

REGULATION OF THE AGENCY FOR FOSTERING PANCASILA IDEOLOGY OF  
THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA  
NUMBER 2 OF 2022  
ON  
BASIC SUBSTANCES ON FOSTERING PANCASILA IDEOLOGY  
BY THE BLESSINGS OF ALMIGHTY GOD

HEAD OF THE AGENCY FOR FOSTERING PANCASILA IDEOLOGY OF THE  
REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA,

- Considering :
- a. that in order to provide the understanding, elaboration, and basis for implementing the Pancasila ideology fostering program, it is necessary to prepare basic substances on fostering Pancasila ideology that are in accordance with the authentic history of the birth and formulation of Pancasila;
  - b. that it is necessary to improve the material content of Regulation of the Agency for Fostering Pancasila Ideology Number 7 of 2021 on Basic Substances on Fostering Pancasila Ideology by superseding it with a new Agency Regulation;
  - c. that based on the considerations as referred to in point a and point b, it is necessary to issue a Regulation of the Agency for Fostering Pancasila Ideology on Basic Substances on Fostering Pancasila Ideology;

- Observing :
1. Presidential Regulation Number 7 of 2018 on Agency for Fostering Pancasila Ideology (State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia of 2018 Number 17);
  2. Regulation of the Agency for Fostering Pancasila Ideology Number 5 of 2021 on Organization and Work Procedure of the Agency for Fostering Pancasila Ideology (State Bulletin of the Republic of Indonesia of 2021 Number 938);

HAS DECIDED:

To issue: REGULATION OF THE AGENCY FOR FOSTERING PANCASILA IDEOLOGY ON BASIC SUBSTANCES ON FOSTERING PANCASILA IDEOLOGY.

Article 1

In this Agency Regulation:

1. Agency for Fostering Pancasila Ideology (Badan Pembinaan Ideologi Pancasila), hereinafter abbreviated as BPIP, means an institution that is under the authority of and responsible

- to the President.
2. Head of the BPIP, hereinafter referred to as the Head, means an element of BPIP leaders who has duty to lead and is responsible for the implementation of the BPIP's duties and functions.
  3. Deputy means the Deputy of Studies and Substance.
  4. Fostering Pancasila Ideology (*Pembinaan Ideologi Pancasila*), hereinafter abbreviated as PIP, means all activities carried out in a planned, systematic, and integrated manner for the purpose of implementing, instilling, and preserving Pancasila values in order to be upheld and implemented by all elements of the nation in all areas of the life of society, nation, and state.
  5. PIP Basic Substances mean substances that are prepared to understand, elaborate, and serve as the basis for fostering Pancasila ideology as the state fundamental, a way of life, and state ideology for all Indonesian people in the life of society, nation, and state.

#### Article 2

The implementation of PIP aims to form the national character which becomes the basis for the actualization of Pancasila in the life of society, nation, and state.

#### Article 3

- (1) This Agency Regulation constitutes the legal basis for the utilization of the PIP Basic Substances in the implementation of PIP that is carried out by:
  - a. BPIP;
  - b. high state institutions;
  - c. ministries/institutions;
  - d. local governments;
  - e. sociopolitical organizations; and
  - f. other community components
- (2) The utilization of the PIP Basic Substances in the implementation of PIP as referred to in section (1) aims to:
  - a. actualize Pancasila in administering the state;
  - b. meet the requirements for preparing legislation that does not conflict with Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the principle of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity) and within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia;
  - c. realize the Indonesia's economic order based on Pancasila;
  - d. improve the culture of living in the society, nation, and state based on Pancasila; and
  - e. uphold justice and realize social welfare through political and economic democracy based on Pancasila.
- (3) The utilization of the PIP Basic Substances as referred to in section (1) and section (2) is carried out in accordance with the provisions of legislation.
- (4) In utilizing the PIP Basic Substances as referred to in section (3), high state institutions, ministries/institutions, local governments, sociopolitical organizations, and other

community components can coordinate with the BPIP.

#### Article 4

- (1) The PIP Basic Substances consist of:
  - a. the history of the birth and formulation of Pancasila;
  - b. the main ideas of Pancasila;
  - c. the position of Pancasila in the life of society, nation, and state;
  - d. the democracy of Pancasila;
  - e. the economic system of Pancasila; and
  - f. the national development based on Pancasila.
- (2) The PIP Basic Substances as referred to in section (1) is listed in the Annex as an integral part of this Agency Regulation.

#### Article 5

- (1) The BPIP carries out dissemination of the PIP Basic Substances to high state institutions, ministries/institutions, local governments, sociopolitical organizations, and other community components.
- (2) Dissemination as referred to in section (1) is carried out by Deputy in charge of dissemination.
- (3) The dissemination as referred to in section (2) may involve:
  - a. deputies within the BPIP; and/or
  - b. high state institutions, ministries/institutions, local governments, sociopolitical organizations, and other community components.

#### Article 6

- (1) The BPIP controls and evaluates the utilization of the PIP Basic Substances at least 1 (one) time in 1 (one) year.
- (2) In carrying out the control and evaluation as referred to in section (1), the BPIP may involve:
  - a. high state institutions;
  - b. ministries/institutions;
  - c. local governments;
  - d. sociopolitical organizations; and
  - e. other community components.
- (3) The control and evaluation as referred to in section (2) are carried out by the deputy in charge of control and evaluation.

#### Article 7

- (1) The results of control and evaluation as referred to in Article 6 are formulated in recommendation for control and evaluation of the PIP Basic Substances submitted to the Head of BPIP through the Deputy.
- (2) The recommendation as referred to in section (1) is used as material for developing the PIP Basic Substances by the Deputy.

#### Article 8

- (1) The Deputy conducts periodic reviews of the substance of the PIP Basic Substances at least 1 (one) time in 1 (one) year.

- (2) In carrying out periodic reviews as referred to in section (1), the Deputy may involve:
- a. deputies within the BPIP; and/or
  - b. high state institutions, ministries/institutions, local governments, sociopolitical organizations, and/or other community components.

Article 9

At the time this Agency Regulation comes into force, Regulation of the Agency for Fostering Pancasila Ideology Number 7 of 2021 on Basic Substances on Fostering Pancasila Ideology (State Bulletin of the Republic of Indonesia of 2021 Number 1392), is repealed and declared ineffective.

Article 10

This Agency Regulation comes into force on the date of its promulgation.

In order that every person may know hereof, it is ordered to promulgate this Agency Regulation by its placement in the State Bulletin of the Republic of Indonesia.

Issued in Jakarta  
on 17 May 2022

HEAD OF THE AGENCY FOR  
FOSTERING PANCASILA  
IDEOLOGY OF THE  
REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA,

signed

YUDIAN WAHYUDI

Promulgated in Jakarta  
on 19 May 2022

MINISTER OF LAW AND HUMAN RIGHTS  
OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA,

signed

YASONNA H. LAOLY

STATE BULLETIN OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA OF 2022 NUMBER 487

Jakarta, 19 December 2023  
Has been translated as an Official Translation  
on behalf of Minister of Law and Human Rights  
of the Republic of Indonesia

DIRECTOR GENERAL OF LEGISLATION,

  
ASEP N. MULYANA

ANNEX TO  
REGULATION OF THE AGENCY FOR  
FOSTERING PANCASILA IDEOLOGY  
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PANCASILA IDEOLOGY

BASIC SUBSTANCES ON FOSTERING PANCASILA IDEOLOGY

## CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

### A. Background

Fostering Pancasila Ideology (PIP) is all activities carried out in a planned, systematic, and integrated manner for the purpose of implementing, instilling, and preserving Pancasila values so that they can be upheld and applied by all elements of the nation in all areas of the life of society, nation, and state. The PIP Basic Substances are prepared to understand, elaborate, and serve as the basis for fostering Pancasila ideology in the life of society, nation, and state. There are at least 5 (five) reasons that become the background of the urgency behind the preparation of the PIP Basic Substances:

First, based on philosophical reason, Pancasila has been mutually agreed upon as a way of life (*Weltanschauung*), basic philosophy (*philosophische grondslag*), ideology, the state fundamental, unifier of the nation, and source of all sources of state law. The nation's way of life (*Weltanschauung*) is always based on values originating from the life experience and experience of a nation's common sense in maintaining its sustainability. Thus, *Weltanschauung* contains things that should be believed in to achieve the common good in the community concerned. Pancasila brings together the existing diversity into common views for a shared life in the realm of reality. On the basis of Pancasila, the unity of Indonesia was carried out and the Republic of Indonesia was established.

Pancasila reflects ethical values in administering the state and coexistence, which guide state administrators to act appropriately. These ethical values are the values of humanity, unity, democracy, and social justice which are lightened by divine values. These values reflect the ethical dimension of state administration, in which the state was established to glorify human dignity through efforts to realize the people's welfare. At this point, the people become the source of sovereignty which makes our country a democratic country, not a monarchy or even fascist. By placing the people as a source of sovereignty, our country will avoid the practice of fascism or authoritarianism because the people will always guard the state administration so that it is always in accordance with the principles of democratic life.

Second, based on historical reason, Pancasila as the basis of the state was introduced by Ir. Sukarno at a session of the Investigating Committee for the Preparation of the Independence (Badan Penyelidik Usaha-Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan, BPUPK) in Jakarta on 1 June 1945. Remarks by Ir. Sukarno showed that the way of life of the Indonesian nation has its own history which was formed dialectically based on the values that have been adopted by this nation. In the life journey of the Indonesian nation, the values contained in Pancasila are distinctive values that grow in Indonesia. Learning from the experiences of other nations, there is no great nation if it does not rely on a view of life and ideology that is rooted in the heart of the nation. The formulation of Pancasila was then carried out through the Small Committee (Panitia Kecil) sessions during the trial period from 18 to 22 June 1945 until it culminated in the amendment to the Jakarta Charter through the session of the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia, PPKI) on 18 August 1945, until its formulation as stated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

Third, based on the anthropological reason, Pancasila shows that it reflects values based on factual experience and mind experience as well as religious experience of the Indonesian nation, which were formulated in writing in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Based on slogan *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity), the diversity of the nation is united in order to achieve a nation's life that is harmonious, unanimous, and peaceful. The slogan, written by the 14<sup>th</sup> century Majapahit poet Mpu Tantular in the *Sutasoma* book, is used as the principle of our unity. In his thoughts, Mpu Tantular emphasized the unanimous veracity about God amidst the diversity of religions. "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika tan hana Dharma Mangwra*", wrote Mpu Tantular. It means that the differences reflect unity because there is no dual Dharma. The Dharma is the divine truth which, despite different theologically, is not ambiguous in the realm of spirituality.

Fourth, juridical reason that Pancasila was born on 1 June 1945 and sourced from the remarks of Ir. Sukarno has been stated in Presidential Decree Number 24 of 2016 on the Birth of Pancasila. Presidential Decree Number 24 of 2016 in principle contains the determination of 1 June 1945 as the Birth of Pancasila. Pancasila as the state fundamental and state ideology was formulated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and elaborated in its articles. As the state fundamental, Pancasila does not only underlie the constitution and legislation, but also all state and national institutions, as well as the life practices of the Indonesian people.

This is the true meaning of Pancasila as the state fundamental and state ideology, as emphasized in the Elucidation of Article 2 of Law Number 12 of 2011 on Legislation Making as amended by Law Number 15 of 2019 on Amendment to Law Number 12 of 2011 on Legislation Making. In the elucidation, it is emphasized that Pancasila is the state fundamental and state ideology. This emphasizes the position of Pancasila as the state fundamental which must be implemented by all Indonesian people because ideology means the practice of ideas. An idea does not become an ideology if it is not implemented on a daily basis. Likewise, Pancasila will stop being a "stagnant basis" when it is not actualized by its people. Actualizing Pancasila, in the preparation of legislation, the preparation of public policies, the implementation of public policies, and the daily behavior of the state apparatus, constitutes an ideological practice of Pancasila.

Fifth, the sociological reasons for Pancasila as the state fundamental and state ideology are a "robust foundation" (*meja stasis*) that unites the diversity that exists in the Indonesian nation and serves as a dynamic "guiding star" (*leitstar*) that guides the life of the nation so that it is run in accordance with the aspirations of the founding of the state.

There is no great nation if it does not rely on an ideology that is rooted in the deepest heart of the nation. Japan, Germany, the United States, Britain, and China—as Asian country that is highly renowned today, find their strength in ideological foundations that are deeply rooted in the culture of their people. On the other hand, it is obvious if a country is easily torn apart by civil wars due to regional, ethnic, religious differences or foreign interference. Towards the year of 2000, Yugoslavia collapsed and split apart because of those influences and violence among its citizens. Likewise, entering the millennium century, violent and bloody conflicts have occurred in Africa and the Middle East which are still occurring today due to ethnic, regional, and religious differences.



Moreover, in Indonesia, conflicts have also occurred between groups of different ethnicities and religions. This incident was a humanitarian disaster that should not happen again among the youth of the nation. For those reasons, it is time for us to rearrange a stronger nationalism agenda in the future by consolidating Pancasila as a solution to create the unity of the Indonesian nation and promote public welfare as the aspirations of the nation's founders. Therefore, a thorough and fundamental understanding of the position of Pancasila is needed in the life of society, nation, and state.

Based on Article 3 of Presidential Regulation Number 7 of 2018 on the Agency for Fostering Pancasila Ideology (BPIP), the BPIP has the duties of assisting the President in formulating the policy direction for fostering Pancasila ideology; carrying out coordination, synchronization, and control of fostering Pancasila ideology in a comprehensive and sustainable manner; carrying out the preparation of standardization of education and training; organizing education and training; and providing recommendations based on the results of studies on policies or regulations that are contrary to Pancasila to high state institutions, ministries/institutions, local governments, sociopolitical organizations, and other community components. Furthermore, in Article 4 letter g of Presidential Regulation Number 7 of 2018, it is stated that one of the functions of the BPIP is to implement information dissemination and cooperation as well as relations with high state institutions, ministries/institutions, local governments, sociopolitical organizations, and other community components in the implementation of fostering Pancasila ideology. Based on the aforementioned duties, functions, and background, the BPIP prepares the PIP Basic Substances which contain basic materials that are used for all levels of education and for the implementation of fostering Pancasila ideology with methods customized to the target subjects.

## B. Juridical Framework

The juridical framework in the PIP Basic Substances is as follows:

### 1. The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia

In the Fourth Paragraph of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the formulation of Pancasila is as follows:

“Subsequent thereto, to form a government of the state of Indonesia which protects all the people of Indonesia and all the independence and the land that has been struggled for, and to improve public welfare, to educate the life of the nation and to participate toward the establishment of a world order based on freedom, perpetual peace, and social justice, therefore the independence of Indonesia is formulated into a constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which is built into a sovereign state based on a belief in the One and Only God, just and civilized humanity, the unity of Indonesia, and democratic life led by wisdom of thoughts in deliberation amongst representatives of the people, and achieving social justice for all the people of Indonesia”.

The formulation of Pancasila contained in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia is a fundamental norm that must be elaborated in further policies and legislation in

order to achieve the objectives of the founding of the Indonesian state.

2. Decree of the People's Consultative Assembly (TAP MPR) Number VI of 2001 on the Ethics of the Life of Nation.

In the TAP MPR it is stated:

- a. that as stated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the formation of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is to protect all the people of Indonesia and all the independence and the land that has been struggled for, and to improve public welfare, to educate the life of the nation and to participate toward the establishment of a world order based on freedom, perpetual peace, and social justice;
- b. that in order to realize the noble aspirations of the Indonesian nation as written in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, it is necessary to enlighten as well as to actualize the ethics of the life of nation for the entire Indonesian people; and
- c. that the ethics of life of the nation today are experiencing setbacks which have caused the occurrence of a multidimensional crisis.”

C. Structure

Structure of the PIP Basic Substances is as follows:

Chapter I, the Introduction contains the background, objectives, legal basis, and structure applied in preparing PIP Basic Substances.

Chapter II, the History of the Birth and Formulation of Pancasila describes the process of establishing Pancasila as the state fundamental, an important stage that determined the future journey of the Indonesian nation. By tracing the historical process of Pancasila to the birth of Pancasila as formulated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, we can clarify our understanding of the next important stages that will follow, so that in the end Pancasila is agreed upon to become the basic guideline for nation's life.

Chapter III, the Main Ideas of Pancasila describes the background of the thoughts and aspirations of the founders of the nation regarding the formulation of Pancasila as the state fundamental. This is necessary so that the process of understanding Pancasila is methodologically correct, because to understand an idea requires an understanding of the thoughts of the initiators of the idea. Without understanding the ideas of the initiators and formulators of Pancasila, the understanding of Pancasila will be ahistorical.

Chapter IV, the Position of Pancasila in the Life of Society, Nation, and State describes the position of Pancasila as the basis of the state, the basic philosophy (*filosofische grondslag*), state ideology, the nation's unifying force, and the origin of all sources of laws. It also describes the elaboration of the values contained in each of the principles in Pancasila as elaborated by the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia (MPR RI) when formulating the Four Pillars of Nation and State.

Chapter V, the Pancasila Democracy outlines the definition and meaning of Pancasila Democracy. To explain that, the history of the birth of democracy in the world was previously elaborated so that an understanding can be obtained that Pancasila Democracy is a democracy built based on basic principles reflected in Pancasila values. Pancasila democracy is manifested in the political and economic fields. Pancasila

democracy is not liberal democracy as in the history of the 1789 French Revolution.

Chapter VI, the Pancasila Economic System describes the essence of the economic system based on Pancasila as an economic system which was formulated as a joint endeavor based on the principle of *kekeluargaan* (brotherhood), with branches of production that are important to the state, which control the livelihoods of the people and controlled by the state, with the aim of creating a just and prosperous society and welfare for the Indonesian nation.

Chapter VII, the National Development Based on Pancasila explains the Pancasila's values in building the nation. The discussion begins with the explanation of national development based on Pancasila, followed by a description of the characteristic, objectives, and main capital of national development based on Pancasila. Furthermore, to disseminate the values of Pancasila, 13 (thirteen) priority areas of national development based on Pancasila are as follows: (1) education-culture, science, and technology; (2) religious life and belief within the framework of Belief in the One and Only God; (3) study and relations between religions and beliefs within the framework of Belief in the One and Only God; (4) defense-security; (5) health; (6) the economy; (7) people's welfare; (8) law and human rights; (9) community life, locality, and customary (legal) society; (10) natural resource management; (11) transportation; (12) the maritime and islands; and (13) communication and information.

Chapter VIII, the Conclusion contains the use of the PIP Basic Substances as a material for improving the quality of civility of the nation and state based on Pancasila, through fostering and actualizing Pancasila values in the life of society, nation, and state which involves dimensions of belief, knowledge, and action.

## CHAPTER II HISTORY OF THE BIRTH AND FORMULATION OF PANCASILA

One important episode in the history of Indonesia that became the momentum of the Birth of Pancasila was the first Session of the BPUPK held from 29 May to 1 June 1945. The BPUPK and the PPKI were two bodies that were designed to facilitate the independence of Indonesia. The two bodies were established based on suggestion from Japan but, in the process, their works were mainly initiated by Indonesian leading figures. The BPUPK was led by senior figures from the national movement period, namely Dr. Radjiman Wediodiningrat as chairperson as well as R.P. Soeroso and Itjibangase Yosio (Japanese) as vice chairpersons.

### A. Session of the BPUPK

Initially, the BPUPK had 63 (sixty three) members and later the number rose to 69 (sixty nine). In general, Japan divided the members of the BPUPK to six groups, namely national movement group, Islamic group, bureaucrat group, representatives of kingdom group, native administration group (*pangreh praja*), and mixed-race Indonesians group. The mixed-race Indonesians group consisted of four Indonesians of Chinese descent, one Indonesian of Arabic descent, and one Indonesian of European descent. There were also two women among the members of the BPUPK, namely Maria Ulfa Santoso and Mrs. RSS Soenarjo Mangoenpospito. The BPUPK had as well special members consisting of eight Japanese, one of whom was Itjibangase Yosio. Despite being members, they did not actively involve in the sessions, and they had a role as an observer..

The sessions of the BPUPK were held twice, namely on 29 May to 1 June 1945 and on 10 to 17 July 1945. The first session was held to decide the state fundamental whereas the second session was held to formulate the Constitution for independent Indonesia. The establishment of BPUPK and PPKI was the manifestation of the promise made by Japan to grant Indonesia independence since September 1944. The promise was made because since the beginning of 1944, Japan was being in a difficult situation in Greater East Asia War. Japan initially was offensive in war, but since the beginning of 1944, Japan was performing defensive operations to survive attacks by the allies. The United States gradually repulsed the Japanese armies in various regions in the Pacific. The sessions of the BPUPK cannot be separated from the fact that Japan was defeated in Greater East Asia War. This situation was the reason behind the promises granted to Indonesian leaders so the sessions of the BPUPK were relatively free of distraction and pressure from the Japanese military.

Chairperson of the BPUPK Dr. KRT Radjiman Wediodiningrat conveyed a very important question that determined the course of the session at the opening of the first session of the BPUPK on 29 May 1945. The question conveyed was "What will be the state fundamental of Indonesia?" For the record, during that time, a serious talk involving Indonesian leaders to decide the state fundamental for independent Indonesia had never been held. During National Movement period, Indonesian figures had conveyed ideas about the form of the state, ways to run a government, and the purpose of state formation. The discussion was materialized in various speeches and written works. Several figures who had touched on this matter were, among others, H.O.S.

Tjokroaminoto, Tan Malaka, Drs. Mohammad Hatta, Sutan Sjahrir, and Ir. Sukarno. However, all ideas that had been conveyed by them could not fully answer the question about the state fundamental of independent Indonesia. That was why the question of Chairperson of the BPUPK was very important.

Since Japan was in a difficult situation in Greater East Asia War, the Japanese Colonial Government tried to gain sympathy and support from the people of Indonesia. One of the efforts to gain the sympathy was by granting freedom to the members of the BPUPK to discuss a lot of issues that were related to the preparation for independence. The atmosphere of freedom can be felt in the sessions of the BPUPK. In an unprecedented move, the representatives of Indonesia could freely express their aspirations so various opinions voiced in the sessions were purely based on the aspirations from the members of this committee. Although the World War II was raging in Europe and Pacific regions, the war did not affect the sessions. Even though several speakers mentioned the ongoing war, it did not affect the smoothness and solemnity of the sessions of BPUPK.

Many ideas were conveyed by the members of the BPUPK to respond to the question of the Chairperson of the BPUPK regarding what will be the state fundamental of independent Indonesia, but until 1 June 1945 no one could answer the question comprehensively and thoroughly. Ideas that were conveyed had different emphasis, among others divinity, humanity, democracy, deliberation, and justice as well as social welfare. Due to this different emphasis, there was not a single idea that could be accepted by all participants of the session. Regarding this situation, at a later time Drs. Mohammad Hatta explained that the members of the BPUPK did not want to answer the question about state fundamental. They were worried that their answer could not be accepted by all participants of the session and would cause a prolonged debate.

## B. The Birth of Pancasila

Based on historiography of the birth of Pancasila, in the first session of the BPUPK there were three people who tried to answer the question about the state fundamental. Those three people were Mr. Muhammad Yamin, Prof. Dr. Mr. R. Soepomo, and Ir. Sukarno. However, the authenticity of formula of the state fundamental that was proposed by Mr. Muhammad Yamin was in question. The speech of Mr. Muhammad Yamin in the session of the BPUPK was included in the book "Naskah Persiapan Undang-Undang Dasar 1945" (Documents for the Preparation of the 1945 Constitution), volume I, published in 1959 that was written by Mr. Muhammad Yamin.

The BPUPK first session that lasted between 11.00 a.m. and 1.00 p.m. presented 6 (six) speakers, including Mr. Muhammad Yamin. So, during the two-hour session the time allocated for the six speakers was 20 (twenty) minutes each.

Therefore, it is possible that the two-page note was the idea of Mr. Muhammad Yamin conveyed during the session and not the 13-page document included in the "*Naskah Persiapan Undang-Undang Dasar 1945*" (Documents for the Preparation of the 1945 Constitution) book. Based on the two-page note, Mr. Muhammad Yamin mostly discussed matters on state formation, formulation of constitution, and ways to implement the law of state fundamental.

Another figure, Prof. Dr. Mr. Soepomo, as an expert in constitutional law, explained the theory of state based on the

development of Western political thought. When conveying his ideas, Prof. Dr. Mr. Soepomo highlighted that for the people of Indonesia, the most suitable form of state is a state that promotes unity between the state and its people or an integralistic state. Ideas and spirit to establish an integralistic state dominated the whole content of speech of Prof. Dr. Mr. Soepomo.

The only person who could fully, thoroughly, and comprehensively answer the question of Chairperson of the BPUPK about the state fundamental of Indonesia was Ir. Sukarno. He delivered his speech without text on 1 June 1945 for one hour from 9.00 a.m. to 10.00 a.m. He clearly and coherently explained one by one Indonesia's state fundamental comprising five principles that as a whole is called Pancasila.

According to Ir. Sukarno, until it was time to deliver his speech, the question of the head of the session was not answered yet. From his point of view, the head of the session wanted an opinion about *filosofische grondslag* (philosophical basis) and *Weltanschauung* (worldview: the views of the people of Indonesia about themselves and their position in the society) of Indonesia. The philosophical basis and worldview would be the basic philosophy, thoughts, soul and great passion that particularly would become the foundation to build the state of Indonesia.

In his speech, Ir. Sukarno emphasized that Indonesia's independence was a bridge (*jembatan emas*) that after the independence was realized, the Indonesian society would be perfected so they could enjoy independence in its true sense. After underlining the idea of the importance for Indonesia to be independent as soon as possible, Ir. Sukarno began to go into detail the principles contained in the state fundamental of an independent Indonesia. The first principle that he explained was Nationalism. The Indonesian nation according to Ir. Sukarno is all people residing throughout the Indonesian archipelago. The second principle is Internationalism which means respect for human values toward fraternity and brotherhood among nations of the world. The third principle is consensus or democracy. The Indonesia state is for all Indonesian people, and because of this, consensus and democratic principles need to be upheld so that every aspiration can be deliberated and expressed. The fourth principle is Social Welfare. This principle has a purpose to improve welfare of all Indonesian people and not only certain groups. It shows that the embodiment of welfare is closely related to the principle of justice. The fifth principle is divinity. It is not only the state that believes in God, but all Indonesian people must believe in God. This principle is the foundation to build mutual respect and respect for differences.

The idea of Ir. Sukarno about the five principles for an independent state of Indonesia is called Pancasila. Before closing his speech, Ir. Sukarno said that although independence has been achieved, it does not mean that the struggle of the Indonesian nation has reached its goals. Independence is not the end of the struggle. In independence, the Indonesian nation must realize its goals as stated in Pancasila. The struggle to realize the passions and goals of all Indonesian people will only be achieved if the people are not afraid to face challenges and risks. Closing his speech on 1 June 1945, Ir. Sukarno said, "Independence is only gained and owned by a nation whose soul is burning with determination. *Merdeka!* (Independence) *Merdeka atau mati* (Freedom or death)!".

C. The Formulation of Pancasila

The speech on Pancasila on 1 June 1945 by Ir. Sukarno was unanimously accepted by the members of the BPUPK. To further formulate the main ideas about Pancasila that have been described by Ir. Sukarno in his speech, the BPUPK formed Small Committee (Panitia Kecil) of 8 (eight) members and was chaired by Ir. Sukarno. This committee consisted of 6 (six) people from the nationalist group, namely Ir. Sukarno, Drs. Mohammad Hatta, Mr. Muhammad Yamin, Mr. A.A. Maramis, M. Soetardjo Kartohadikoesoemo, R. Otto Iskandardinata, and 2 (two) people from the Islamic group, namely Ki Bagoes Hadikoesoemo and K.H. Wachid Hasjim. The duties of the committee are:

1. Reformulating Pancasila as the state fundamental based on the speech delivered by Ir. Sukarno on 1 June 1945.
2. Making the document as the text for the Proclamation of Independence.

As chairperson of the Small Committee, Ir. Sukarno took extra-institutional initiatives in the Chuo Sangi In (Central Advisory Council) session which was held from 18 to 21 June 1945. Ir. Sukarno gathered members of Chuo Sangi In who also happened to be members of the BPUPK. This extra-institutional session managed to gather 38 (thirty eight) BPUPK members. At the end of the session, Ir. Sukarno succeeded in forming another small committee (which was not official because it was not the result of a BPUPK session) consisting of 9 (nine) people who was referred to as the Committee of Nine (Panitia Sembilan). In the Committee of Nine, Ir. Sukarno as chairperson changed the membership composition of the Committee to 5 (five) people from the nationalist group, namely Ir. Sukarno, Drs. Mohammad Hatta, Mr. Muhammad Yamin, A.A. Maramis, Achmad Soebardjo, and 4 (four) people from the Islamic group, namely K.H. Wachid Hasjim, K.H. Kahar Moezakir, H. Agoes Salim, and R. Abikoesno Tjokrosoejoso.

The Committee of Nine agreed on a formula that would become the Preamble of the Constitution. Ir. Sukarno called this formulation "Preamble", Mr. Muhammad Yamin called it "Jakarta Charter", while Sukiman Wirjosandjojo called it Gentlemen's Agreement. The Draft Preamble was signed by the Committee of Nine on 22 June 1945 and that is why this draft was later known as the Jakarta Charter 22 June 1945. This extra-institutional meeting was evident since the signing was taken place at the house of Ir. Sukarno at Jalan Pegangsaan Timur Number 56, Jakarta.

The text agreed upon on 22 June 1945 by the Committee of Nine as the Preamble of the Constitution was divided into three parts. The first part is a statement of the foundation of the state's politics and the aspirations of Indonesian nation. This statement is based on the experience of Indonesia under colonialism for hundreds of years. There was a strong will to realize an independent Indonesia due to misery during colonialism. The misery during colonialism lifted the spirit to materialize independent Indonesia. Every nation in the world has the right to independence because colonialism is not in line with the principles of humanity and justice. The second part describes the result of the Indonesian people's demands for independence. With the grace of the One and Only God, the Indonesian nation managed to achieve independence in order to realize the goals of the entire nation, namely an independent, united, sovereign, just and prosperous society. The third part is a statement regarding the formation of the state and its internal duties (protecting the Indonesian nation and homeland and promoting

public welfare) and external duties (the establishment of a world order). All of these tasks must be carried out based on Pancasila. In the third part of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution there is the formulation of Pancasila as the State Fundamental. The formulation of the state fundamental contained in the Jakarta Charter is as follows:

1. Divinity, with the obligation to obey Islamic law for its adherents;
2. Just and civilized humanity;
3. The unity of Indonesia;
4. Democracy guided by the wisdom of deliberations among representatives;
5. Social justice for all Indonesian people.

As a follow-up to what was generated by the BPUPK, the PPKI was formed on 12 August 1945. Its main task was to accelerate the preparations for the establishment of an independent state and government of Indonesia. Unlike the background of BPUPK members that were selected based on their group and faction, the PPKI members were selected based on their regional origins. The PPKI was chaired by Ir. Sukarno assisted by vice chairperson Drs. Mohammad Hatta and the committee consisted of 21 (twenty one) people. The PPKI held its first session on 18 August 1945, one day after Indonesia's independence was proclaimed. The fundamental political changes that occurred in Indonesia after the proclamation of independence led to the addition of 6 (six) members, so members of the PPKI who convened for the first time were 27 (twenty seven) people in total.

#### D. Pancasila Becomes the State Fundamental

The most urgent thing that must be done by Indonesian leaders after the declaration of proclamation was to immediately form a government and enact a constitution. A government needs to be formed immediately to realize the Republic of Indonesia as had been aspired to since the days of the national movement, and as a means to realize a just, affluent, and prosperous society based on Pancasila. The formation of the Government found the right momentum because on 15 August 1945 Japan had declared its unconditional surrender to the allies. Meanwhile, the allies as the winner of the Greater East Asia War had not entered Indonesia, so that at that time Indonesia was experiencing a vacuum of power. Thus, the formation of the Republic of Indonesia gained the right momentum to fill the power vacuum that occurred at that time.

In the morning on 18 August 1945, the PPKI held its first session after Indonesia's independence taken place at Pejambon street where Ministry of Foreign Affairs is now located at. In this morning meeting, adjustments were made for the development of the latest situation. Several people who were not PPKI members were asked to attend the session such as commander of the Defenders of the Homeland (PETA) of Jakarta region Kasman Singodimejo, advisor to the Department of Home Affairs R.A.A. Wirana-takusumah, Ki Hadjar Dewantara, Sayuti Melik, and Mr. Iwa Kusuma Sumantri.

From the youth group, three of the most prominent representatives were invited, namely Chaerul Saleh, Sukarni, and Wikana. After discussing the PPKI invitation with other youth leaders, the three youth representatives agreed to attend the session. That morning when they arrived at Pejambon, Chaerul Saleh right away strongly criticized the PPKI which was considered as an institution that was heavily influenced by Japan. Because Indonesia had already been independent, Chaerul



Saleh urged to get rid of everything related to Japan. Chaerul Saleh also urged that the session be moved to a more open space so that the people could follow what was going on. Chaerul Saleh made a demand to change the name of PPKI to the Indonesian National Committee (KNI).

Drs. Mohammad Hatta responded to the demands of the youth voiced by Chaerul Saleh by saying that he and Ir. Sukarno found it difficult to draw a clear line between their commitment to Japan and their responsibility to the nation and state. Drs. Mohammad Hatta then continued:

"To the Japanese Government we said that this session is a committee session, and to the people we are responsible to, this session was the first session of the Indonesian National Committee." Ir. Sukarno fully supported the statement of Drs. Mohammad Hatta.

Another problem that arose before the session started was the objections of religious adherents other than Islam against the sentence in the preamble draft of the constitution which reads: "Divinity, with the obligation to obey Islamic law for its adherents". Drs. Mohammad Hatta received information about this objection in the afternoon of 17 August 1945 after he spoke with a Japanese Navy officer. The officer said non-Islamic adherents in Eastern Indonesia felt discriminated against by the existence of the sentence above and if it was not replaced, they would prefer to separate from the Republic of Indonesia. Responding to this issue, Ir. Sukarno and Drs. Muhammad Hatta as chairperson and vice chairperson of the PPKI asked K.H. Wachid Hasjim, Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, Mr. Teuku Mohammad Hassan, and Mr. Kasman Singodimejo to discuss the draft of the Preamble of the Constitution, specifically the line "...the obligation to obey Islamic law for its adherents".

Ir. Sukarno and Drs. Mohammad Hatta approached Teuku Mohammad Hassan to persuade Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, the Muhammadiyah leader from Yogyakarta. Even though Teuku Mohammad Hassan came from the Uleebalang family, the reputation of the Acehnese as staunch adherents of Islam succeeded in softening Ki Bagus Hadikusumo's attitude. In his argument, Teuku Mohammad Hassan stressed the importance of national unity above group interests. The meeting of Islamic leaders led by Drs. Mohammad Hatta that morning lasted no less than fifteen minutes with an important agreement, namely the seven words "with the obligation to obey Islamic law for its adherents" which followed the word "Divinity" was omitted.

The meeting that morning was finally able to be held quickly because Islamic leaders prioritized national unity above other interests. The PPKI plenary session was opened at 11.30 a.m. and was attended by 27 (twenty seven) members. In his opening speech, Ir. Sukarno reminded PPKI members that they were in a rapidly changing transitional period. Therefore, it must be able to adapt by taking quick action as well. In another part of his speech, Ir. Sukarno said: "Let us not be too distracted by details, rather let us just follow the bigger picture that contains history."

Considering that they had a long discussion in the previous sessions, the discussion on the issue of the draft preamble and the constitution which had been prepared by the BPUPK could run smoothly and did not take a long time. The session ended at 12.50 p.m. for a break and it resumed at 1.15 p.m. Before the session continued, Ir. Sukarno announced an addition of six PPKI members, namely Ki Hadjar Dewantara, Mr. Ahmad Subardjo, Wiranatakusumah, Sayuti Melik, Mr.

Kasman Singodimejo, and Mr. Iwa Kusumasumantri.

Afterward, the session discussed several additional transitional provisions to the Constitution that allowed the election of a president and vice president by the PPKI and affirmed temporary authority of the PPKI until a formal KNI could be formed. In the additional transitional provisions, the president chosen by the PPKI is given nearly unlimited authority for six months after being appointed. As chairperson of the session, Ir. Sukarno concluded the discussion on the additional transitional provisions by declaring that the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and its transitional provisions had been formally stipulated. The session continued with an agenda of the election of president and vice president. Otto Iskandar Dinata proposed that the two government leaders be elected by acclamation. As a candidate to fill the two positions, Otto Iskandar Dinata proposed Ir. Sukarno as president and Drs. Mohammad Hatta as vice president. Without lengthy debate, the session participants unanimously supported the proposal which was followed by singing the national anthem "Indonesia Raya".

Thus, the first day of the session succeeded in discussing the stipulation of the constitution and electing the president and vice president. Since then, the Republic of Indonesia has a state foundation known as the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia contains 5 (five) principles known as Pancasila. Thus, the legal formulation of Pancasila is the one created by the PPKI after the Proclamation of Independence and is set forth in the Fourth Paragraph of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The formulation is as follows:

1. Belief in the One and Only God;
2. Just and civilized humanity;
3. The unity of Indonesia;
4. Democratic life led by wisdom of thoughts in deliberations amongst representatives of the people;
5. Social justice for all the people of Indonesia.

Before the PPKI session on 18 August 1945 was concluded, President Ir. Sukarno formed a small committee consisting of nine people who were tasked with discussing matters that needed urgent attention by the Government, such as the division of the country's territory, the police, the national army, and economic problems. The nine people were Mr. Iwa Kusuma Sumantri, Wiranatakusumah, Mr. Ahmad Subardjo, Otto Iskandar Dinata, Sam Ratulangi, Ketut Pudja, Sayuti Melik, dr. Amir, and A.A. Hamidhan. Serving as chairperson of the small committee was Otto Iskandar Dinata.

With the enactment of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which contains the formulation of Pancasila and the formulation of each principle, Pancasila had legally become the state fundamental of the Republic of Indonesia. By looking at the process of Pancasila becoming the state fundamental, there are 3 (three) important phases, each of which is a milestone in the realization of Pancasila to become the foundation of life of the Indonesian nation. The process is divided into 3 (three) important events, namely:

1. The birth of Pancasila on 1 June 1945, when Pancasila was firstly introduced by Ir. Sukarno before the BPUPK session;
2. The formulation of the five principles of Pancasila in the Jakarta Charter which was signed by the Committee of Nine on 22 June 1945 and the final formulation is included in the Preamble of the 1945

- Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia; and
3. The enforcement of Pancasila as the state fundamental of the Republic of Indonesia with the enactment of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The fourth paragraph of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia contains the formulation of Pancasila.

So, historically there have been three formulations of Pancasila, namely the formulation proposed by Ir. Sukarno that was conveyed on 1 June 1945 at the BPUPK session, the formulation proposed by the Committee of Nine in the Jakarta Charter on 22 June 1945, and the formulation in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which was validated by the PPKI on 18 August 1945.

By tracing the history of Pancasila, important stages that must be went through to reach an agreement on Pancasila as the basic guidelines for the life of society, nation, and state can be comprehended.

The formulation of Pancasila as stated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia had been reaffirmed in Presidential Instruction of the Republic of Indonesia Number 12 of 1968 regulating the order and formulation in reading out and pronouncing the principles of Pancasila. The affirmation of Pancasila as the state fundamental as stated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia is also contained in the Resolution of People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) Number XVIII/MPR/1998 on the Repeal of MPR Resolution Number II/MPR/1978 on Guidelines for Internalizing and Actualizing Pancasila (Ekaprasetya Pancakarsa), and Stipulation on Affirmation of Pancasila as State Fundamental. Even though the MPR Resolution Number II/MPR/1978 was repealed, this Decree was important to confirm the position of Pancasila as stated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The status of the MPR resolution did not need further action because it was *einmalig* (once and final), the resolution had been repealed, and had been implemented.

Juridical acknowledgment by the state that Pancasila was born on 1 June 1945, which originated from the Speech of Ir. Sukarno had been contained in Presidential Decree Number 24 of 2016 on the Birth of Pancasila. Presidential Decree Number 24 of 2016 essentially contains the stipulation of 1 June 1945 as the Birth of Pancasila. Presidential Decree Number 24 of 2016 states that the formulation of Pancasila since its birth on 1 June 1945 conveyed by Ir. Sukarno, then the formulation in the Jakarta Charter on 22 June 1945 until the final formulation on 18 August 1945 is one unified process of the birth of Pancasila as the state fundamental.

### CHAPTER III MAIN IDEAS OF PANCASILA

#### A. Introduction

Ideology can be interpreted as a set of ideas originating from experience in human life as social beings whose truth is believed to be because they are able to maintain the continuity of the life of society, nation, and state. The ideology is the guiding star and paradigm that determine how a person conceptualizes the reality of the life of his people, whether he is understood as an individual being or as a social being (ontological aspect) and how he perceives his relationship with the reality of the life of the surrounding community, whether he conceptualizes himself as an individual being that has no relation to his social environment or conceptualizes himself as part of a member of society who must maintain harmony in the life of society, nation, and state (epistemological aspect). Ideology can be used to identify the values of a nation that are able to guide the direction towards a good life for the people of the nation.

The ideology of Pancasila is a set of ideas that underlies steps to create a just and prosperous society, which is the mandate of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Based on the position of Pancasila in the life of society, nation, and state as well as an understanding of the values contained in Pancasila, Pancasila is translated into main ideas that must be realized, both through the practice of democracy in the political and economic fields as well as in the formation of social order in the framework of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

#### B. State Objectives

The aim of the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia is to achieve the life of an Indonesian nation that is independent, united, sovereign, just, and prosperous. This goal is achieved through national development based on Pancasila values. In order to realize a prosperous, just, and affluent society, the implementation of development is explained more concretely in development goals. In that sense, Pancasila must be made a guiding star in the implementation of overall development to create a just and prosperous society.

#### C. The Main Joints of Pancasila

In a literal sense, a joint is an articulation between two bones. Without joints, it is impossible for the body to move. The existence of joints allows the body to move in various ways. The main joint of Pancasila is the joint that connects the principles, so that the spirit to implement Pancasila by all Indonesian people can be realized. The main principles of Pancasila, namely: First, divinity; Second, nationalism; Third, humanity, to realize social justice for all the people of Indonesia. Related to the understanding of the main principles of Pancasila, the thoughts of the founders of the nation about Pancasila can be used to explain the meaning of the main principles of Pancasila, so that from the thoughts of the nation's founders, every Indonesian citizen can obtain firmness to actualize Pancasila in life.

Based on the thoughts of Drs. Mohammad Hatta, Belief in the One and Only God is the main joint of a driving force behind the principles in Pancasila. According to him, divinity is the guide of the principles in

Pancasila. Furthermore, the principle of Belief in the One and Only God becomes the foundation that leads to the path of truth, justice, honesty, and fraternity. By placing Belief in the One and Only God as the first principle, the politics of administering the state obtains a strong moral foundation.

Based on the thoughts of Ir. Sukarno, nationalism was placed as the main joint of a driving force of the principles in Pancasila. His thought is based on historical reality that Indonesia is a diverse nation. To be able to free themselves from colonialism, nations that are diverse and have different ethnicities, customs, and religions as well as traditional beliefs must be brought together to one thing in common, namely nationalism. In other words, nationalism is what unites us all as the citizens of Indonesia.

Based on the thoughts of Ki Hajar Dewantara, humanity is placed as the main joint of a driving force of the principles in Pancasila. Ki Hajar Dewantara called humanity as the essence of Pancasila. It was further said: "Humanity may be considered as the basis for the nobility and refinement of human life, while divinity is like sunlight and water which bring life and is a necessary "joint", so that all the seeds of humanity can continue to grow healthily and fruitfully. Once again, divinity is as holy light and water (pristine and clear) and as a "joint" (backbone) that nourishes and strengthens the seeds of humanity to live and grow".

This perspective on how to interpret Pancasila has increasingly given the awareness of Indonesian citizens who have a variety of thoughts, that actualizing Pancasila can be based on a spirit of a divine perspective, a spirit of nationalism, as well as a spirit of humanity. This thought can actually encourage all Indonesian citizens that one can believe in the truth of Pancasila and actualize it in the society, nation, and state driven by their national spirit, their divine spirit, and their human spirit which continues to lead to efforts to create a just and prosperous society.

#### D. Catur Upaya (Four Endeavors) of Pancasila

Catur Upaya Pancasila are four behaviors that must always be strived for by Indonesian people, namely justice, love and compassion, decency, and willingness to sacrifice. Based on the mindfulness and awareness of justice that fill human creativity, feelings, and initiative towards other people or other parties, the force and work of the human mind and conscience that called love are born. According to the essence and nature of love, humans naturally always carry out justice. Love moves and lightens the human's will to advance the welfare of others.

Justice and love is a duumvirate that complements each other. The implementation of justice without love on the basis of rights and legal considerations alone will result in justice being harsh and cruel. The combination of justice and love manifests itself in behavior that is always considerate and willing to diminish one's own rights when carrying out justice and sharing love. This attitude is referred to as the joint of decency. As for what completes the joint of decency in the force and work of the human mind and conscience to reduce and sacrifice their own rights for the sake of the public interest is called the joints of the willingness to sacrifice. Catur Upaya is a guideline for carrying out the five elements of Pancasila.

E. Five Elements of Pancasila

The five elements in Pancasila are divinity, humanity, nationalism, democracy, and justice. In the light of democracy, nationalism, humanity, and justice to realize prosperity, humans position themselves and experience themselves in limited circumstances and are continuously in the state of having faith and belief in God.

1. Divinity

In the light of nationalism, humanity, democracy, and justice to create prosperity, humans realize that they are constantly in the process of becoming (changing) until they culminate in the realization that there is a supreme and majestic power that governs human life, called divine power. Therefore, the attitude of believing in and glorifying divine power and being grateful for the blessings of life is manifested in actions and good will to help each other and maintain life together.

2. Humanity

The urge of the human conscience to build and form unity among human beings is not limited to their own groups, but includes all mankind because they are aware that all human beings are actually divine creations of various ethnicities, races, religions, and beliefs.

3. Unity

The unity of Indonesia does not just arise because of the unity of characters that arise because of the unity of destiny, but more than that, because of the unity and bond between the people and the land they live in. If human unity in living together is built and formed into a certain unit with shared awareness, views, ways of life, and culture, so that unity in a unit feels like one home, then an element of nationalism is born. In fact, it is the sense of nationhood that unites us as Indonesian citizens and Indonesia's sustainability in the future in facing the challenges of the times is highly dependent on a strong sense of nationalism.

4. Democracy

The democratic spirit is the impulsion of the human conscience to accept and respect one another as individuals and at the same time as social beings. The democratic system that is formed is a democracy led by the wisdom, which has thrived in the life order of the Indonesian people since a long time ago. This is summarized in the meaning of Pancasila Democracy. In its implementation, Pancasila Democracy is based on the acknowledgement of human equality so that it is concluded that every human being has an independent personality. However, this independence must always be harmonized with the order of life together. Democracy has been the way of life of the Indonesian people since ancient times which is a combination of:

- a. Force, work, and human conscience to accept and respect one another as individuals who stand as equals in society; and
- b. Society or "human unity" which is under a leadership in order to achieve a certain goal that has been set and mutually agreed upon through a process that promotes the

recognition of human equality.

The principle of democracy in Pancasila is a principle that is led by wisdom of thoughts/representatives which is called Pancasila Democracy which covers all areas of human life in society, nation, and state. The implementation of Pancasila Democracy rests on the recognition of human personality as an embodiment of the similarities between all human beings according to their essence. The principle of independence is contained in the principle of equality between fellow human beings, according to its essence. In fact, independence is owned by both individuals and groups. Pancasila wants independence not only within the sphere of its own citizens, but also within the entire human life system. Thus, the principle of mutual respect for the values of nationalism of every nation thrives in the diverse global community.

#### 5. Justice

Justice based on Pancasila requires that every citizen in society, nation, and state gains the opportunity to exercise their rights and obligations without hindrance. Justice manifests itself in the reality of human life and livelihood in the forms of:

- a. Justice is mutual giving and receiving, namely justice in human relations as an individual to each other. This justice manifests itself as human creativity, feelings, initiative, and work to always share and give to others everything that is their right or should be received; and
- b. Social justice means justice in relations between humans and society to promote prosperity and wealth together so that the state must be present in it. Based on the principle that the weak must be assisted and protected, the implementation of social justice requires affirmative action by the state, namely making space for justice for the weak because of various factors which are naturally unavoidable. The affirmative action arose from the awareness that even though in essence justice applies equally to everyone since there are unavoidable differences due to natural and human factors, there must be special action from the state in order to realize social justice.

In pursuing justice, efforts are always made to achieve harmony between individual welfare and general welfare in the social system based on Pancasila.

Divinity, humanity, unity, democracy, and justice are the five foundations of the Indonesian nation's way of life which have been extracted and formulated as a unified whole in Pancasila. Then, on the basis of Pancasila, the unity of the Indonesian nation was carried out and the Republic of Indonesia was established. Thus, Pancasila is the basis for the struggle and joint efforts of the Indonesian people as a nation.

#### F. Democracy of Pancasila

Pancasila democracy is a view of people's sovereignty which is held based on Pancasila values. Pancasila democracy is the political and economic foundation in a state based on Pancasila. In the Pancasila democratic way of thinking, reality is not interpreted by the domination of empirical (factual) logic, but is always balanced by involving aspects of

divinity (religiosity). Pancasila democracy is held to regulate the relations between the society and the state based on the spirit of deliberation to create social justice. Its implementation is based on the belief in the truth of Pancasila as the guiding star to encourage the realization of a society that is prosperous, orderly, and has a spirit of *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation) within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

Justice, *gotong royong*, and the principle of brotherhood are the foundations for implementing Pancasila Democracy in the life of society, nation, and state. Pancasila democracy as the main ideas of Pancasila consists of politics based on Pancasila and economy based on Pancasila. Both are two things that are interconnected and inseparable from one another. Thus, Pancasila Democracy is translated into political and economic practices. Pancasila democracy is not only political democracy (*politieke democratie*), but there must be economic democracy (*economische democratie*) and social justice.

1. Politics Based on Pancasila

Politics is an approach to gaining power and with that power, state and/or government policies can be issued to influence or carry out social engineering in the framework of administering the state and government in order to realize state goals. In this case, the referred government is a constitutional national government; formed based on applicable legislation, elected by the people through a democratic process and supported by the people. The government in a state based on Pancasila describes a government that is stable, strong, and authoritative as the leader of all works and creativity of all Indonesian people. The national government in a state based on Pancasila carries out political policies guided by the following thoughts:

- a. Have piety in the One and Only God and strive for moderation in the life of interreligious community;
- b. Serve the interests of the people;
- c. Advise and provide a broad space for people's initiatives and participation so that they are able and willing to contribute to the improvement of society and the country;
- d. Be responsive in adapting to rapid developments in all fields due to scientific and technological advances for the progress of the nation;
- e. Dare to act against all forms of injustice and policies and actions that oppress the people;
- f. Be honest and frugal driven by solidarity and responsibility to be able to immediately improve the living standard of the people;
- g. Maintain good relations with all nations in the world;
- h. Participate in active efforts to put an end to colonialism and oppression throughout the world; and
- i. Participate or play a role in efforts to realize the happiness of all mankind.

2. Economy Based on Pancasila

Liberal democracy and Pancasila Democracy have an orientation towards realizing democracy in the political and economic fields. The difference is that liberal democracy aims to achieve individual welfare, while Pancasila Democracy aims to achieve social welfare. The next difference is that liberal democracy



conceptualizes humans as social animals, while Pancasila Democracy conceptualizes humans as creatures created by the One and Only God.

The aspirations of the Pancasila Economy describe an economic order structured as a joint venture based on the principle of brotherhood, with branches of production which are important to the state which affect the livelihoods of the people at large controlled by the state. The land, water, and the natural resources contained therein shall be used for the greatest prosperity of the people. The practice of the economy in Indonesia is not based on individualistic thinking (which reflects the large role of the private sector and the minimal role of the state) nor is it based on the dominant state thinking in the practice of the economy (as in a communist state), but the practice of the economy through economic and political democracy which aims to create welfare for the Indonesian nation. The state provides opportunity and empowers cooperatives, Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) and the private sector to play a proportional role in economic activities for the advance of the nation.

The practice of economy based on Pancasila is a combination of the principles of economic democracy as initiated by the founders of the nation which leads to the spirit of *gotong royong*, togetherness, and realizing social justice with principles that grow in the development of public awareness both nationally and internationally, such as environmental issues, corporate social responsibility, gender issues, and the challenges of realizing social justice in the global age. The main objective of practicing economy based on Pancasila is to realize general welfare and social justice, as stated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

#### G. Pancasila Society

Pancasila society is an inclusive, orderly, safe, secure, prosperous society with a spirit of brotherhood and a spirit of *gotong royong* to create a just and prosperous society. Thus, the qualitative indicators of Pancasila society are as follows:

1. Society who can fulfill their spiritual life;
2. Society that can utilize their religious spirit to encourage unity for the advance of the nation;
3. Society who has sufficient clothing and food;
4. Society who is able to meet the need for shelter;
5. Society whose educational needs are guaranteed;
6. Society that can utilize the spirit of patriotism and ethnic and religious diversity as well as belief in the One and Only God, as a force for defense and advance of the nation;
7. Society that can utilize the spirit of humanity and life appreciation as a force to build the nation's civilization;
8. Society with a spirit of *gotong royong*, brotherhood, and an inclusive character, who views differences of opinion and thoughts as diversity that strengthens the principle of diversity to create a just and prosperous society;
9. Society whose availability of transportation and telecommunications facilities is guaranteed by the state in pursuit of a decent life; and

10. Society who lives in a proper, healthy, and decent living environment.

#### H. System of Pancasila Society

The Pancasila Society System implies an inseparable unit of mechanisms, processes, and institutions in which citizens and community groups are guaranteed by the state to be able to express their interests, exercise legal rights, fulfill obligations, and bridge differences between them. The Pancasila Society System contains the following main elements:

1. Ensure that every citizen is able to develop, enjoy, and perfect one's spiritual life so that one's moral and spiritual life is preserved;
2. Ensure that every citizen has access to education and enjoys culture, so that not only one's physical life is preserved, but also one's moral and spiritual life.
3. Ensure that every citizen has adequate food, clothing, and shelter, so that one does not worry about the future;
4. Ensure that every citizen has access to health care and social security, so that one does not suffer and can become intelligent citizens to carry out one's duties and exercise one's rights for the family, society, and the country as well as possible; and
5. Ensure that the old age of every citizen is guaranteed so that one does not live in fear and poverty, despite in a situation where one is no longer able to make ends meet.

#### I. Vision and Mission of Pancasila Society

The vision of the Pancasila Society is the establishment of a just and prosperous society based on Pancasila, in accordance with the mandate of the people's suffering (*amanat penderitaan rakyat, Ampera*) contained in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia as the embodiment of the aspirations of the Indonesian people. Accordingly, the development that will be carried out in the future is to realize the vision of Indonesia 2045, namely realizing a sovereign, just, and prosperous Indonesia, and the dream of Indonesia 2015-2085, as follows:

1. The realization of Indonesian human resources whose intelligence surpasses that of other nations in the world;
2. The realization of an Indonesian society that is cultured, religious, and upholds pluralism and Pancasila values;
3. The realization of Indonesia as a center for education, technology, and world civilization;
4. The realization of a society and state apparatus that is free from corrupt behavior;
5. The development of infrastructure that is evenly distributed throughout Indonesia;
6. The achievement of Indonesia as an independent and influential country in the Asia-Pacific; and
7. The achievement of Indonesia's position as a barometer of the world economy.

The mission of the Pancasila Society is to carry out development based on the principles of: (1) Sovereignty in the political field; (2) Independent in the economic field; (3) having personality in culture; and (4) Based on *gotong royong*. The mission is carried out to realize the

system of the Indonesian society based on Pancasila, in accordance with the mandate of the people's suffering (*Ampera*) and aspirations of the Indonesian people contained in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, as follows:

1. Forming a state of the Republic of Indonesia in the form of a unitary state and a democratic nation-state;
2. Forming a just and prosperous society, materially and spiritually within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia; and
3. Building a good friendship between the Republic of Indonesia and all countries in the world on the basis of mutual respect for one another, as well as cooperation in creating a world that is free from all forms of colonialism towards perpetual world peace.

J. Profile of Pancasila Human

The Profile of Pancasila Human is a combination and harmonization of humanity, political, and economic elements. The Profile of Pancasila Human contains the desired image of an Indonesian human who has creativity, feelings, intention, and work based on the following aspects:

1. Be religious and have piety in the One and Only God;
2. Have a national spirit and patriotism;
3. Have a sense of humanity and life appreciation;
4. Have Indonesia's personality and culture;
5. Have a spirit of *gotong royong*;
6. Have spirituality and the urge to always be fair;
7. Have a pioneering spirit, creativity, and self-sufficiency;
8. Appreciate the diversity of ethnicity, religion, and national culture as nature and reality in life;
9. Respect and comply with legislation; and
10. Uphold the spirit of deliberation to reach consensus.

CHAPTER IV  
THE POSITION OF PANCASILA IN THE LIFE OF THE SOCIETY,  
NATION, AND STATE

A. Pancasila as the Philosophical Foundation (*filosofische grondslag*)

Pancasila has three terms when firstly introduced by Ir. Sukarno on 1 June 1945. First, the philosophical foundation (*filosofische grondslag*) which was mentioned four times. According to Sukarno, it means “foundation, philosophy, deepest thoughts, souls, and desires to realize an Independent Indonesia that is perpetual and immortal”. Second, philosophical principle (*filosofische principe*) which was mentioned once. Third, *Weltanschauung* which was mentioned 31 (thirty one) times. Sukarno did not define *Weltanschauung*, but in the speech, he said: “If your excellency asks for the basis, asks for the *filosofische grondslag*, or in other words, you ask for something, namely the ‘*Weltanschauung*’, for the founding of Indonesia as a state”.

*Weltanschauung* is a German term which refers to the 'worldview' that translates as '*pandangan dunia*' in the Indonesian language. In social sciences, worldview also refers to a paradigm, namely a way of thinking that determines how someone puts a meaning to the reality (ontology) and determines how someone builds a relationship with that reality (epistemology). The worldview implies a view from an individual or community on: (a) How a person interprets the reality of humans and the surrounding nature; (b) How a person interprets one's relationship with the reality of humans and the surrounding nature; and (c) What the person should do to the reality of humans and the surrounding nature.

Thus, the worldview of a person or society will become the basis of thinking when interacting or taking action with another person or in society. In other words, the worldview will serve as a guideline for thinking of a person or society in viewing the existence of other humans, which will determine the person or society to have social interaction.

As the guideline for thinking, the worldview is embodied in the values believed by a person or society. The values are held in a person or society based on inner and sensory experiences in their life, which are considered as noble values in maintaining their life, community, and the surrounding nature. In that sense, the *Weltanschauung* or worldview can be interpreted as a way of life.

The definition of *Weltanschauung* is not the same as philosophy which is *philosophie* in German. In philosophy, humans prioritize an understanding and views, especially to know the truth. Philosophy and *Weltanschauung* are different. Philosophy is a reality-based contemplation in life that is bound by space and time and is within the scope of science, but is actually not directly close to a practical attitude to life.

The principles in Pancasila as a philosophical system are inseparable and integral parts that are created from the existence of humans as a creation of the One and Only God. As a philosophical system, the integrated values in Pancasila can be described as follows:

1. Divinity

Believe that God created the life of all humans. Human beings are also the creation of the One and Only God. Human beings are conceptualized as the creation of the One and Only God, not as an individual that is generally taught in liberalism.

2. Humanity

In general, human beings, who are created by the One and Only God, have one task in life, namely develop the world for the common good. Therefore, humans cannot develop the world alone, but together with other people from various ethnicities, races, and religions.

3. Unity

Among all humans in the world, there are groups of people who share a common place to live, culture, and a similar way of life. The similarity encourages them to become a nation. Thus, Indonesian nationalism is an active consciousness because nationalism is a way of feeling, thinking, and maintaining the continuity of life in togetherness based on the concept of shared fate and place to live in. It is nationalism that serves as the capital for becoming a nation. In other words, becoming a nation-state means establishment of statehood of a nation.

4. Democracy

In Indonesian state, all decisions are taken based on mutual agreement due to an understanding that all humans are equal.

5. Social Justice

The purpose of life of the Indonesian nation-state is to realize the general welfare through measures that reflect social justice, in which the state must be present.

The philosophy will transform into *Weltanschauung* (worldview) once the philosophical teachings are used as the basis to determine their position in the reality of life. Pancasila as the nation's way of life means a guide for the individual or Indonesian society to think and act in the life of society, nation, and state. As the nation's way of life, the values of Pancasila have a function to guide the people to perform good deeds in the connection with God, the creator, with fellow human beings, and with the surrounding nature.

B. Pancasila as the Nation's Way of Life

As previously stated, the philosophy will transform into *Weltanschauung* (worldview) once the philosophical teachings are used as the basis to determine their position in the reality of life. Pancasila as the nation's way of life means a guide for the individual or Indonesian society to think and act in the life of society, nation, and state. As the nation's way of life, the values of Pancasila have a function to guide the people to perform good deeds in the connection with God, the creator, with fellow human beings, and with the surrounding nature. As a nation's way of life, Pancasila can be described as follows:

1. Belief in the One and Only God

- a. Indonesians believe in and show piety to the One and Only God based on their religious beliefs and the basis of just and civilized humanity;
- b. In the society, mutual respect and interfaith community cooperation are developed in concrete sectors; and
- c. Realizing that religion and belief in the One and Only God is an individual's personal relationship with the One and Only God, respect is promoted so people are free to worship in accordance with their religion and beliefs and not to force their religion and beliefs on other people.

2. Just and Civilized Humanity

- a. Indonesian people are aware that all humans are equal as

- creations of the One and Only God, so they must always respect other human beings; and
- b. Based on the awareness that all humans are equal as creations of the One and Only God, cooperation with other nations is developed within the framework of good will for the benefit of betterment, justice, and world order.
3. The Unity of Indonesia
    - a. The Indonesian nation has the initiative and encouragement to always put unity, integrity, and the interests of the safety of the nation and state above personal and group interests;
    - b. Putting interests of the nation and state above personal and group interests means all people of Indonesia are willing to devote themselves for the nation and state's interests; and
    - c. The people of Indonesia are able to distinguish actions and attitudes when in private and public spaces on the basis of mutual respect and tolerance for the sake of national unity and integrity.
  4. Democratic life led by wisdom of thoughts in deliberation amongst representatives of the people
    - a. Based on the awareness that every Indonesian as a citizen has the same rights and obligations, all decisions made for common interests must be made through a deliberation and a democratic process;
    - b. Based on the awareness that every Indonesian citizen has the same rights and obligations, the exercise of human rights, for example freedom of expression, must be carried out while respecting the applicable law and human rights of other Indonesian citizens; and
    - c. Based on the awareness that legislation is regulatory instruments made through a democratic process by people's representatives that are mutually agreed upon, every Indonesian citizen shall obey the applicable legislation and the state apparatuses enforce them by upholding the value of justice.
  5. Social justice for all the people of Indonesia
    - a. Every Indonesian citizen realizes that everyone has the right to gain justice. Therefore, every Indonesian citizen respects the rights of others and always maintains a balance between rights and obligations as fellow citizens in order to achieve general welfare;
    - b. Based on the awareness that every Indonesian citizen respects the rights and obligations of others, every Indonesian citizen is able to have self-control in action for the sake of our common life in order to achieve general welfare;
    - c. Based on the awareness that every Indonesian citizen must be able to have self-control in action for the sake of our common life, every Indonesian citizen fosters an attitude of mutual care and mutual assistance in social life in order to achieve general welfare; and
    - d. Every Indonesian citizen has the right to build cooperation among people without discrimination in order to achieve general welfare by adopting measures that uphold ethics, morality, and do not contradict with legislation.

C. Pancasila as the State Fundamental

As previously stated, the philosophy will transform into *Weltanschauung* (worldview) once the philosophical teachings are used as the basis to take a stance in the reality of life. Furthermore, basic attitudes that are applied in the life of the nation are called the state fundamental. Pancasila as the state fundamental means it serves as the basis to regulate all governance and Indonesian citizens in the life of society, nation, and state.

The formulation of Pancasila as set forth in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia is reiterated in Presidential Instruction of the Republic of Indonesia Number 12 of 1968 on the order and formulation in reading out and reciting the principles of Pancasila. Reinforcement of Pancasila as the state fundamental as referred to in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, is also mentioned in the Resolution of the People's Consultative Assembly Number XVIII/MPR/1998 on the Revocation of Resolution of the People's Consultative Assembly Number II/MPR/1978 on Guidelines for the Implementation and Practice of Pancasila (Ekaprasetya Pancakarsa), and Stipulation of Pancasila Reinforcement as the State Fundamental. Although Resolution of the People's Consultative Assembly Number II/MPR/1978 was revoked, the Resolution was deemed important to affirm the position of Pancasila as mentioned in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. There is no need for further action to the Resolution since it is once and final (*einmalig*), has been revoked, and implemented.

The values of Pancasila as the state fundamental were defined in the fourth section of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, that reads the Government of Indonesia is formed to execute the duties, namely protect all the people of Indonesia and all the independence and the land that has been struggled for, and to improve public welfare, to educate the life of the nation and to participate towards the establishment of a world order based on freedom, perpetual peace, and social justice, therefore the independence of Indonesia is formulated into a constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which is built into a sovereign state based on a belief in the One and Only God, just and civilized humanity, the unity of Indonesia, and democratic life led by wisdom of thoughts in deliberation amongst representatives of the people, and achieving social justice for all the people of Indonesia.

The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia serves as the supreme law for the subordinated legislation. Thus, there may not be legislation that conflict with Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. In general, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia regulates 4 (four) important matters: (1) Principles of people's sovereignty and rule of law; (2) Restrictions on the powers of state institutions; (3) Arrangement of relations between state institutions; and (4) regulation of power relations between state institutions and citizens.

Practicing values of Pancasila as the state fundamental, philosophical principle, and worldview is what is defined as an ideology. In this regard, the term 'ideology' refers to practice of ideas, which initially form the philosophical basis or principles, then are used to define life. Thus, Pancasila also serves as the ideology of the Indonesian nation and state.

D. Pancasila as the Ideology

In “*Empat Pilar Kehidupan Berbangsa dan Bernegara*”/Four Pillars of the Life of the Nation and State issued by the People’s Consultative Assembly (MPR) in 2012, it reads if Pancasila as the fundamental of the state is associated with its objectives, Pancasila then can serve as the state ideology. In the context of state ideology, Pancasila can be defined as a system of national life which includes political, economic, socio-cultural and defense-security aspects in achieving state objectives based on the state fundamental. Thus, in order to achieve the objectives, Pancasila must be used as a guiding star in the state political economic, legal, socio-cultural, state defense-security, and foreign politics and practices. This is the meaning of Pancasila as an ideology. So, the manifestation of Pancasila as an ideology is reflected in the establishment of policies and regulations in those sectors.

Academically, ideology can be equated with paradigm. Following the meaning of the paradigm, ideology can be interpreted as a set of ideas originating from experience in life of humans as social beings that have been proven due to the fact that they are able to maintain the sustainability of life in the society, nation, and state. From the ideology, the values of a nation to guide towards a good life for the people of that nation can be identified.

Values are abstract ideas; they only exist in the human’s mind. Values contain guidance on how to live a good life. Based on this understanding, Pancasila as an ideology can be interpreted as a set of thoughts originating from experience in the life of the Indonesian nation that have been proven because it is able to maintain the sustainability of the life of the Indonesian nation. Pancasila contains guiding values for the manifestation of a just and prosperous society.

The values contained in Pancasila reflect the identity of the Indonesian nation, which is based on the belief that human beings are created to live side by side with fellow human beings. Based on that belief, the main values of Indonesian people are religiosity, justice, *gotong royong*, deliberation, and recognizing diversity as a nature. These values are the crystallization of historical experiences and originate from: (1) the religiosity of the Indonesian nation; (2) customs; (3) local wisdom; (4) views or philosophical thought and ideology that developed when Pancasila was born; (5) culture that grows in the life of the nation; and (6) the conception of the relationship between the individual and society that has entrenched in Indonesian society.

In the way of thinking of the Indonesian nation, reality is not interpreted by the domination of empirical (factual) logic, but is always balanced by involving aspects of divinity (religiosity). Similarly, humanism is conceptualized as a spirit that prioritizes humanity and is based on the spirit of *gotong royong*. The Indonesian people's belief in humanism originated from the idea that an individual is part of society as God's creation. In other words, humans are actually created in togetherness. Thus, Pancasila is a composition of values that cannot stand alone. Referring to the “*Empat Pilar Kehidupan Berbangsa dan Bernegara*”/Four Pillars of the Life of the Nation and State published by MPR in 2017, the values contained in Pancasila are summarized as follows:

1. Belief in the One and Only God
  - a. Indonesian nation is a nation that believes in God and rejects atheism;
  - b. Indonesian nation practices their religious teachings in a



- c. civilized manner, respect one another;
  - c. Indonesian nation is obliged to worship their God and pray according to their respective religions and beliefs in a free, civilized, and just manner;
  - d. Indonesian nation carries out the orders of their respective religions and beliefs while still prioritizing harmony in the life of society, nation, and state; and
  - e. The Indonesian nation does not force a religion and belief in the One and Only God on other people.
2. Just and civilized humanity
- a. Indonesia is an independent, united, and sovereign nation-state. Indonesia is not a chauvinistic state. It remains part of, and cooperates with, the community of nations in the world;
  - b. The Indonesian nation is a nation that is willing to have relations with other nations by upholding the principle of mutual respect for the values of nationalism, and the local wisdom of each nation that thrives in diverse global community;
  - c. Indonesia is part of universal humanity which upholds human rights and develops fraternity based on the values of justice and civility;
  - d. The Indonesian nation recognizes and treats human equality in accordance with their dignity as creatures of the One and Only God; and
  - e. Developing an attitude of mutual understanding and tolerance, and understanding that differences in ethnicity, race, religion, and beliefs are a necessity and should not lead to conflict.
3. The Unity of Indonesia
- a. Indonesia nation-state was founded not only because of the unity of attitude since the people share a common plight, but also because of the unity between the people and the homeland.
  - b. The unity of Indonesia is based on the spirit of nationalism which protects all the people of Indonesia and all the independence and the land that has been struggled for which share a common plight within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Indonesian unity is a national attitude that respects differences and diversity of the Indonesian people and nation;
  - c. The Indonesian nation is able to put unity, integrity, and interests of the safety of the nation and state as a common interest above personal or group interests;
  - d. All Indonesian citizens develop a sense of patriotism and nationalism and are willing to sacrifice for the interests of the state and nation if necessary; and
  - e. Developing a sense of national and homeland pride.
4. Democratic life led by wisdom of thoughts in deliberation amongst representatives of the people
- a. Indonesian state is not a state founded for one group but for all whose homeland is Indonesia. Therefore, state administration is based on deliberation/representation;
  - b. Indonesian state is a democratic state that recognizes and upholds people's sovereignty by prioritizing the principle of

- deliberation in people's representative institutions;
  - c. Democracy adopted in Indonesia is a democracy based on deliberation/representation that is aimed at realizing social welfare and justice;
  - d. In administering the state and society affairs, the Indonesian nation is obliged to respect and uphold every decision reached as a result of deliberations, as well as accept and implement the results of deliberations in good will and with a sense of responsibility; and
  - e. In administering state affairs, the Indonesian nation does not recognize dictatorship of the majority and tyranny of minorities.
5. Achieving social justice for all the people of Indonesia
- a. Indonesian state was founded to earnestly promote the welfare of all Indonesian people, both physically and spiritually;
  - b. Indonesian state is obliged to guarantee equal opportunities for every citizen to gain justice in an effort to defend their life and human rights and to achieve their welfare;
  - c. Indonesian state is obliged to guarantee that every Indonesian citizen obtains a decent, dignified, and just education, job, and life;
  - d. The state encourages and provides the widest possible opportunity for every citizen of Indonesia to obtain a decent life through civilized means, by upholding morals and ethics and not violating legislation;
  - e. The state encourages and provides the widest possible opportunity for the growth of cooperation among Indonesian citizens within the framework of diversity to achieve common prosperity.

E. Pancasila as Unifying Force of the Nation

The aspirations to become one nation, namely the nation of Indonesia, were proclaimed through the “Sumpah Pemuda” (Youth Pledge) at the Youth Congress on 28 October 1928. Sumpah Pemuda is the commitment of all youth and all groups of society to realize the aspirations. At that time, the desire to unite and merge into one nation, namely the Indonesian nation, was based on the intention to unite because of the common plight due to colonialism and the experience of failure in the fight against the Dutch. The efforts to expel the colonizers failed because the resistance was sporadic and local. The failure developed the will to unite as a nation.

Nationalism refers to a subjective understanding generated from the way of thinking of the entire community in a certain region which is based on awareness of the common plight, culture, way of life, and the shared need to continue life within the respective land. Thus, nationalism is not something natural because it requires a shared will to do what it takes to do for the sake of a better life in togetherness.

Nationality is an intersubjectivity of the citizens that arises from the socio-political, economic, or injustice conditions that they have experienced. Even though some argue that nationalism grows through subjective awareness and is not something natural, the growth of the spirit to unite as a nation cannot be separated from diverse cultural values, beliefs, history, and ethnicities.

Nationalism that grows from subjectivity has two interrelated dimensions, namely the internal dimension and the external dimension. Internal dimension means the ability of citizens to create a favorable situation for national development, especially consensus to resolve conflicts and social tensions stemming from differences in ethnicity, race, and religion. The external dimension refers to a state's national capability to foster foreign relations with various countries and non-state actors on an international scale.

Thus, it is nationalism that actually unites citizens of different religions, ethnicities, and races in a community that is legally binding called a state. Therefore, we can understand the meaning of the Indonesian nation-state unites the Indonesian nation in a platform called a state. In the sense of a nation-state, there are two (2) variables that are brought together: First, nationality arises as a subjective awareness because there are similarities and shared awareness about various things. Second, the state as a legal platform must comply with requirements as stipulated in Article 1 of the 1933 Montevideo Convention: (a) There are people who consciously bind themselves to the power of the concerned state; (b) There is a government legally in power over the concerned country; (c) There is a territory with certain borders; and (d) There is the ability as a unified entity to engage in international relations. Thus, nationality has become a glue to social cohesion, an integrative factor, and a point that unites us as citizens, to achieve national objectives.

F. Pancasila as the Source of all Legal Sources

In the Elucidation of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia before the amendment, Indonesia is a state based on law (*Rechtsstaat*), not based on mere power (*Machtstaat*). *Machtstaat* is an understanding that a state relies on the absolute power of a person who rules. The order is binding and applies as law. The term 'absolute' means that a person holds three powers at the same time (legislative, executive, and judicative).

Unlike state power (*Machtstaat*), the state based on the rule of law does not submit to power but to legislation which are drawn up based on mutual agreement among citizens through legitimate representative institutions. Agreement on the formation of legislation is a form of acknowledging the equality of rights of Indonesian citizens who are very diverse in ethnicities and religions, including the population on remote islands, which is very large in number.

In Indonesia, the agreement to stipulate legislation is a political process through representative institutions, which is carried out to realize the objectives of the state according to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Its meta-juridical basis refers to the Fourth Principle of Pancasila which contains the value: "Indonesia is not a state founded for one group but for all whose homeland is Indonesia. Therefore, state administration is based on deliberation/representation."

Article 1 section (3) of the Fourth Amendment to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia reads: *The State of Indonesia is a state based on law*. Thus, all ministries and institutions and all those within the territory of Indonesian sovereignty must adhere to the rule of law. In this regard, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia is the fundamental law which forms the basis for the formulation of legislation by the state. As the supreme law of the state, the 1945

Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia must serve as a guideline in drawing up every law and regulation. In that sense, its synchronous elaboration is a form of effort to maintain the sustainability of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

From a juridical-normative perspective, the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution is a *Staatsfundamentalnorm* (state fundamental standard) because it contains fundamental state norms based on the values contained in Pancasila. *Staatsfundamentalnorm* has a higher position than the *Staatsverfassung* (state constitution) which was formulated in the articles of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Based on *ratio legis* (reason for the law), articles in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia are the elaboration of Pancasila values. Within that framework, it is clear that the values of Pancasila stand above the position of *Staatsfundamentalnorm*. Juridically, the position of Pancasila is above positive law, which is metajuridical. Therefore, Article 2 of Law Number 12 of 2011 on Legislation Making as amended by Law Number 15 of 2019 on Amendment to Law Number 12 of 2011 on Legislation Making reads: "Pancasila is the source of all legal sources". In addition, Article 3 of the law also stipulates that: "The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia is the basis for legislation".

In order to realize its purpose, the law enforcement process is carried out through the role of state instruments which are legally authorized by law to carry out law enforcement. In this regard, law enforcement is interpreted, among other, as efforts to make law, both in formal and material senses, as a code of conduct in every legal action, both by legal subjects and by law enforcers whose task and authority are to ensure the implementation of legal norms that apply in the life of society, nation, and state. To sum up, law enforcement is an action to achieve the purpose of law, namely creating social order and realizing social justice and welfare. Thus, there is a very strong relationship between law enforcement and efforts to achieve justice.

A judicial power is granted to implement justice in upholding law and justice. The regulation on judicial power is set forth in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Chapter IX on Judicial Power which consists of Article 24, Article 24A, Article 24B, Article 24C, and Article 25. Article 24 section (1) reads, " The judicial power is independent authority in organizing the judicature for the sake of law enforcement and justice. Furthermore, Article 24 section (2) reads, "The judicial power is exercised by a Supreme Court and the judicial bodies that are subordinate to it within the form of general courts, religious courts, military courts, administrative courts, and by a Constitutional Court ".

Subsequent articles describe the Supreme Court (Article 24A), the Judicial Commission (Article 24B), and the Constitutional Court (Article 24C). These articles emphasize that the judicial power in Indonesia as regulated in the constitution is held by among others these three institutions. Article 24 section (3) reads: "Other bodies whose functions are related to the judicial power are regulated by law". In this regard, we must underscore that the Judicial Commission is not a direct part of the judicial power as referred to in Article 24 section (2), but is part of other bodies whose functions are related to the judicial power as referred to in aforementioned Article 24 section (3). Law enforcement cannot solely be interpreted to only cover the roles of the police, prosecutors, and judiciary because law enforcement also includes the role of government administration officials (executives). In this regard, the pattern of law

enforcement is conceptualized as a whole consistent action and behavior that influences the actors to carry out these actions or behaviors in implementing legislation in the realm of facts.

The core of Pancasila is *gotong royong*. This should be actualized in the practice of legislation in Indonesia. *Gotong royong* is a form of dynamic attitude that reflects mutual concern. By making the spirit of *gotong royong* the soul and spirit in the practice of legislation, its practice should not be limited to literally recite articles by articles in the regulation or practice laws by simply applying it textually. Practicing law in the spirit of *gotong royong* will affirm Indonesia as a legal state which brings happiness to the people. Practicing literal rule is only the beginning of a long journey to create laws that brings happiness to the people. A legal state based on rule of law that brings happiness to the people does not rely on the articles in the law alone, but on the behavior of law enforcers who can act based on *gotong royong* which is the core of Pancasila in the life of society, nation and state.

The law which contains orders as the elaboration of Pancasila values must certainly be transferred into reality by fostering Pancasila legal culture. The development of the legal culture of Pancasila is instrumental because it is the manifestation of Pancasila values (which contain the fields of law) in the realm of facts which are reflected in human behavior and legislation.

## CHAPTER V PANCASILA DEMOCRACY

### A. Introduction

The diminishing influence of divine teachings on natural science has pushed forward the processes of rationalization of various fields of life in Western Europe. This is what underlies Western Europe to enter the age of Rationalism. This age, also known as the Age of Enlightenment, spanned from 1650 to the early 1800s. The term “Age of Enlightenment” is used as opposed to the term “Age of Darkness”, which denotes a state in which humankind has been enlightened, freed his mind from the shackles of the domination of the teachings of church, then enlightened so as to able to utilize reasons and ratio to form a shared social life.

However, society within the scope of the nation-state is still dominated by the absolute power of the king. Absolute monarchies in Europe view that sovereignty is an attribute of the absolute power of a king. *L'etat c'est moi* (the state, it's me) is an implication of the idea of absolutism held by the kings who ruled in European countries at that time such as King Louis XIV of France (1638-1715). The power of the kings is believed or to have been believed to derive from God's delegation. Since God's power is absolute, the power passed down to the king is also absolute. Any attempt to interfere with the king's authority is against Divine Law. This view is a reflection of the remnants of Medieval thought which began in the XV century and lasted until around the 1650s.

Entering the XVII century, these theocentric thoughts began to fade away, replaced by schools of thought that considered human's reasons as the sole source of human civilization and progress. This thought marked the spirit of the Age of Rationalism. In that age, new themes emerged, namely regarding the sovereignty of the people and the value of the human person as a subject of law. The renowned philosophers of that age included John Locke from England (1632-1704), Montesquieu (1689-1755), Voltaire and Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), all three from France. They do not recognize God's sovereignty as the foundation of every government. According to them, people's sovereignty is the only true foundation. The notion of people's sovereignty is inspired by the view that everyone is born equal. No certain people or groups have special rights to rule regardless of their position. Based on the similarity of community members as human beings and as citizens and the belief that no people or groups of people have the rights to govern other people, it is argued that the authority to govern society must be based on assignments or mandates and the approval of the community members themselves. This belief is then known as people's sovereignty.

The implication of establishing the notion of people's sovereignty is the promulgation of the concept of democracy in the government system, where power in the state must be separated into three parts: First, legislative power or the power to make laws; Second, executive power or the power to enforce laws; Third, judicial power or the power to prosecute law violators. This separation is essentially to prevent the occurrence of absolutism which leads to arbitrary actions. Montesquieu (1689-1755) introduced the doctrine of separation of powers as the teaching of *Trias Politica*. These powers are formed by the people because it is the people who have the sovereignty, not the king.

The growth of liberal democracy is based on philosophical thinking which has developed dialectically since the Age of Roman Empire in Western Europe, with its main themes: the modern state, capitalism, rule of law based on a modern legal system, human rights, and an open society. In contrast to liberal democracy, in a democratic way of thinking based on Pancasila, reality is not interpreted by the domination of empirical (factual) logic, but is always balanced by involving aspects of divinity (religiosity). Based on the description of the history of democracy, in order for Pancasila Democracy to survive in the present and in the future, it is important to base it on the strength of the main pillars of democracy based on Pancasila. In contrast to liberal democracy which aims to achieve individual welfare, democracy based on Pancasila aims to realize social welfare. The next difference is that liberal democracy conceptualizes humans as individual beings, while democracy based on Pancasila conceptualizes humans as creatures created by the One and Only God.

#### B. Pancasila Democracy

Pancasila democracy is the political and economic foundation in a state based on Pancasila. Democracy based on Pancasila is held to regulate relations between the society and the state based on a spirit of deliberation aimed at creating social justice. Its practice is based on the belief in the truth of Pancasila to encourage the realization of a society that is prosperous, orderly, and passionate about *gotong royong* within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

Justice, *gotong royong*, and the principle of brotherhood are the foundations for practicing democracy based on Pancasila in the life of society, nation, and state. Democracy based on Pancasila as the Main Thoughts of Pancasila consists of: (a) politics based on Pancasila; and (b) the economy based on Pancasila. Both are two things that are interconnected and inseparable from one another as described below:

##### 1. Political Democracy

Political democracy based on Pancasila is led by the Fourth Principle as its guiding star. Democracy based on Pancasila is actually not democracy based solely on majority votes, but democratic life led by wisdom of thoughts in deliberation amongst representatives of the people. Under the principle of Belief in the One and Only God and the foundation of a Just and Civilized Humanity, the democracy must comply with truth, justice, and honesty. Democracy based on Pancasila is also related to the principle of Social Justice for all the People of Indonesia, because democracy based on Pancasila aims to create social justice for all people. That is why Pancasila Democracy is neither liberal democracy nor totalitarian democracy. The practice of democracy in Indonesia is normatively based on legal politics as reflected in Article 1 section (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which states that sovereignty is in the hands of the people and is implemented according to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. People's sovereignty is manifested by the general elections, based on the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The regulations in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia aim to provide a strong legal basis for general elections as one of the means for exercising people's sovereignty. The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia regulates general elections for the President and Vice President,

members of the House of Representatives (DPR), and members of the Regional Representatives Council (DPD). The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia emphasizes that further provisions regarding general elections are carried out by the law. This means that the aspirations of the people are also accommodated and used as guidelines in the establishment of laws through their representatives in the House of Representatives.

The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia affirms people's sovereignty. State institutions carry out parts of people's sovereignty according to the authority and tasks mandated by the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Thus, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia has regulated which parts of people's sovereignty are entrusted to the institutions or bodies specified in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, as well as part which is directly carried out by the people. In its processes, the Fourth Principle of Pancasila should serve as the guiding star that democracy based on Pancasila is actually not democracy based solely on majority votes, but democratic life led by wisdom of thoughts in deliberation amongst representatives of the people.

2. Respect for Human Rights

The principle of democracy in Pancasila Democracy guarantees that every citizen is equal before the law and in government. The guarantee of the equal status of every citizen is based on the principle that every human being has inherent rights, namely human rights. The formulation setting of human rights in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and guaranteeing respect, protection, implementation and promotion in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia is not solely because of the desire to accommodate the development of human rights in the global sphere, but because this is one of requirements for Indonesia to be affirmed as a law-based state of (nomocracy). However, human rights in the Indonesian context based on Pancasila are not human rights which are exactly the same as the understanding of human rights in a liberal democracy. In this case, things that undermine the principle of democracy such as exclusivism, intolerance, cosmopolitanism, liberal-individualism, and indifference to national issues must be avoided.

The life of the Indonesian people cannot be separated from the phenomenon of globalization. As is well known, globalization occurring has had implications for the emergence of new awareness in the world community, namely the awareness of the importance of respecting the human rights of citizens of a country. In the age of globalization, the mainstreaming of human rights has become something that seems very urgent to be realized, despite institutionally and legally, the understanding and exercise of human rights is not entirely in harmony with the national culture based on Pancasila. The result is the emergence of situations that can actually threaten the survival of the nation, due to the enactment of laws that highly uphold human rights. Demonstrations or rallies result in damages to public facilities and disruption of the human rights of other citizens.

Thus, there is a dilemma between maintaining state security and protecting human rights, which requires a solution that ultimately benefits practitioners in law enforcement. Judging from



its history, capitalism and free market mechanisms originate from respect for individual existence which constitutes awareness that humans with common sense and rationality can provide benefits in the relations between the state and society and other social relations, as introduced by John Locke and Adam Smith while J.J. Rousseau and Montesquieu introduced the state-citizen relationship. However, the values taught are dominantly inspired by empiricism. This paradigm relies heavily on the principle that knowledge comes from objects, not from our ratios. Thus, empiricism is always oriented to things that are visible, not discussing the essence or values. Nationalism is the things that are visible in the minds of every citizen.

Those things are not described in the teachings of John Locke and Adam Smith and other related thoughts regarding the relationship between the state and citizens as introduced by J.J. Rousseau and Montesquieu. Capitalism and liberalism are only oriented towards individuals in the context of mere accumulation of capital. Therefore, when globalization and liberal democracy hit countries that actually did not have the same legal culture and social systems as the United States or countries in Western Europe, situations that confronted state security with human rights-based interests occurred.

In practice, state security as a common interest often becomes problematic because it has to deal with demands for freedom under the pretext of respecting human rights. Thus, with human rights-based justification, individuals or groups of people can take actions that pose a threat to the security of the state, but the state seems to be doing nothing for fear of protests and scrutiny from both the international and national communities. Even more tragic, this criticism is used by a group of people to build a negative image of the government. The alarming situation was then left unchecked which eventually gave rise to anarchist acts and even acts of terror. Respect for human rights in Indonesia does not root from the meaning of human rights within the framework of liberal democracy as a result of the 1789 French Revolution. The main pillars of Pancasila which gave birth to democracy based on Pancasila are justice, virtue and the primacy of rights. These pillars become the foundation for establishing a Pancasila Society which includes the following characters: (1) belief in God; (2) *gotong royong*; (3) deliberation; (4) brotherhood; (5) orderly; and (6) safe. Human rights in democracy based on Pancasila are human rights that balance individual rights with community rights by prioritizing deliberation to reach common ground. State security is as a common interest, which cannot be violated by demands for freedom under the pretext of respecting human rights. In a democracy based on Pancasila, a balance must be made between the interests of citizens' freedom and the interests of state security. The justification for balancing these interests is that the state has the main task of creating security and prosperity. To do this, the state through its apparatus must still be given space to regulate and supervise the exercise of human rights through law enforcement.

Pancasila is a way of life with the belief as its core that humans were created in togetherness. From a juridical perspective, balancing the interests of citizens and the state can be justified

from the conception that Indonesia is a state that upholds prismatic legal system, namely combining the positive aspects of the *Rechtstaat* in an integrated manner that emphasizes legal certainty and the rule of law which promotes a sense of justice. From a sociological perspective, the justification is based on globalization which has implications for, among other things, prioritizing individual security and human rights. For countries that still prioritize the values of nationalism (as means to maintain the continuity of the state), prioritizing the rights of citizens must not reduce the state's right to supervise and regulate its citizens.

## 2. Economic Democracy

Democracy based on Pancasila must be carried out by affirming and actualizing an economy based on Pancasila values, not on capitalism. The practice of Pancasila economy is based on the philosophy, paradigm, and values of Pancasila. Economic principles based on Pancasila are explained as follows: (1) the practice is based on Article 33 and Article 34 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia; (2) The state is present proportionally, not minimizing the role of the state; (3) The state exists to realize economic democracy and social justice; (4) Being open to change by making Pancasila a filter; (5) Humans are viewed in their position as creatures created by the One and Only God; (6) The practice of economy is based on the principle of *gotong royong*, not competition; (7) In practicing the economy, it is the people who have the sovereignty, not the market; (8) Based on the principle of togetherness, not individualism; (9) In the Pancasila economy, what is achieved is social welfare, not fulfilling individual interests; and (10) The economy is run for the sake of common interests, not individual interests.

To understand the intention of the founders of the nation in stipulating Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, one can study the thoughts of Drs. Mohammad Hatta as the figure who formulated this Article at the BPUPK meetings in 1945, which stated that no economic science could be developed free from political and religious beliefs. The scientific system of economy must have a broad social basis; no science is value-free. Political economy puts forward normative goals whose characteristic is determined by ideology, state politics, social understanding of the environment in which they were born and live as members of society and the level of intelligence of life and culture of the nation. Everything influences the development goals of the economic order.

As for what is meant by the principle of *gotong royong* is mindfulness, awareness, and enthusiasm to work on and bear the consequences of a work together for mutual happiness, without prioritizing profit for oneself. In *gotong royong*, there is an awareness of working, both spiritually and mentally, in a joint effort or work. *Gotong royong* is basically the principle of the Indonesian people's original social system and livelihood in a very simple way. As time goes by, *gotong royong* has withstood the test of time. *Gotong royong* must also be actualized in the legislation in Indonesia. By making *gotong royong* as the spirit in the legislation, its implementation should not stop reciting the legal text or enforcing laws by simply applying what is written in the text.

Practicing law in the spirit of *gotong royong* will make Indonesia a legal state that brings happiness to the people. Practicing law with a new text is the beginning of a long journey to create laws that brings happiness to the people. A legal state that brings happiness to the people does not rely on the articles in the law, but on the behavior of law enforcers who can act based on *gotong royong* which is the core of Pancasila as the state fundamental.

The practice of economy based on Pancasila is a combination of the principles of economic democracy as initiated by the founders of the nation which leads to the spirit of *gotong royong*, togetherness, and manifestation of social justice, with principles that grow in the development of society awareness both nationally and internationally, such as the advancement of information technology, environmental issues, corporate social responsibility, gender issues, and the challenges of realizing social justice in the age of globalization.

The main objective of practicing economy based on Pancasila is to realize general welfare and social justice, as stated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Domination of capitalism with a free-market mechanism that has been supported by world institutions, international trade regulations, and culture of capitalism dominating the information media accessed by the people of Indonesia serves as the challenge. The next challenge is that economics education developed in Indonesia has not entirely mainstreamed the economy based on Pancasila values. In fact, it is alienated from the discourse of economics in Indonesia.

Article 33 and Article 34 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia reflect the idealism of the people's economy, namely professional cooperatives which indicate the role of the people in running the economy. It is acknowledged that tremendous efforts have been made by the state in fulfilling the need for the greatest prosperity of the people, especially in efforts to improve the quality of life of the people. However, this fact does not cover the reality that there are still many overlapping regulations due to sectoral ego. This actually causes obstacles to narrow down social and economic disparities in the society. These things certainly have to be corrected in the future.

The main social capital for future improvement is the veracity of Pancasila values. In a theoretical perspective, the Pancasila Economic System can be run by the state based on the principles of partiality, the principle of brotherhood, and *gotong royong* but not in a pattern that is more oriented towards a capitalist economy. The practice of Pancasila economy which is based on facts (nation's behavior and experience of the nation's mind) is considered to be the proper economic system run by the state. This is because the model was built on the basis of the social order, the concept of thinking, and behavior of the Indonesian nation.

However, due to the dominance of economic practices based on free market mechanisms and the incomplete reforms in the institutions and regulations, the Pancasila Economic System cannot be practiced optimally. Cooperatives as a symbol of *gotong royong* based on the Constitution, in reality, have not been able to play a significant role in the economy. Therefore, efforts to place

cooperatives to play a significant role in the nation's economy must be supported by the will and initiative of citizens, especially by economic and business actors. Apart from that, several things that still require the government's attention and involvement are increasing entrepreneurship as reflected from micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs), gender gaps, and improving citizens' health.

Liberal democracy is built in a paradigm which ontologically interprets individual reality as mere homo economicus. Conversely, in a democracy based on Pancasila, individuals are interpreted as creatures of the One and Only God who have a tendency to socialize with others. Based on the paradigm built by the founders of the nation, democracy based on Pancasila will benefit the progress of the nation in terms of:

- a. Efforts to increase economic capacity and social welfare are continuously made by the state. Therefore, pro-people and pro-social welfare state governance is continuously carried out by making every effort to perform the mandate of Article 33 section (3) and section (4) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia;
- b. The state becomes an authoritative institution in carrying out regional autonomy and becomes the sole authority over its territory. In such a position, the state has the power to issue regulations that bind its citizens and impose sanctions against violations of the law, from the central to regional levels. Without the establishment of a well-functioning territorial state and an independent judiciary responsible for maintaining the rule of law based on Pancasila, democracy based on Pancasila will not take place;
- c. The state always maintains respect for human rights and enforcement of legislation which are always directed at creating social justice and guaranteeing legal certainty for its citizens. Effective law enforcement is supported by readiness from institutions at the central and regional levels as well as legislation from the central to regional levels which adheres to Pancasila and their constitutionality is tested under the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia; and
- d. Indonesian society is society that is open for improvement and willing to acknowledge the imperfections of a system. Past authoritarian governments in various countries that are not willing to admit mistakes or failures in their systems, eventually collapse or fail to improve the welfare of their people. The world that moves rapidly has altered the aspirations and participation of citizens in life. The current rapid dynamics create an atmosphere of uncertainty and continuous changes. The Indonesian nation should be aware of and open to this uncertainty, and not escape uncertainty by being fundamentalist. It must be realized that the global uncertainty like this poses a challenge to move forward, and make improvements to democratic system based on Pancasila. The most important thing is that the abovementioned pillars are upheld on the main foundation that must be strong, namely nationalism. This is because it is nationalism that brings together citizens to live the life in the homeland regardless of ethnic and religious barriers.

## CHAPTER VI PANCASILA ECONOMIC SYSTEM

### A. Introduction

Pancasila Democracy is a political and economic foundation in a Pancasila-based state established to regulate the relations between the society and state based on the spirit of deliberation aimed at creating social justice. The practice is based upon the belief in the truth of Pancasila to achieve the aspiration of a prosperous, orderly, *gotong-royong*-oriented society within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Justice, *gotong royong*, and the principle of brotherhood are the foundations for practicing Pancasila Democracy in the life of society, nation, and state.

Pancasila Democracy is practiced to establish: (a) Pancasila-based politics; and (b) Pancasila-based economy. Both are interconnected and inseparable. In order to strengthen Pancasila Democracy, building an economic practice based on Pancasila is inevitable. Strengthening Pancasila Democracy requires enhancing and practicing an economy based on Pancasila, instead of capitalism. The practice of the economy based on the philosophy of Pancasila is referred to as the Pancasila Economic System.

### B. Definition

The Pancasila Economic System is a one unified system of economic practice that places Pancasila as a paradigm or framework of thinking in conceptualizing the reality of Indonesian society, the relations between the state and its people, so that an economic system is established based on the values of Pancasila. Based on this paradigm, the Pancasila Economic System places Pancasila as the guiding star in building a productive, resilient, and independent economic structure to advance humanity and civilization, as well as strengthening national unity through a process instilled with the spirit of *gotong royong* through fair distribution of economic access based on Pancasila values.

The Pancasila Economic System is an economic system that is structured as a joint endeavor based on the principle of brotherhood, of which important sectors of production for the country and which affect the life of the people are under the powers of the state. The land and the water as well as the natural resources therein are controlled by the state and utilized for the greatest welfare of the people. The practice of the Pancasila Economic System is not based on individualistic thinking (which reflects the significant role of the private sector and the minimal role of the state), nor is it based on the thought of a dominant state in organizing the economy (as in communist countries), but it organizes the economy through economic and political democracy aimed at creating prosperity for the Indonesian people based on solid moral foundations and bound by state and society partnerships rooted in the spirit of *gotong royong*.

### C. Constitutional Foundation

The constitutional foundation for the practice of the Pancasila Economic System is Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which determines:

- (1) The economy is organized as a joint endeavor based upon the principles of brotherhood;

- (2) Important sectors of production for the country and those affecting the life of the people are under the powers of the state;
- (3) The land and the water as well as the natural resources therein are controlled by the state and utilized for the greatest welfare of the people;
- (4) National economy is conducted on the basis of economic democracy upholding the principles of togetherness, fairness-based efficiency, sustainability, environment-oriented, independency, and keeping a balance in the progress and unity of the national economy.

Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia reflects the idealism of the people's economy and professional cooperatives that indicate the role of the people in running the economy. To comprehend the intentions of the founders of the nation in establishing Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, we can study the thoughts of Drs. Mohammad Hatta as a figure who formulated the article in the BPUPK meetings in 1945:

"No economic science could be developed free from political and religious beliefs... the scientific system of economics must have a broad social basis... no science is *wertfrei* (value-free)... The political economy proposes normative goals, the pattern of which is determined by ideology, state politics, and understanding about society... the place where we were born and live as members of society, the level of intelligence, and the culture of the nation... all influence the goals in the development of the economic order..."

Meanwhile, what is meant by the principle of *gotong royong* is the mindfulness, awareness, and spirit to work on and bear the results of a work together for mutual happiness, rather than prioritizing personal gain. The meaning of *gotong royong* also covers the awareness of working, both spiritually and inwardly in a joint effort or work.

The practice of the Pancasila Economic System is a combination of the principles of economic democracy as initiated by the founders of the nation which leads to the spirit of *gotong royong*, togetherness, and achieving social justice with the growing principles in the rise of society awareness, both nationally and internationally, such as the environmental issues, corporate social responsibility, gender issues, and the challenges of achieving social justice in the age of globalization. The main objective of economic practice based on Pancasila is to achieve general welfare and social justice, following the aspirations set forth in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

The practice of the Pancasila Economic System based on Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia will be made possible if the state is present to support and sustain micro and small enterprises in global competition through fair distribution of economic access based on ethical values and legislation. The presence of the state, both through the central and local governments, is needed to create a policy ecosystem that supports the development of MSMEs and protects them from the expansion of large companies and conglomerates.

In this regard, the state, both through the central and local governments, can make policies and issue affirmative legislation to create justice, including in the area of job creation while still being aligned with efforts to protect and manage the natural environment in order to guarantee the rights of future generations to enjoy the same quality of life as the current generation.

D. Main Principles

Based on the provisions of Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the Pancasila Economic System is guided by the following main principles:

1. The state controls the economic sector and the livelihood of many people;
2. The production, transportation, and distribution of essential materials are conducted and controlled by the state;
3. The economy is run by the state in order to protect all the people of Indonesia and all the independence and the land that has been struggled for, and to improve public welfare, to educate the life of the nation and to participate toward the establishment of a world order based on freedom, perpetual peace, and social justice;
4. The economy is run with an orientation towards justice and the fulfillment of social rights of the people through equal opportunities for all the people to fulfill the rights necessary for their livelihood;
5. The practice of the economy must always be aligned with efforts to protect and manage a good and healthy environment in order to guarantee the rights of future generations to enjoy the same quality of life as the current generation;
6. In managing natural resources, the state as a public institution is authorized to issue natural resource management policies and legal regulations including licenses. In this case, the state's position is indisputable. In the state's position as a private institution, the state can carry out contract-based cooperation, both with foreign and domestic private parties for natural resource management;
7. The state is present to support and sustain micro and small enterprises in global competition through fair distribution of economic access based on ethical values and applicable legislation as the manifestation of Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia;
8. Self-sufficiency in basic necessities essential for daily life should be the goal of all policies and production activities;
9. The state is obligated to expand the cooperative movement and spirit in the practice of the economy. In addition, the state is present to solve problems in the fields of institutions, regulations, as well as to support the role of cooperatives and MSMEs in the national economy;
10. The state is obligated to empower and provide the widest possible opportunity for cooperatives and MSMEs to play a role in economic progress and welfare;
11. All production activities, be it carried out by the state, through State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs), Regional-Owned Enterprises (Badan Usaha Milik Daerah, BUMD), Cooperatives, MSMEs, or by the private sector must be realized in service to the interests of the people, especially on basic necessities so that every citizen can live properly as an independent human being;
12. The state must provide the widest possible opportunity for the development of partnerships between cooperatives and

MSMEs on the one hand, and large business units on the other hand, which are based on added value in the framework of equitable development and welfare distribution for the Indonesian nation;

13. The state is spearheading efforts to synergize the empowerment of MSMEs with the development of cooperatives which can become a source of financing and a platform for strengthening MSMEs;
14. The private sector is given a proper position in business in accordance with applicable legislation;
15. All distribution activities are managed by the state so that daily basic necessities can be distributed quickly, accurately, evenly, safely, and affordably to the people, which can be achieved by enabling people's participation;
16. All agricultural and industrial activities are intended to achieve Indonesia's exports level, moving from raw materials and semi-finished goods to finished goods exports of Indonesian-made products. Thus, export activities can expand employment opportunities for the Indonesian people and generate profits for the country, as well as increase the nation's competitiveness; and
17. All import activities are intended for goods that can increase domestic production and reduce dependence on imported goods gradually to build national industrial capacity that utilizes domestic potential. Thus, there are increased employment opportunities and reduced imports, as well as savings in foreign payments.

#### E. Purposes

The main purpose of practicing the Pancasila-based economy is to achieve general welfare and social justice, following the aspirations set forth in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Based on the main principles, the purposes of implementing the Pancasila Economy are formulated as follows:

1. The establishment of economic life based on brotherhood and *gotong royong*;
2. The increasingly stronger position of people's businesses in economic life;
3. The establishment of a fair business ecosystem;
4. The utilization of natural resources and energy as the important sectors of production of the people's welfare while still providing opportunities for future generations to obtain the same quality of life as the current generation; and
5. The fulfillment of every citizen's right to work and to have a decent living for humanity.

In this case, the Pancasila Economic System regulates the relations between the state and its citizens, which is aimed at promoting humanity and civilization, strengthening national unity through a process of joint endeavors/*gotong royong* by distributing fair economic access for all people based on the ethical values of accountability to the One and Only God. The aspirations of the Pancasila Economic System describe an economic system that is structured as a joint effort based on the principle of brotherhood, of which important sectors of production for the country and which affect the life of the people are under the powers of the state. The land and the water as well as the natural resources



therein are controlled by the state and utilized for the greatest welfare of the people.

The practice of the economy in Indonesia is not based on individualistic thinking (which reflects the large role of the private sector and the minimal role of the state) nor is it based on the dominant state thinking in the practice of the economy (as in a communist state), but the practice of the economy through economic and political democracy which aims to create welfare for the Indonesian nation. The Pancasila Economic System must be continuously pursued to become a whole notion in a series of systemic thinking as an economic system that can be applied in Indonesia.

#### F. The Framework of the Pancasila Economic System

The Pancasila Economic System which is based on social balance will prioritize collaboration, *gotong royong*, helpfulness, deliberation, and consensus. Broadly speaking, the operationalization of the Pancasila Economy can be described as follows.

Pancasila economy refers to the state ideology of Pancasila and the state constitution, namely the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The values contained therein are elaborated in various economic policies, including fiscal, monetary, and real economy. It is expected that the noble aspirations of an independent, united, sovereign, just, and prosperous nation can be achieved. One of the efforts is to create conditions that enable all citizens to have the right to work and to have decent living.

There are three key features of the Pancasila economy. First, Pancasila Economy is the soul or spirit of the constitutional economy. Second, the system and practice of the Pancasila Economy are not anti-market. Third, the state is present to support and sustain micro and small enterprises. The features should later become the identity of the Pancasila Economy which can be applied when making economic decisions related to fiscal, monetary, and real economy.

The founders of the nation built the state fundamental on the principle of justice which is one of the principles in Pancasila. The principle of justice must be upheld and used as a guide in every process of economic activities from the planning stage to its implementation. Ir. Sukarno once stated that the principle of justice would prevail when Indonesia became independent, followed by a prosperous society. Drs. Mohammad Hatta added that the condition of a just and prosperous society, which includes and contains happiness, prosperity, peace, and independence, is a manifestation of the results of the implementation of the principle of justice.

Thus, the development of the Pancasila Economy must embrace and uphold the principle of justice which is then elaborated into the pillars of the Pancasila Economy which is expected to be able to deal with the current conditions and future challenges. As for the five main pillars in realizing the Pancasila Economy operationally are (1) economic development must be oriented towards justice; (2) the state guarantees the rights of all Indonesian citizens to gain equal opportunities in economic life; (3) economic development refers to equitable development; (4) state economic management is initiated and implemented to unite the nation; and (5) sustainable development is in accordance with national strategic planning.

Justice-oriented economic development is the main pillar of the practice of the Pancasila Economy. The development process must

involve all components in economic activities, so that everything resulting from its development will be capable of upholding justice by not favoring the interests of certain individuals or groups.

Togetherness through *gotong royong* is a form of the practice of economic development that involves all components and is jointly carried out. The development carried out jointly will encourage the realization of community empowerment to create economic independence. In turn, equitable economic independence will encourage the realization of equitable welfare.

The fulfillment of people's social rights is the responsibility of the state in creating just and prosperous conditions for all the people. Just and prosperous conditions include happiness, prosperity, peace, and independence. Happiness is created when basic necessities are met, both for oneself and one's family. Welfare is a life feeling higher than happiness. This resulted in justice and tranquility felt by the people physically and mentally.

Peace emerges when people feel that they live in a peaceful atmosphere, both internally and externally. Meanwhile, independence is achieved when people can freely practice their religious teaching and express their opinions as well as avoid fear and oppression. All of these should be an important part of a sustainable development process that considers environmental, social, and cultural impacts.

All citizens have the same opportunity to achieve happiness, prosperity, and independence in life. This is reiterated in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which states that each citizen has the right to work and to have a decent living for humanity. Thus, the state must play a role in achieving development that considers the creation of employment opportunities for all its citizens.

In addition, basic rights that support the fulfillment of a decent living must be made available by the state. In order to ensure a decent living for the people, the government should change the calculation of poverty indicators from basic necessities to basic rights. With such a change, Indonesia is expected to shift from simply keeping people alive to enabling people to live a decent life.

## CHAPTER VII NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT BASED ON PANCASILA

The duties of the state of Indonesia based on the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia are to protect all the people of Indonesia and all the independence and the land that has been struggled for, and to improve public welfare, to educate the life of the nation and to participate toward the establishment of a world order based on freedom, perpetual peace, and social justice. In that sense, Pancasila must be used as a guiding star in the practice of comprehensive development to realize a just and prosperous society.

### A. Definition

National development based on Pancasila is defined as a development that serves as a means to realize a just and prosperous society based on the principles of: first, sovereignty in the political field; second, independent in the economic field; third, having personality in culture; and fourth, based on *gotong royong*.

Development as the manifestation of Pancasila values is carried out in a comprehensive (universal), planned, and gradual manner to realize a just and prosperous society based on Pancasila. As a foundation for comprehensive development, national development based on Pancasila does not only focus on physical development, but also includes mental development or the nation's character.

The measure of successful development as the manifestation of Pancasila values is not only in terms of national income, but also includes human values and social justice. These indicators of humanity and justice must be measurable and manifested in development plans. There are at least 5 (five) indicators that qualitatively describe the realization of a just and prosperous society as follows: first, the assurance of clothing, food, and shelter for all Indonesians; second, the assurance of health and education for all Indonesians; third, the assurance that old age of all citizens is guaranteed; fourth, the assurance for each Indonesian to be able to fulfill their spiritual needs to meet their internal needs, in addition to external needs; and fifth, the assurance of living in a good and healthy environment so that there are ample opportunities to act and work for the benefit of mankind.

### B. The Scopes

In order to realize a just and prosperous society, the formulation of development goals as the manifestation of the values of Pancasila implies the will of the Indonesian people to advance and become a nation with superior civilization among other nations on earth. This grand plan must include development within the scope of human resources, politics, economy, and culture.

Development in the field of human resources is aimed at shaping an Indonesian nation with the ability to compete in dealing with the challenges of globalization and relentless technological innovation. The development of human resources, which goes hand in hand with advances in science and technology, is geared towards making Indonesia capable of fulfilling the mandate of independence aspirations in order to form a nation with excellent character and intelligent, so that it can compete with other nations in the world.

Development in the political field is intended to achieve a sovereign political life. The Indonesian nation-state wants all the people of this country to have sovereignty over their country, homeland, and the land of Indonesia, which can be achieved by building the nation's strength in all dimensions. To build the nation's strength, it is necessary to mobilize adequate human resources, technology, and capital in order to obtain a reliable national power posture.

Development in the economic sector is geared towards making Indonesia a leading country in global economic development. Indonesia must become a role model of combining a democratic political system with an open economic system within the framework of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Indonesia must become an example of a country that has succeeded in developing the economy without sacrificing the natural environment and still maintaining the fulfillment of the rights of future generations to enjoy a good and healthy environment that allows the sustainability of life. The economic strength of the country lies in it being an archipelagic country, a maritime country as well as an agrarian country with the potential of its abundant natural resources. Indonesia's economic strength lies in its ability to meet its own food needs and contribute to world food availability. Development as the manifestation of the values of Pancasila refers to development for all Indonesians. Economic disparity and inequalities must be narrowed down.

In the field of culture, the Indonesian nation has achieved major world achievements. The presence of tradition, deliberation to reach consensus, religious traits, as well as *gotong royong* and scattered temple buildings as a world heritage of past Indonesian civilization are manifestations of excellence in the culture of hard work, innovation, and perseverance of Indonesian people as seen from past Indonesian architecture. Likewise, intellectual property such as batik or a variety of culinary specialties is a national cultural heritage that must be preserved, recognized for existence, and used as a tool of cultural diplomacy.

#### C. Principles of Implementation

National development based on Pancasila is carried out with the principles of: first, nation-wide, meaning throughout the Indonesian homeland to develop the Indonesian nation; second, comprehensive, meaning in all fields of life and livelihood of the Indonesian people; and third, planned, meaning according to a plan based on scientific and technological research and national innovation within a certain period of time with clear, targeted, and measurable plans.

#### D. Main Capital

The five elements that must be realized in a just and prosperous society based on Pancasila are expected to be realized gradually by state administrators, with the following main basic capitals:

1. Excellence in human resources and mastery of technology;
2. Religiosity, tolerance, and moderate stance;
3. National security supported by the main components of the Indonesian National Defense Forces and the Indonesian National Police;
4. Legal certainty ;
5. A good and healthy living environment;
6. Diversity and cultural wealth;

7. Geographical position as an archipelagic, maritime, and agrarian country as well as the natural resources contained therein;
8. SOEs, BUMD, MSMEs, and cooperatives;
9. Reliable transportation and communication services that accelerate people's economic development and welfare achievement; and
10. The principle of free and active foreign policy.

Of those ten main basic capitals, the biggest and most important capital in every stage of development in order to realize a just and prosperous society based on Pancasila is human resources. This is due to human resources being the main actors in comprehensive development to realize the aspirations of a just and prosperous society.

#### E. Objectives

The Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia states that the duties of the State of Indonesia are to protect all the people of Indonesia and all the independence and the land that has been struggled for, and to improve public welfare, to educate the life of the nation and to participate toward the establishment of a world order based on freedom, perpetual peace, and social justice.

To perform these duties, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia was formulated based on the state fundamental of Pancasila. The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia is the elaboration of Pancasila values into the supreme law for the state administration of the Republic of Indonesia.

Approaching 100 years of its independence, Indonesia must still have the aspirations as stated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and realize them through Indonesia's Vision 2045, namely Advanced Indonesia.

Based on the provisions of the articles in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and based on the definition, scopes, principles of implementation, and main capitals, 13 (thirteen) targets of national development priority areas are set forth based on Pancasila, as follows:

1. Education-Culture, Science and Technology  
Affirming Pancasila as a learning material in formal, informal, and non-formal education and encouraging Pancasila as a paradigm for the development of science and technology, pivoting on strengthening the nation's civilization characterized by *gotong royong* and brotherhood, tolerance, moderation, pluralism, inclusiveness, innovation, and resilience to face changes in society that increasingly rely on technology in the future;
2. Religious and Faith-based Life in the Framework of Belief in the One and Only God  
Strengthening the values of Pancasila as a common denominator that becomes a meeting point for various values of religion and beliefs within the framework of the Belief in the One and Only God in forming a tolerant, moderate, and inclusive order of people's lives as well as prioritizing national and humanitarian interests. Mutually supporting and strengthening harmonious relations and mutualistic symbiosis between the state and religious and belief institutions in advancing the lives of people for the realization of national development aspirations;

3. Study and Inter-Religious Relations within the Framework of Belief in the One and Only God  
Strengthening the values of Pancasila as the ideological foundation to build bridges between religious communities and beliefs within the framework of the Belief in the One and Only God so as to realize joint efforts in overcoming the inter-religious groups and national problems as a form of gratitude for the blessing of independence;
4. Defense-Security  
Strengthening the values of Pancasila as an ideological foundation in the formulation of policies and legislation, as well as measures to realize national security that is capable of maintaining territorial sovereignty, supporting economic independence by securing natural resources (land, sea, and air), and reflecting Indonesian identity;
5. Health  
Strengthening the values of Pancasila as an ideological foundation in the formulation of policies and legislation, as well as measures to provide quality health services and develop a comprehensive, integrated, and equitable national social security system based on the principles of brotherhood and *gotong royong*;
6. Economy  
Affirming the Pancasila values as the ideological foundation of Indonesia's economic life in the formulation of policies and legislation as well as measures to achieve: First, the establishment of an economic life based on brotherhood and *gotong royong*; Second, the strengthening of the position of people's businesses in economic life; Third, the establishment of a fair business ecosystem. The state holds the sovereignty of the people and carries it out by building a system of justice over productive sectors and sources;
7. Social Welfare  
Affirming the Pancasila values as the ideological foundation in the formulation of policies and legislation as well as the implementation of policies in the field of social welfare in order to realize equal people's welfare in all fields;
8. Law and Human Rights  
Affirming the values of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia as a touchstone in synchronizing the formulation of the implementation of each legislative product. The state realizes the people's sovereignty in the form of protection and justice;
9. Community Life, Locality, and Adat Law Societies  
Affirming the Pancasila values as the philosophy of life of a diversified nation in building a "nation house" by respecting the diverse uniqueness of communities and localities in Indonesia, including those living in customary societies, those living in remote, frontier-outermost areas, and those who are working on joint efforts to foster peace in Indonesia;
10. Management of Natural Resources and the Environment  
Affirming the Pancasila values as the foundation of policies, both in the form of legislation and other strategic measures or actions, to ensure state sovereignty over natural resources in the Indonesian territory. Management and organization of

natural resources are controlled by the state and used for the greatest prosperity of the people based on justice for current and future generations;

11. **Transportation**  
Affirming the Pancasila values as an ideological foundation in the formulation of policies and legislation as well as measures in organizing land, sea, and air transportation systems, so that the public can utilize them to facilitate economic activities and cross-border mobility of people in order to accelerate the achievement of welfare and social justice;
12. **Maritime and Archipelagic Affairs**  
Affirming the Pancasila values as an ideological foundation in the formulation of policies, both in the form of legislation and other strategic measures or actions, to build maritime and archipelagic resource management and strong law enforcement throughout the maritime and archipelagic regions of Indonesia;
13. **Communications and Information**  
Affirming the Pancasila values as an ideological foundation in the formulation of policies, both in the form of legislation and other strategic measures or actions, to build a public communications and information system, including mass media and social media, as a means of raising awareness and mobilizing the people to be part of the outreach of national ideas, spirit, and aspirations, as well as providing opportunity for people's participation to actively contribute to development.

## CHAPTER VIII CONCLUSION

We are blessed that Indonesia's founder had passed down a foundation that has passed the test of time, namely Pancasila. It is proven that Pancasila remains capable of being the glue that sticks the nation together despite changes in national leadership. Similar to what happened during the past crises, Pancasila remains present as a national solution. Ideology is a reason as well as a guide to navigate the nation to achieve its triumph. The nation's ideology becomes the motive as well as the beacon of hope for its people. The values contained in Pancasila reflect the national identity of Indonesia, which is based on a tenet that human beings are meant to coexist in togetherness. Therefore, the values of religiosity, justice, *gotong royong*, deliberation, and recognizing diversity as a destiny become the core values for the Indonesian nation. These values are the crystallization of historical life experiences and originate from: (1) the religiosity of the Indonesian nation; (2) custom; (3) local wisdom; (4) point of views or philosophical thoughts and ideology that developed when Pancasila was born; (5) culture that grows in the life of the nation; and (6) the conception of the relationship between the individual and society that has been entrenched in Indonesian society.

There is no great nation if it does not rely on an ideology that is rooted in the principles upheld by a nation. Japan, Germany, the United States, the United Kingdom and China—a superpower in Asia recently, find their strength in ideological foundations that are deeply rooted in the culture of their people. However, it is widely known that a country can be easily torn apart by civil wars due to regional, ethnic, religious conflicts, or foreign interference. Approaching the year 2000, Yugoslavia was torn apart and dissolved because of such influences and atrocities among its citizens. Likewise, the fierce and bloody conflicts in Africa and the Middle East that occurred at the beginning of the millennium until now, have been caused by ethnic, regional, and religious differences.

In fact, Indonesia had experienced bloodshed among different ethnicities and religious groups. This incident was a humanitarian disaster that should not happen again. Therefore, it is time for us to reconstruct a stronger national agenda in the future by upholding Pancasila as the solution for promoting unity of the Indonesian nation and improving general welfare as aspired by the nation's founders. Hence, a comprehensive and deep understanding of the position of Pancasila is essential in the life of the society, nation, and state. The desired result of this understanding is that the values of Pancasila can be used as a means for Indonesia's national development which in general includes development in several areas, among others: (a) mentality, religion, and education; (b) community; (c) state administration; and (d) economy and finance. This means that national development must absolutely be a manifestation of Pancasila values in the real life of the Indonesian nation and must be implemented based on the principles of sovereignty in the political field, independent in the economic field, having personality in culture, and based on *gotong royong*.

This Basic Substances on Fostering Pancasila Ideology (PIP) describe the position of Pancasila in the life of the society, nation, and state. In the implementation of Pancasila, there are three ideological dimensions that must be taken into account: beliefs, knowledge, and action. First, ideology contains a set of beliefs regarding normative-prescriptive guidelines as life guidance. Second, ideology carries a knowledge paradigm which contains a set of principles and values that provide an interpretation framework for



understanding the reality. Third, ideology contains a dimension of action which is the operational level of beliefs and knowledge in concrete reality.

Looking closely the experiences and challenges with a clear mind and pure heart in the life of the society, nation, and state until now, it is hard to imagine that the Republic of Indonesia can stand firmly without Pancasila. This is because Pancasila has proven to be able to accommodate shared aspirations of all diverse society. In the process of fostering Pancasila ideological values, there is a noble duty to improve the life orientation, character, goals, and aspirations of Indonesian nation and to restart a discussion on collective awareness about *gotong royong* and unity in Indonesia's ethos.

In this regard, the PIP Basic Substances are expected to be used as materials to improve the quality of civility of the nation and state based on Pancasila through the fostering and manifestation of Pancasila values in the life of the society, nation, and state. These values are expected to be manifested through a habituation process that involves the dimensions of beliefs, knowledge, and action.

The PIP Basic Substances are for the BPIP, state institutions, ministries/agencies, local governments, socio-political organizations, and other groups in society. In this position, the PIP Basic Substances provide an understanding of the position of Pancasila in the life of the society, nation, and state and how to manifest Pancasila values in national development.

The overall objective of national development is to form a just and prosperous society. According to Pancasila values, the basic elements of a just and prosperous society include: (1) assurance of food and clothing, proper housing for Indonesian citizens; (2) assurance of health and education for every Indonesian citizen; (3) assurance that the old age of every citizen is guaranteed; (4) assurance that every Indonesian citizen can enjoy and develop culture and practice spiritual life; and (5) ample opportunities for Indonesian citizens to work and participate for the benefit of mankind throughout the world.

The development that will be carried out in the future is to realize the Vision of Indonesia 2045, namely Realizing a Sovereign, Just, and Prosperous Indonesia, and the Dream of Indonesia 2015–2085, namely:

1. The realization of Indonesian human resources whose intelligence surpasses other nations in the world;
2. The realization of an Indonesian society that is cultured, religious, and upholds pluralism and Pancasila values;
3. The realization of Indonesia as a center for education, technology, and world civilization;
4. The realization of a society and state apparatus that are free from corrupt behavior;
5. The development of infrastructure that is evenly distributed throughout Indonesia;
6. The achievement of Indonesia as an independent and influential country in the Asia-Pacific; and
7. The achievement of Indonesia's position as a barometer of the world economy.

To realize the Indonesian Vision 2045 and Indonesian Dreams 2015-2085, we must continue to strengthen Pancasila in the life of the society, nation, and state whose values must be manifested through a development process which is carried out in stages. Pancasila's role cannot be reduced only as a guideline for individual behavior, but it is more than that. Pancasila is the aspiration of the Indonesian nation. Pancasila not only talks about the past, but also hope in the future in facing new challenges in an increasingly rapid age.

The manifestation of Pancasila values in the life of the society, nation, and state is becoming increasingly urgent, especially when Indonesia enters an era replete with various challenges in the 21st century after the world has entered the age of globalization. In this regard, it is urgent to resolve the national problems by paying serious attention to the aspects of religiosity, humanity, nationality, sovereignty, and social justice which are the essence of Pancasila. The aspect of religiosity means the willingness of Indonesian people to obey God's commands and stay away from what is forbidden by God. The aspect of humanity emphasizes that human beings are in nature equal to one another; they come from one big family which are formed based on mutual respect and love.

Attention paid to the aspect of nationalism illustrates that the state must continue to maintain the noble aspirations and characters of the people and overcome the spread of all group and individual understandings that conflict with the consensus and aspirations of the nation's founders. Furthermore, it is stated that Indonesia adheres to the concept of people's sovereignty, meaning that the administration of the state must prioritize deliberation for consensus and democracy in practice should not be carried out based on the domination of the majority or the tyranny of the minority. In terms of social justice, it emphasizes the need for the manifestation of a nation state that is independent, united, sovereign, just, and prosperous (prosperous in justice and just in prosperity).

In order for national development as the manifestation of Pancasila values to be able to achieve a just and prosperous society, research based on needs and objective conditions is needed. The results of this research can be used as a reference by the Indonesian Government in developing Indonesia from an archipelagic and agrarian country to an industrial country in the future, without eliminating the Indonesian personality and character which is based on Pancasila values. For this purpose, it is necessary to establish a government agency that conducts national research and innovation.

This PIP Basic Substances will serve as the foundation for fostering Pancasila thoroughly and continuously in order to shape the national character which becomes the foundation for the implementation of Pancasila in the life of the society, nation, and state.

HEAD OF THE AGENCY FOR FOSTERING  
PANCASILA IDEOLOGY OF THE REPUBLIC OF  
INDONESIA,

signed

YUDIAN WAHYUDI