

Historical Traces of Pancasila as the Ideology of the Indonesian Nation in Providing Direction and Goals for Life in Society, Nation and State

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Abstract. The Pancasila ideology has a strategic history in the life of society, nation and state in Indonesia. This study uses qualitative research, namely with library methodology. This study explains the historical traces of Pancasila as the ideology of the Indonesian nation and state which can be seen from the manuscript of Soekarno's speech at the BPUPKI session on June 1, 1945; Onbook by Adnan Buyung Nasution entitled "Aspirations of Indonesian Constitutional Government" and on the concept of Manipol/USDEK. In the era of President Soeharto, it can be seen in the concept of P4 which was formed through MPR Decree Number II/MPR/1978. Scientifically, it can be seen in the works of Prof. Kaelan, MS and documents issued by BPIP.

Keywords: Historical Traces; Pancasila Ideology; Direction and Goals

1 Introduction

Ideology has a very important and strategic position in the life of society, nation and state, with ideology a country has the same ideals and views among its members or between society and its government, especially in the process of national integration.[1]. This is the basic reason why Indonesia has Pancasila as the ideology of the nation and state, namely to bridge all forms of differences and diversity between society and components of the nation.[1]. Indonesia as a sovereign country has a very long history of the formation of Pancasila as the basis of the state and the ideology of the nation. In the position of Pancasila as the basis of the state after being determined by the PPKI on August 18, 1945, there was no significant upheaval in substance. However, the reality is not comparable to the desire of the Indonesian people to make Pancasila the ideology of the nation and state.

In the midst of the belief in the importance of an ideology, there are many issues regarding the existence of Pancasila as an ideology in the Indonesian nation. There are doubts and rejections from some of its citizens regarding the position of Pancasila as the ideology of the Indonesian nation and state. Doubts about the existence of Pancasila as an ideology can

make the Indonesian nation hesitate to take steps forward, thus hindering the achievement of the common goals of the Indonesian nation. Doubts distort perceptions, doubts can make us see opportunities as obstacles and barriers. Doubts can also hinder creative and innovative thinking, thus limiting the discovery of solutions and strategies that can be used to overcome problems in social, national and state life.[2].

After the 1998 reformation, history shows that there were ups and downs regarding the position and implementation of Pancasila as the ideology of the nation and state; some even assumed that after the reformation, our Pancasila almost disappeared because of phobia towards the New Order of President Soeharto's government. Sharper criticism came from academics and researchers who thought that so far the implementation of our Pancasila values had only been limited to symbolic respect, such as only displaying the Garuda Pancasila symbol in government agencies and office buildings; which was very lacking in massive and substantial implementation.[2]. This kind of public view certainly cannot be separated from the legacy of the past, especially in the New Order era. In the New Order era, Pancasila was directly internalized into society as a doctrine of the life of the Indonesian nation. In addition to being internalized, Pancasila was also used as a tool to legitimize the regime which was considered authoritarian by many parties. So it is not surprising that later after the New Order fell, Pancasila was rejected by some Indonesian people. In this historical dimension, there was a phobia of the New Order and it also gave rise to a phobia of Pancasila.[3].

When Pancasila has become a national consensus, it should no longer be debated, but must be implemented properly. But in reality, today, doubts, rejections, denials, and even movements or efforts to replace Pancasila with other alternative ideologies continue to be carried out by individuals who are not pro Pancasila ideology. Not to mention the community movement, both from academics and practitioners, they are busy discussing the meaning, position and essence of Pancasila. Various opinions and analyses have emerged in perceiving the concept of Pancasila in social, national and state life. There are even certain groups claiming that the essence of Pancasila as their perspective is the most correct, most appropriate and must be understood and implemented in social, national and state life in Indonesia. This kind of reality gives the impression that the community's interpretation of Pancasila is not yet the same, alias not final and still multi-interpreted.[4].

Recently, the public's understanding of Pancasila has not been complete, most people only have bits and pieces of information about the values of Pancasila, even though Pancasila is a universal, complete, comprehensive, holistic, humanistic and religious value system.[5]. Pancasila is five principles that are a unity of understanding, which must be expressed or interpreted in one breath. Currently, the Pancasila ideology is faced with the problem of fundamentalism, radicalism, intolerance and religious exclusivism. As expressed by the cleric, Franz Magnis Suseno, or familiarly called Romo Magnis at the Seminar in the series of activities of the 14th UGM Lustrum that radicalism and exclusivism are part of the challenges of Pancasila to accommodate the nation. We are also concerned about this and it

has spread to all levels of society including the campus community, which targets lecturers and students as its targets. It is truly disturbing, that is the language of Indonesian netizens when commenting on a social media phenomenon.[6]. The existence of issues, facts, and current hijrah phenomena that make students interested in following them without having to first review who they are studying with, is feared to contribute to fostering fundamentalist, radical, intolerant, and exclusivist teachings and mindsets that infiltrate the campus as an aim to change and attack the attitudes and nationalist understanding of the young generation of Indonesia.[7].

Leaving Pancasila is the same as eliminating the ideals of the founding fathers of the Indonesian state in realizing unity within the framework of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. It is clear and convincing that with the existence of Pancasila, the differences between tribes, races, religions, and the nature of the Indonesian people can be united, because of the similarity of the nation's soul contained in the principles of Pancasila. Therefore, Pancasila must remain a common ideology, a common ideal, able to realize the goals of the Indonesian nation in the differences in religion, tribe, race, group and belief that exist. Therefore, it is very necessary for our young generation to understand the historical traces of how Pancasila was made the ideals, goals and ideology of the Indonesian nation.

2 Methods

This research approach uses qualitative research. In general, this research uses library research.[8] [9]. The subjects of this study are books, articles, journals and writings that examine Pancasila as the Ideology of the Indonesian Nation. The data analysis used in this study is Annotated Bibliography, which is a simple conclusion from the analysis of articles, books, journals, or several other written sources. Bibliographic annotations contain a list of sources used in a study, where each source is given an analytical conclusion related to what is written in it. There are three things that must be considered in a bibliographic annotation analysis, namely (1) Identity of the source referred to; (2) Author's qualifications and objectives; (3) Simple conclusions regarding the content of the writing; and (4) Usefulness/importance of the source referred to in answering the formulated problem.

3 Results and Discussion

Talking about ideology, it seems that we will be a little serious in discussing this. The term ideology was created by a philosopher from France named Antoine Destutt de Tracy around the 18th century. This ideology is a science in order to define the science of ideas. Ideology has a specialty, namely a magic word that creates thoughts and enthusiasm for life among humans. Ideology is a formulation of the natural mind that exists in various

subjects or groups of existing communities, used as a basis for the realization of human action.[10]. With this view, ideology is not only a belief or view of a country but can also be a belief held by an organization in a country or a belief held by a person, such as an example of the ideology of a political party or political association. Ideology also means human conception of politics, social, economic and culture to be applied in a society or country.[10].

Pancasila as the ideology and outlook on life of the nation is actually the embodiment of the noble and ideal values of the Indonesian nation's culture itself which are believed to be true. Pancasila was excavated, crystallized, and sublimated from the nation's culture that has existed, grown, and developed for centuries. Initially, the concept of Pancasila can be understood as a common platform for various political ideologies that developed at that time in Indonesia. The integrative values contained in Pancasila contain the meaning that Pancasila is used as a means of unification in society and a procedure for resolving conflicts for the Indonesian people.[11].

According to historical records, most of us have understood well and thoroughly that the process of formulating Pancasila as *Philosophische Grondslag and Weltanschauung* began with the establishment of the Investigating Agency for Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence (BPUPKI) by the Japanese government in 1945. However, in essence, spiritually, discussions about the ideology of the Indonesian people's struggle to achieve independence had long been fought for by all levels of Indonesian fighters. One example is Soekarno's Speech entitled "Indonesia Menggugat" which is a monumental speech delivered by Ir. Soekarno on August 18, 1930 before the Dutch colonial court in Bandung. This speech was not only a self-defense, but also a manifestation of achieving independence by having the same ideals and goals. This speech became one of the important historical milestones in the Indonesian national movement, showing that the spirit of resistance of the Indonesian people was increasingly burning. This became the forerunner to the formation of the ideology of the Indonesian people's struggle, namely the ideology of an independent nation free from the framework of foreign colonialism.[5].

In Soekarno's speech at the BPUPKI session on June 1, 1945, it was clearly stated that the position of Pancasila was as *Philosophische Grondslag and Weltanschauung*. If interpreted grammatically, the two concepts can be aligned with the position of Pancasila as the basis of the state and the philosophical values of the nation. However, if we examine it again from the perspective of the spiritual atmosphere and background of why Soekarno offered the concept of Pancasila as the basis of the Indonesian state, it was because the Indonesian nation had its own identity and had ideals and goals for the state that were different from adherents of liberal ideology and also different ideologically from adherents of communism and other secular ideologies. This also indicates that the manuscript of the June 1, 1945 speech contained the view that Pancasila, apart from being the basis of the state, also contained the understanding and goal that the Indonesian nation had its own ideology, namely Pancasila.[11].

During the Old Order, namely during the reign of President Soekarno, Pancasila experienced de-ideologization.[11]. in this view Pancasila was built and will be used as a belief or personality for the people and nation of Indonesia. At this time, our Pancasila is understood based on the paradigm that flourished in that situation, namely when that time was characterized by the socio-cultural conditions of society with a transitional atmosphere, namely the characteristics of a colonized society towards an independent society. That period was included in the period with the category of searching for a form for the implementation of Pancasila.

There are not many documents that explain Pancasila as the nation's ideology during this period. In the period from 1945 to 1950, the value of unity and oneness of the Indonesian people was still high because they faced the Dutch who still wanted to maintain their colonies in Indonesia. However, after the colonizers were expelled, the Indonesian nation began to face challenges from within. In political life, the fourth principle which prioritizes deliberation and consensus cannot be implemented because the democracy implemented is parliamentary democracy. The president only functions as head of state, while the head of government is held by the prime minister. This system causes the government to be unstable.

During the era of Soekarno's leadership between 1950 and 1959, the implementation of Pancasila as a national ideology was manifested in the democratic system that was seen at that time where the democracy adopted at that time was liberal democracy. The characteristic of the government during this period was the absence of government stability even though the foundation of our country at that time was Pancasila. There is one monumental work that can tell how the Pancasila ideology was in the period 1956 to 1959, namely the book by Adnan Buyung Nasution entitled "Aspirations for Indonesian Constitutional Government". This scientific work actually tells about the interaction and debate between political forces inside and outside the constituent institution in the 1950s, but this work also explains several things about the position of Pancasila as the basis and ideology of the Indonesian nation. This book is the result of a study of the Indonesian constituent body which was dissolved after 3 years of work through a Presidential Decree dated July 5, 1959 because this body failed to draft a constitution. The failure was caused by the lack of agreement between members of the Constituent Assembly, who were divided over the concept of statehood to be implemented in the constitution. There was an ideological division in this body. This book states that the position of Pancasila in the debate of the Constituent Assembly was the ideology of the nation and state that was aligned with the Communist ideology that inspired the Indonesian Communist Party, also juxtaposed with the religious ideology that became the spirit of religious-based parties, and the Pancasila ideology was adopted by nationalist parties.[12].

At that time, the Constituent Assembly could be grouped into three ideological supports. First, the group supporting Pancasila as the basis and ideology of the state numbered 273 consisting of PNI (116 members), PKI and the Republic Proclamation faction (80 members), Parkindo (16 members), the Catholic Party (10 members), the Indonesian

Socialist Party (10 members), the Association of Supporters of Indonesian Independence (8 members) and several small parties. Second, the group supporting Islam as the ideal of the Indonesian nation numbered 230 members, consisting of the Masyumi Party (112 members), NU (91 members), PSII (16 members), Perti (7 members) and two other small Islamic parties. The third group was the group supporting the socio-economic basis of the state which only numbered 9 members consisting of the Murba Party and the Labor Party. Because the number of socio-economic supporters was small, the debate on the basis of the state narrowed down to a debate between the group supporting Pancasila and the group supporting Islam. This factual condition can be used as evidence that Pancasila is an ideology for the Indonesian nation. No matter how hard we try to leave Pancasila, in the end we will return to Pancasila as the ideology of the Indonesian nation and state.[12].

Next, in the period from 1956 to 1965, we are familiar with the government system with Soekarno's guided democracy; however, this democracy was not in the representative of the real people's power which is the mandate of the values of the Pancasila ideology; instead, President Soekarno's leadership at that time was in the personal power of President Soekarno through the 'Presidential Decree'. [11]. In implementing Pancasila, as the basis of the state and ideology of the Indonesian nation, it was implemented through the concept of Manipol/USDEK (Political Manifesto/Indonesian Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy, and Indonesian Personality). However, the result was a coup plan by the PKI and the resignation of President Soekarno from his position.[13].

The emergence of the 30 S/PKI Movement in 1965 had destroyed the political configuration of the guided democracy era during the government of President Soekarno which was characterized by Nasakom (Nationalist Religion and Communist) during the old order era in Indonesia. The bloody incident of the 30 S/PKI Movement in 1965 was also the reason the old order was replaced by the New Order, namely the government during the time of President Soeharto. In this era, the Indonesian people again made Pancasila their ideology and the 1945 Constitution as the basis of the state. Pancasila is the ideology and basis of the Indonesian nation, namely as the values that underlie all aspects of the social life of the Indonesian people known as the term sole principle.[11]. The implementation of the Pancasila ideology at that time was known as the implementation of the Pancasila Appreciation and Implementation Guidelines (abbreviated as P4) or Eka Prasetya Pancakarsa, which is a guide to implementing Pancasila in national life during the New Order. The provisions or guidelines for P4 were formed through MPR Decree Number II/MPR/1978 concerning Ekaprasetya Pancakarsa, which outlined the five principles of Pancasila into 36 points of implementation as practical guidelines for the implementation of Pancasila in Indonesia at that time. The New Order government of President Soeharto succeeded in maintaining Pancasila as the basis and ideology of the state while simultaneously successfully eradicating communism in Indonesia. However, the era of President Soeharto turned out to be not in accordance with the noble values of Pancasila. Pancasila was actually used as indoctrination. President Soeharto used Pancasila as a tool to perpetuate his power.[14].

Furthermore, the existence of Pancasila as an ideology during the reform era can be seen from the following things. In several books by Prof. Kaelan, MS for example. Prof. Dr. Kaelan, MS is a very influential Pancasila philosophy expert in Indonesia. He is widely known as one of the leading experts in the field of Pancasila studies and has produced many written works, books, and in-depth thoughts on the ideology of the Indonesian state. An equally important document that confirms that Pancasila has a position as a state ideology is the formation of an agency, namely the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency or known as BPIP.[15]

4 Conclusions

The historical traces of Pancasila as the ideology of the Indonesian nation and state can be seen from the draft of Pancasila which is clearly depicted in the minutes of the BPUPKI session which contains Soekarno's speech on June 1, 1945. In this concept, the position of Pancasila is stated as *Philosophische Grondslag and Weltanschauung* which can be aligned with Pancasila as the nation's ideology. Next, there is a monumental work that can tell how the Pancasila ideology was in the period 1956 to 1959, namely the book by Adnan Buyung Nasution entitled "Aspirations of the Constitutional Government of Indonesia". This book states that the position of Pancasila in the debate of the constituent assembly is as the ideology of the state fundamental norm and the ideals of the nation which is aligned with the Communist ideology that inspired the Indonesian Communist Party, also juxtaposed with the religious ideology that became the spirit of religious-based parties, and the Pancasila ideology is adopted by nationalist parties.

In the period from 1956 to 1965, it was known as guided democracy. In implementing Pancasila as the nation's ideology. The Soekarno period implemented Pancasila with the concept of Manipol/USDEK (Political Manifesto/Indonesian Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy, and Indonesian Personality). During the New Order, namely during the era of President Soeharto, the Indonesian nation again made Pancasila the state ideology with the term sole principle. The implementation of the Pancasila ideology during the New Order was known as the concept of implementation through the Guidelines for Understanding and Practicing Pancasila (P4) or Eka Prasetya Pancakarsa. This P4 guideline was formed with MPR Decree Number II/MPR/1978 concerning Ekaprasetya Pancakarsa, which outlined the five principles in Pancasila into 36 points of practice as practical guidelines for the implementation of Pancasila.

Furthermore, the existence of Pancasila as an ideology during the reform era can be seen from several books by Prof. Kaelan, MS. He is widely known as one of the leading experts in the field of Pancasila studies and has produced many written works, books, and in-depth thoughts on the ideology of the Indonesian state. In his works, he explains a lot about the function of Pancasila as the basis of the state and the ideology of the nation. An equally important document that confirms that Pancasila has a position as a state ideology is the

establishment of an agency, namely the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency or known as BPIP. In order to maintain the position of Pancasila as the nation's ideology, the government of the Republic of Indonesia considers it necessary to carry out Pancasila ideology development for all state administrators in a planned, systematic, and integrated manner.

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