to curse, slander, blaspheme and commit character assassination against anyone they dislike, without feeling guilty, without feeling regret.

The second principle of Pancasila, which reads Just and Civilized Humanity, is a value capable of being a shield in facing post-truth. Fair and civilized will guide us as humans to do fact-checking, to always demand verifiable truth. This will prevent us from manipulative action. Just and civilized humanity is born out of rationality that is fused with a sense of empathy, brotherhood, and liberation. Just and civilized humanity gave birth to emancipatory politics, politics that open up space for those who are marginalized. It is unblemished that the virtue of just and civilized humanity had been sculptured in our daily value. To be underlined humanity is not a discourse, but a living value system that can be justified morally and ethically. Humanity will give birth to rational humans who are moral and have ethics, truly human people. It is necessary to keep humanity in our hearts and souls because only with humanity we become truly human beings who are meaningful in life and for life. Embrace humanity in your mind, because people who think in humanity will live in joy and become Independent humans.

Pancasila Development Patterns

Indonesia is a Unitary State and the democratic National Republic from Sabang to Merauke. Indonesia is currently in the era of regional autonomy. However, Indonesia is not a Federal State. Although, the

development of regional autonomy and regional head elections or *Pemilihan Kepala Daerah (Pilkada)* appear that there are realities that we need to examine. Let us imagine Indonesia as a painting. The painting in one frame of the Republic of Indonesia. But the painting is not part of a complete canvas. This painting is like a parcel that cannot come together. Why did that happen? Pancasila is not an empty symbolic statement. The only way to prove it is to ground Pancasila. Enfold it in a political decision that is well planned, measured, has clear stages, and involves all aspects of the life of the nation and state. The development concepts and strategies implemented in each region depart from different visions and missions. It differs in each district and city and province. There are often differences in policies with the government.

Direct election was held based on the People's Consultative Assembly or *Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (MPR)* decision at that time and when the author served as the 5th President of the Republic of Indonesia. Direct election, should be understood as an election procedure to bring people closer to their prospective leaders. However, unfortunately, the practice of democracy by the people, from the people, and for the people, in its implementation, is reduced to just a five-year vision and mission battle. The people change, the vision and mission also change. The leaders change, the vision and mission also change. The author often jokes about this, the product of direct election is a five-year 'vision and mission leader'. Therefore, it is time for this personal and regional vision and mission to be changed with a long-term national development concept.

The concept of development is to ground Pancasila. Pancasila is the concept of development, development in all spheres of life, be it political, economic, social, cultural, as well as mental and spiritual. This concept is a blueprint so that Indonesia can become a developed industrial country, which places the people as both the subject

and the goal in national development. We should be able to design for the next hundred years. The design must not be changed just because of a change of leaders. It is time for this nation to have a long-term national development direction, a plan in the form of a national development pattern in all spheres of the life of the State and society, build simultaneously in the economic, political, social, educational, and cultural fields, also which is no less important, the spiritual sphere. All of them must exist in one integration and synergy between islands, between regions, to become Great Indonesia (*Indonesia Raya*).

Indonesia Raya can only be born with overall planning or comprehensive planning, which is mean a plan that does not stand alone. A universal plan that is not only placed for five years of regional and central executive terms. As a whole, portraying Indonesia as an Indonesia that is not divorced. The basis used is the needs and personalities of the Indonesian people themselves, meaning that the plans are made not to negate the values of local wisdom and potential in each region. If needed, experiences in development abroad can be harmonized and integrated for domestic interests Chinese leaders said that they learned sustainable development from Soekano's concept of planned universal development.

The Planned Universal National Development Pattern is a concrete implementation of article 33 of the 1945 Constitution. A pattern that directs all businesses in the economic and financial fields to lead to a just and prosperous society based on Pancasila. The development designed in it is by the personality and needs of the Indonesian people, namely cooperation and the principle of kinship. Based on the mandate of this article, Indonesia should rely on the economy of the State sector. This is the right time for the vital branches of the economy, which control the lives of many people, and concern the public interest, return to the principle of the constitution,

namely to be re-entered into the realm of 'State sector economy'. The constitution itself mandates how important the role of the State-owned Enterprises (SOEs) or *Badan Usaha Milik Negara* (BUMN) as one of the pillars of the national economy. That is why BUMN has a function and becomes a tool of the State to increase the prosperity of the people as much as possible. Unlike what happened today, BUMN is only treated like private corporations that prioritize a business-only approach or are often echoed as a business-to-business approach. Based on this, this study pays special attention to straightening the political economy of BUMN through amendments to the Law on BUMN. The author believes that if BUMN is well managed, it will contribute optimally to the development of the State. Also, BUMN must be returned to become a tool of the State to strengthen the people's economy through a redistributive function, opening access to capital and increasing people's productivity.

The elaboration of article 33 of the 1945 Constitution as seen in the archives of the National Plan for National Development Plan, has confirmed the principle of people's sovereignty over Indonesia's natural resources. This principle is the basis of our constitutional obligation to save and return state assets. One of them is by reviewing the existing contracts of work in Indonesia, to contribute as much as possible to the national interest and the welfare of the people. Another thing that must be studied in depth is how the spirit and spirit of the National Planning National Development Pattern, with the whole process that took place at the National Designing Council, can return to attendance. Is it through the return of the MPR RI function and authority to issue MPR Decrees related to development patterns, which bind all parties and must be carried out by the government at all levels? or, we are pioneering the strengthening of the Law on the National Development Planning System, becoming the Law on Universal

Development. Through the strengthening of this Law, it is possible to compile the nature, duties, sectors, scope, and development of a universal character, including strengthening the national planning institution. The goal is for this nation to have a development concept and strategy that is not limited to five years of political age. But a plan which is at the same time a form of guided and planned imagination about Indonesia's future.

CONCLUSION

That is the main picture of Pancasila. This study believes that Pancasila also functions as a paradigm of life that unites this nation in Indonesian values. The re-actualization of Pancasila is increasingly finding its relevance amidst the strengthening of radicalism, group fanaticism, rejection of pluralism, and all counterproductive actions towards the nation's journey. This is important in determining which direction the nation's civilization will take.

Pancasila as a source of culture was explored by the nation's founding fathers from Indonesia, not only as the basis for an independent Indonesia. Pancasila, as a basic philosophy, emerged as a crystallization of the nation's culture so that it became the nation's way and outlook on life. He became the soul and personality of the Indonesian nation itself. Pancasila thus becomes the identity of the nation's cultural achievements that can be grounded in the political, economic, social, and cultural realms. In the process of changing the social order, Pancasila is also present as a guiding star. Pancasila is present as the basis for a dynamic-progressive social theory to create a just and prosperous society that we all yearn for by grounding Pancasila as a mental revolutionary revolution to galvanize Indonesian people into new, white-hearted, steel-willed people, excited by the Eagle *Rajawali*. The soul of fiery fire.

In foreign policy, Pancasila appears as a manifesto to create a new world order free from oppression and colonialism. Pancasila

is the spirit of liberation for the independence of a nation as happened in the Asian-African Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement. Pancasila is also a way of lasting and lasting peace for all citizens of the nation. Pancasila can be a solution to this new phenomenon that endangers humanity in the 21st century, which is known as post-truth. So, as an ideology, Pancasila is always rooted, trunked, leafy, flowering and the fruit of humanity will protect Indonesian people who are responsible for giving birth to rational humans who are moral and have ethics, truly human people.

Finally, in grounding Pancasila in the concept of development in all areas of life, be it political, economic, social, cultural, mental, and spiritual, it is necessary to go through the Plan National Development Plan as a concrete implementation of article 33 of the 1945 Constitution. Economic and financial fields can lead to a just and prosperous society based on Pancasila.

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