

Ideal Relationship Between *Pancasila* and Indonesian Muslims

Relasi Ideal antara Pancasila dan Umat Islam Indonesia

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Keywords Indonesian Muslims; Ideology of Pancasila; Islamic State;	ABSTRACT After successfully proclaiming the proclamation of independence, the Indonesian people made an agreement to ratify the Pancasila as the basis of the Indonesian nation. The Pancasila values were explored directly from the noble values possessed by the Indonesian people before Indonesian independence. This paper through library research concludes that the Pancasila historically underwent its dynamics since the Old Order government until the Reform Era, especially in its ideological process among plural Indonesian society. The ideology of Pancasila has been confronted with other ideologies, such as communist ideology and Islamic ideology which seeks to create an Indonesian nation in accordance with each ideology. Although the teachings of Islam are not contrast to the Pancasila, but the political movement of some Indonesian Muslims to establish an Islamic state or Khilafah in Indonesia clearly contradicts the spirit of Pancasila because Indonesia is a nation achieved by agreement of all Indonesian people with their various religions. Therefore, the Indonesian Muslims (as well as other non-Muslims) must prove their main role in maintaining the continuity of Pancasila and the unity of Indonesia with its Bhinneka Tunggal Ika. Besides, the Government leaders of Indonesia together with all Indonesian society must practice the holy values of Pancasila, maintain the unitary of the Indonesian nation, and realize a prosperous Indonesia based on the Pancasila.
Kata Kunci Muslimin Indonesia; Ideologi Pancasila; Negara Islam ;	ABSTRAK Setelah berhasil mengumandangkan proklamasi kemerdekaan, rakyat Indonesia membuat kesepakatan mengenai dasar negara yang terwujud dalam Pancasila. Nilai-nilai yang tercantum dalam Pancasila itu digali langsung dari nilai-nilai luhur yang dimiliki oleh bangsa Indonesia sebelum kemerdekaan Indonesia. Riset kepustakaan berikut ini menyimpulkan bahwa sejak pemerintahan Orde Baru hingga era reformasi, Pancasila mengalami dinamika historisnya dalam ideologisasinya di masyarakat Indonesia yang plural. Ideologi Pancasila dihadapkan pada ideologi komunis dan ideologi Islam yang berupaya menciptakan negara Indonesia sesuai ideologi tersebut. Walaupun ajaran Islam tidak bertentangan dengan Pancasila, namun gerakan politik sebagian umat Islam yang ingin mendirikan negara Islam atau khilafah di Indonesia sangat bertentangan dengan jiwa Pancasila karena Indonesia adalah negara kebangsaan yang disepakati oleh semua rakyat Indonesia dengan berbagai agama mereka. Umat Islam Indonesia (dan demikian pula umat non-Islam lainnya) harus menunjukkan peranan utamanya dalam menjaga kelangsungan Pancasila dan persatuan seluruh rakyat Indonesia dengan keanekaragamannya. Penyelenggara pemerintahan di Indonesia bersama seluruh lapisan masyarakat harus mengamalkan nilai-nilai luhur Pancasila, menjaga keutuhan bangsa Indonesia, dan mewujudkan negara Indonesia yang makmur berdasarkan Pancasila.
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Introduction

Islam came to Indonesia directly from Arabia in the first century AH (VII AD). The spread of Islam was carried out peacefully and then influenced the formation of civilization in Indonesia (Hasymi, 1993). This statement reinforced the theory that Islam came directly from Arabia and conversely rejected the theory that Islam came from Gujarat, Persia and China (Suryanegara, 2009). The process of spreading Islam in Indonesia accelerated between the 12th and 16th centuries after Islamic political power was achieved (Azra, 1994). Some historical references said that the first Islamic kingdom was the Perlak Kingdom which was founded in the 9th century AD (Hasymi, 1993). Islamic kingdoms in various regions in Indonesia, which numbered more than 200 kingdoms (Rosidin, 2013). were able to shift the influence of previous kingdoms, both Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms, such as Majapahit and Pajajaran (Poesponegoro, 1992).

Those Islamic kingdoms were defeated by foreign nations from Europe. Colonialism of European nations was carried out after the defeat of Muslims in Andalusia. Islam, which has been in power in Andalusia since 711 (Syalabi, 1984), was unable to face Christian forces on January 2, 1492 (Hitti, 2002). The factors of European occupation were Gold, Gospel, and Glory (or Gold, God, and Glory). These three factors were the main motives behind the exploration, expansion, and conquest of Europe towards other countries. Gold was material benefits, God (the Gospel) was the spread of Christianity, and glory was the splendor of the country (Lockard, 2019; Suryanegara, 2009).

Imperialism of foreign nations caused the emergence of Indonesian people's resistance to the colonial government (Poesponegoro, 1992). The Dutch then applied ethical politics (education, irrigation, and immigration) whose essence remained for the benefit of Dutch imperialism (Suryanegara, 2009). Although only a small portion of Indonesian society attended school, some educated people showed an awareness of their nationalism to fight for Indonesian independence through various national movements. Most references refer to the Budi Utomo's organization as the beginning of the national movement (Poesponegoro, 1992). Hence the National Awakening Day (*Hari Kebangkitan Nasional*) was decided by the government with reference to the establishment of the Budi Utomo organization on 20th May 1908 by Wahidin Sudirohusodo. But some historians say that the Budi Utomo was not fit to be a reference to the national revival because this organization was exclusive and its members consisted of noble people who rejected the national movement against the Dutch colonization. Actually the Syarikat Islam was more appropriate than the Budi Utomo because the Syarikat Dagang Islam was founded by Samanhudi on 16th October 1905 and then

became the Syarikat Islam in 1906 under the leadership of Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto, although it was often written in Indonesian history that the Syarikat Islam was established on 10th September 1912 (Suryanegara, 2009).

The national movements emerged with various ideological backgrounds and activities (apart from Syarikat Islam and Budi Utomo), such as Jamiat Khair in 1905, Muhammadiyah in 1912, Taman Siswa in 1922, PKI (Partai Komunis Indonesia; the Indonesian Communist Party) in 1920, Nahdlatul Ulama (Awakening of Religious Leaders) in 1926, PNI (Partai Nasional Indonesia; the Indonesian National Party) in 1927, dan GAPI (Gabungan Politik Indonesia; the Indonesian Political Association) in 1939 (Poesponegoro, 1992). In the midst of political turmoil in Indonesia, the international world situation was shaken by the outbreak of the Second World War which made the transition of occupation of Indonesia from the Netherlands to Japan (1942-1945). The defeat of Japan in 1945 against the Allied Forces marked the end of colonialism against Indonesia and the beginning of Indonesian independence (Daulay, 2009; Lapidus, 2002). Although there has been an agreement between the leaders of the Indonesian nation towards the country's foundation and constitution for Indonesia, the issue regarding Pancasila as a state ideology still appears to this day. Therefore, this paper gives an analysis on Indonesian efforts to strengthen the ideology of Pancasila since its ratification until the reformation era with its relation to Indonesian Muslims.

Method

Some Muslims who have historically played a role in the success of Indonesian independence turned out to reject the ideology of Pancasila. Therefore, this library research analyzes the Indonesian policies in maintaining the Pancasila and the response of Muslims to the policy so that it can explain their ideal relation for the future of the Indonesian nation. In this paper, the definition of political policy is any decision taken by the government to all citizens in general so that it must be implemented by all people. The purpose of regulative policies made by the government is to prevent individuals from taking any prohibited actions (Surbakti, 1992).

Results and Discussion

The Ratification of Pancasila

Etymologically, the Pancasila comes from Sanskrit language, namely the word *pancasyila* or *pancasyiila*. *Pancasyila* (with the letter "i" short) means five bases (pillars);

while *pancasyiila* (with the letter "ii" long) means five rules of good behavior. In academic studies, discussions on the background of Pancasila generally refer to the source of the book *Negarakertagama*, the work of Empu Prapanca in the Majapahit period. The book mentions the use of the following word "Pancasila": *Yatnanggegwani pancasyila kertasangkara bhisekakarama*, which means: The king faithfully carried out five taboos, as well as ceremonies of worship and coronations. Another opinion said that the Pancasila was introduced during the Majapahit Kingdom by Empu Tantular in his book *Sutasoma*. The book mentions *Pancasila Krama* or five basic behaviors which included the prohibition of committing acts of violence, stealing, jealousy, lying, and drunkenness (Rizieq, 2012).

Some historical books explained that Soekarno's oral speech was published by the Ministry of Information of the Republic of Indonesia in the form of a book entitled *Lahirnya Pancasila* (the Birthday of Pancasila) published in 1947. The title of the book caused controversy around the birth of the Pancasila. On the one hand, when Sukarno was still in power, there was a cult against Soekarno so that 1st June was always celebrated as the birthday of the Pancasila. On the other hand, when the Soekarno government fell, efforts to "de-Sukarnoization" were done by the New Order government so that Soekarno was imaged that he had not made a large contribution in the excavation and formulation of the Pancasila. After Soekarno's speech, BPUPKI (*Badan Penyelidik Usaha-usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia*; The Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Independence) accepted the proposal of the name Pancasila for the foundation of the state philosophy (*Philosofische grondslag*) proposed by Soekarno, and then formed a small committee (consisted of Ki Bagus Hadji Kusumo, KH Wahid Hasyim, Muh. Yamin, Sutarjo, AA Maramis, Otto Iskandar Dinata, and Moh. Hatta who were in charge of accommodating proposals around the state foundation). Then, the first meeting session of BPUPKI (29th May until 1st June 1945) stopped for a while. The most important thing that emerged in the second BPUPKI meeting on 10-16th July 1945 was the the Jakarta Charter. The Jakarta Charter mentioned five pillars of Pancasila, namely [1] Godhead with the requirements of Islamic law for its adherents, [2] Fair and civilized humanity, [3] Indonesian unity, [4] Popularism led by wisdom discussion in consultation representation, and [5] Social justice for all Indonesian people.

The Jakarta Charter manuscript was later made the "Opening" of the 1945 Constitution. When Indonesia's leaders were busy for preparing of independence according to the Japanese scenario, suddenly there was a change in the world political map. The event was marked by the fall of the atomic bomb in the city of Hiroshima on 6th August 1945. The day after the incident, 7th August 1945, the Japanese Occupation Government in Jakarta issued a

declaration containing: [1] In the middle of August 1945 PPKI (*Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia*; the Indonesian Preparatory Committee) would be formed, [2] the committee was planned to be sworn in on 18th August 1945, and [3] it was planned that Indonesia would be freed on 24th August 1945.

Then on 8th August 1945 Soekarno, Moh Hatta, and Radjiman Widyadiningrat were summoned by General Terauchi (Japanese Military Ruler) based in Saigon, Vietnam (now the city is called Ho Chi Minh). The three figures were given the authority by Terauchi to immediately form a Preparatory Committee for Independence for Indonesia in accordance with the announcement of the Japanese Government on 7th August 1945. After returning from Saigon, the three figures formed a PPKI with a total of 21 members, namely Soekarno, Moh. Hatta, Radjiman, Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, Otto Iskandar Dinata, Purboyo, Suryohamijoyo, Sutarjo, Supomo, Abdul Kadir, Yap Cwan Bing, Muh. Amir, Abdul Abbas, Ratulangi, Andi Pangerang, Latuharhary, I Gde Puja, Hamidan, Panji Suroso, Wahid Hasyim, and T. Moh. Hasan. The fall of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima had not made Japan subdued to America. The Allied forces finally dropped another bomb on Nagasaki on 9th August 1945 which devastated the city and weakened Japan's strength. The increasingly weakening force finally forced Japan to surrender unconditionally to the Allied forces on 14th August 1945. Consequently, the former Japanese occupation area shifted to the Allied guardianship area, including Indonesia. Before the Allied Forces could reach these areas, for the time being the Japanese army was still tasked as a mere guardian of the emptiness of power. This vacuum of power was not wasted by national leaders to accelerate the plan for Indonesian independence.

On 15th August 1945 Soekarno, Moh Hatta, and Radjiman returned to Indonesia after being summoned by the Japanese military authorities to Saigon on 12th August 1945 to discuss the Indonesian independence as had been promised. Their arrival was welcomed by young people who urged that the independence of the Indonesian nation be proclaimed as soon as possible because they were responsive to the changing political situation of the world at that time. The youths knew that Japan surrendered to the Allies so that Japan did not have political power in the occupied territories, including Indonesia. The youth group kidnapped (or secured) Soekarno and M. Hatta to Rengasdengklok. The action of the youth group was based on a meeting decision held at 24.00 WIB before 16th August 1945. Finally the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence was declared on 17th August 1945. The text of independence was signed by Soekarno and Moh. Hatta.

The day after the proclamation of Indonesian independence, namely 18th August 1945, PPKI held a meeting to emphasize the position of the Indonesian nation from the

colonized nation to become an independent nation. PPKI, which was a body made by the Japanese government, then has been considered as an independent national body. On the initiative of Soekarno, PPKI members were added by six figures to represent all components of the Indonesian nation. They were Wiranatakusumah, Ki Hajar Dewantara, Kasman Singodimejo, Sayuti Melik, Iwa Koesoema Soemantri, and Ahmad Subarjo. The important decision after the Indonesian independence were ratifying the 1945 Constitution, choosing the first president and vice president (Soekarno and Hatta), and establishing a KNIP (*Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat*; the Central Indonesian National Committee) whose core members were former PPKI members and community leaders from many groups. This committee was sworn in 29th August 1945 with Mr. Kasman Singodimejo as its chairman.

The composition of the Pancasila in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution was [1] the One Godhead, [2] Just and civilized humanity, [3] Indonesian unity, [4] Popularism led by wisdom in deliberation/representation, and [5] Social justice for all Indonesian people. The history of the Indonesian people also noted that the contents of the Pancasila passed by the PPKI were different from the Pancasila contained in the Jakarta Charter. This happened because of the demands of representatives on behalf of the people of Eastern Indonesia (one of them was Mr. Latuharhary) who met Bung Hatta and protested the seven words behind the word "*Ketuhanan*", namely "*dengan kewajiban menjalankan syariat Islam bagi pemeluk-pemeluknya*" (ie. "with the obligation to carry out Islamic law for the adherents"). This demand was wisely responded by the founding fathers of Indonesia with the removal of seven words which were considered to be obstacles in the future and replaced with the term "the Almighty". (Nurwardani, 2016) Actually there was another Moh Hatta's proposal, namely the word "*Muqaddimah*" was changed to "*Pembukaan*" (Opening), Article 6: "*Presiden ialah orang Indonesia asli dan beragama Islam*" (The President is a native and Muslim Indonesian) was changed to "*Presiden ialah orang Indonesia asli*" (The President is a native Indonesian), and Article 29: "*Negara berdasarkan atas Ketuhanan dengan kewajiban menjalankan Syariat Islam bagi pemeluk-pemeluknya*" (The State is based on the Godhead with the obligation to carry out Islamic law for the adherents) was changed to "*Negara berdasarkan atas Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*" (the State is based on the One Godhead). (Rizieq, 2012) Thus, an agreement on the five pillars of the Pancasila was reached on 18th August 1945. Therefore, this was the birth of Pancasila and not the the basic state of Indonesia stated by Mr. Muh. Yamin on 29th May 1945, Mr. Supomo on 31st May 1945, Ir. Sukarno on 1th June 1945, or the Jakarta Charter on 22nd June 1945 (Poesponegoro, 1992).

There are some allegations regarding the reason that Islamic group leaders could immediately accept the changes of the Jakarta Charter. First, the inclusion of the word "the Almighty" can be seen as a symbolic step to show the presence of a monotheistic element of Islam in the ideology of the state. In this regard, Wahid Hasjim was particularly convinced that the addition of monotheistic traits in Pancasila was a reflection of (or at least in line with) the *tawhid* in Islam. Especially for Hatta, the solution has given him a way to escape from every obligation (as an orthodox Muslim and the son of Muslim cleric) to support an Islamic state. Second, the situation after the independence day required the founders of this republic to be united in facing many problems. In addition, the leaders of Islamic groups believed that through the national election held soon they had the opportunity to constitutionally make this country an Islamic state. For this reason, Ki Bagus Hadikusumo (with Kasman Singodimejo's support) gradually agreed to accept Hatta's proposals. Although these proposals were accepted, some Muslims still felt disappointed by the changes to the Jakarta Charter, such as Prawoto Mangkusaswito (the General Chair of the Masyumi) and other Islamic leaders who did not want to accept the changes. The event was a fraud committed against the Muslims. The striking event of history was felt by the Muslims as a 'magic game' which was still filled with a secret haze, a political siege on the ideals of Muslims. However, such events marked the first defeat of the Islamic group in an effort to realize the idea of legal and formal relation between Islam and the state (Effendy, 2003).

The Old Order Period

After Indonesian independence and ratification of the 1945 Constitution, the government faced a number of challenges that threatened the republic of Indonesia and the Pancasila. The Netherlands made many efforts to regain Indonesia in various ways. After the recognition of the sovereignty of the Indonesian people by the Dutch on 27th December 1949, Indonesia returned to the Unitary State which had previously been in the form of RIS (*Republik Indonesia Serikat*; the United States of Indonesia) on 17th August 1950. Returning to a Unitary State was not followed by the use of the 1945 Constitution, but a new constitution was made and called as UUDS (*Undang-Undang Dasar Sementara*; the Provisional Constitution 1950). Unfortunately, the writing of Pancasila differed from the 1945 Constitution (namely the One Godhead, Humanity, Nationality, Population, and Social Justice). In 1956, the Constituent Assembly in Bandung made a definitive constitution in lieu of the 1950 Constitution. Some members required Islam as the basis of the state, while some others requested the Pancasila as the basis of the state. This deadlock was resolved through

voting, but failed to reach a final decision. This situation concerned Soekarno as the Head of State. Finally, on 5th July 1959 Soekarno took an "emergency" step by issuing a decree. (Nurwardani, 2016).

After the issuance of the 5th July 1959 Decree by Soekarno, there was a deviation from the 1945 Constitution, such as the presidency for his lifetime. On Monday morning, 20th May 1963 Soekarno in Bandung square received the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly's decision on this matter (sinarharapan.net, 2016), although it was contrary to Article 7 of the 1945 Constitution that the president and vice president hold positions for five years and can be elected again. This article shows that the appointment of president should be conducted periodically and there is a five-year limit. In addition, Soekarno's power was at the top of the pyramid. He was in the highest position above the chairman of MPRS (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara*; the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly), the chairman of DPR (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*; the House of Representatives) and the chairman of DPA (*Dewan Pertimbangan Agung*; the Supreme Advisory Council). As a result, there was political intrigue and the struggle for the influence of various parties in various ways. The feud among groups around the president was so hard, such as between the leaders of the Indonesian Communist Party and Army officers until the murder of army officers known as G30S/PKI (*Gerakan 30 September Partai Komunis Indonesia*; the 30th September Movement/the Indonesian Communist Party) (Nurwardani, 2016).

The transition of power from Sukarno to Soeharto was also triggered by the failure of the Old Order government to overcome the economic crisis even though it had been previously reformed by Syafruddin Prawiranegara (the Minister of Finance). After Indonesia's independence gained recognition from the Netherlands in 1949, Indonesia almost went bankrupt due to the financial crisis so that the national economy was still unstable. The series of wars and negotiations from 1945 to 1949 spent a lot of money. A number of rebellions and riots shaken political, social, economic and security stability. The country had a high deficit due to a growing pile of debt. As a result, the prices of basic necessities soared, people's purchasing power continued to decline, and the national currency weakened. The results of KMB (*Konferensi Meja Bundar*; the Round Table Conference) in Den Haag was like a double-edged sword for Indonesia. On the one hand, the Netherlands gave full recognition of sovereignty. But on the other hand, Indonesia must bear enormous debt.

Syafruddin Prawiranegara, as Financial Minister of Republik Indonesia Serikat, realized that without a breakthrough to deal with the crisis, the economic condition of Indonesia would worsen, and could even be fatal. Syafruddin (who headed *Pemerintahan*

Darurat Republik Indonesia; the Emergency Government of the Republic of Indonesia in Bukittinggi after the Indonesian capital in Yogyakarta was occupied by the Dutch) devised an economic policy that was quite shocking and somewhat reckless, namely cutting down banknotes with scissors. This policy was officially implemented since March 1950. Its application was only for De Javasche Bank money and NICA money (Nederlandsch Indie Civiele Administratie) or at that time it was known as "red money". While for ORI (*Oeang Republik Indonesia*), the regulation was not applied to minimize public confusion. There was one more breakthrough made by Syafruddin in an effort to deal with the Indonesian financial crisis in the 1950s, namely the Foreign Exchange Certificate intended to encourage exports and suppress imports.

The next economic crisis and financial turmoil forced Sukarno to lay down his power. Soekarno imposed an emergency policy to save the country's economy. *Sanering* (the cutting of currency values) and redenomination (simplifying currency values without reducing exchange rates) was applied. However, the increasingly complicated political situation made efforts to improve monetary policy not optimal. The situation got worse when the 30th September Movement (G30S) in 1965 finally toppled the Old Order regime. Soekarno failed to repeat the success of taming the previous economic crisis. During the period 1960-1965, the growth of PDB (*Produk Domestik Bruto*; Gross Domestic Product) was very low. The inflation rate was very high and reached 635 percent in 1966 (Raditya, 2018).

Large demonstrations struck Jakarta on 12th January 1966. Thousands of students called for protests over Indonesia's poor condition. The bloody tragedy of the 30th September Movement left a shock that never subsided because the Soekarno government was very slow to act. The students and other elements of the Indonesian people who were joined in various action groups put forward three demands, namely the dissolution of the Indonesian Communist Party and its mass organizations, the Dwikora Cabinet reshuffle, and price reduction. These were the three points voiced by students known as Tritura (*Tri Tuntutan Rakyat*; Three People's Demands). The influence of Bung Karno as president increasingly disappeared. On the contrary, the prestige of Soeharto strengthened like a national hero. Finally, the Old Order government was truly finished and replaced by Suharto's New Order (Raditya, 2018).

The New Order Period

The G30S/PKI incident caused a change of power from Sukarno to Suharto. The transition of power began with the publication of Supersemar (*Surat Perintah Sebelas Maret*; the Eleventh March Order) from President Soekarno to Lieutenant General Soeharto. Soekarno ordered Suharto to secure the situation in Indonesia. Supersemar was later strengthened by TAP No. IX/MPRS/1966 on 21st June 1966. Thus, the status of Supersemar changed the provisions of the MPRS. Then on 5th July 1966, the MPRS issued TAP No. XVIII/MPRS/1966 whose contents revoked TAP No. III/MPRS/1963 concerning the appointment of Soekarno as president for his life time. The government also issued the MPRS Decree, Number XXV/MPRS/1966 in 1966 concerning the dissolution of the Indonesian Communist Party, the establishment of the Indonesian Communist Party as a prohibited organization in Indonesia, and the prohibition on the spread of Communism/Marxism-Leninism (Nurwardani, 2016). The New Order government systematically went about eliminating the communism and domesticating Islam. Indeed, one of the slogans promoted by the government during the 1970s and 1980s was 'Beware of the Extreme Left and the Extreme Right' (the former related to communism and the latter to Islamic politics). This all came as something of a surprise and a disappointment to at least some Muslims. The former members of the Masjumi Party (who were banned by Soekarno in 1960 for its alleged involvement in the Outer Islands rebellions and its anti-communism) expected that they would be permitted to reform the party, but the government quickly made it clear that this would not be permitted. In 1973 the four Muslim political parties were required to amalgamate in PPP (*Partai Persatuan Pembangunan*; the United Development Party). Besides PPP, PDI (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia*, the Indonesian Democratic Party) was inaugurated (Brown, 2003).

Regarding the Pancasila ideology, Suharto issued Presidential Instruction No. 12/1968 on Pancasila writing in accordance with the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution. In 1978 Soeharto submitted a proposal to the MPR on *Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila* (P-4; Guidelines, Appreciation, and Practicing Pancasila). This proposal was accepted and the government made TAP No. II/MPR/1978 on P-4 (*Ekaprasetia Pancakarsa*). Soeharto then issued Presidential Instruction No. 10/1978 containing the Upgrading for Indonesian Civil Servants. Then, he also issued Presidential Decree No. 10/1979 concerning the formation of BP-7 (*Badan Pembinaan Pendidikan Pelaksanaan Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila*; Educational Development Board for Guidelines, Appreciation,

and Practicing Pancasila). The Pancasila was also used as the only principle for social political organizations and for community organizations since 1985 (Nurwardani, 2016).

Previously, on 5 May 1980 there were 50 national figures signed a protest letter read out to members of the DPR-RI (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia*; the People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia) in Jakarta. The Petition of 50 were clear, straightforward, and certainly dare to sue Suharto for tarnishing and misusing the nation's philosophy as well as the state's foundation, the Pancasila. Some of them were Mohammad Natsir, Kasman Singodimedjo, S.K. Trimurti, M. Jasin, A.H. Nasution, Hoegeng Imam Santoso, Syafruddin Prawiranegara, Ali Sadikin, and other great figures. In 1980 Soeharto asked ABRI (*Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia*; Indonesian National Armed Forces) to support Golkar (*Partai Golongan Karya*; the Party of Functional Group) in general election. In addition, ABRI and Golkar must be united especially in running a strong government from all threats and to safeguard the Pancasila as a philosophy and foundation of the state. Anyone who criticizes Suharto means criticizing the Pancasila. The Pancasila must be used as a single principle in the life of the nation and state in Indonesia. Soeharto threatened by saying, "It is better that we kidnap the MPR members who will make changes to the 1945 Constitution so that there will be no quorum." On 13th May 1980 there were around 30 signatories of the 50 Petition present at Senayan. The former Prime Minister, Mohammad Natsir, was appointed as the leader of the envoy to meet the Chair of the DPR/MPR-RI. Mohammad Natsir indeed became one of the national figures who stood in the front guard to face the New Order government. This figure of the Masyumi was frustrated by Suharto's anti-criticism and desire to make Pancasila a single principle that could not be negotiable.

Soeharto certainly did not remain silent on people who dared to criticize him. The government implemented a boycott of the petition figures. They were ostracized from economic and political life, and even eliminated by the instructions of the New Order authorities. Their homes were closely monitored by government intelligence agents. Natsir and 49 leaders who signed the Petition of 50 were banned from going abroad. They had a very difficult life, their livelihood were in turmoil because they could not get credit from the bank. They were not allowed to attend the event which was also attended by the president. Soeharto even requested to send them to Buru Island in Maluku, where political prisoners were dumped. Luckily, the intention was canceled because General M. Jusuf (the ABRI Commander and Minister of Defense and Security) did not agree with the plan. The 50 petition did surprise the New Order government which began to overstep. However, this

historic petition never reached its destination. The Pancasila was still used as a single principle. ABRI played practical politics, entered the government, became the most profitable ally for Golkar (Raditya, 2018).

Soeharto was very strong with military and bureaucratic support so that he always won elections in 1971, 1977, 1982, 1987, 1992, and 1997 with a majority vote. Nevertheless, the economic crisis was apparently unable to save Soeharto from his power, as experienced by Soekarno. During that time the monetary crisis occurred, the rupiah currency dropped to Rp. 16,800/US \$, the weakest currency in Indonesian history. The rupiah's turmoil affected the entire economy. As a result of the bankruptcy of companies, many banks suffered losses. On 1st November 1997 there were 16 banks liquidated. Many companies closed, the price of goods soared, the impact was that unemployment and poverty skyrocketed. The monetary crisis turned into socio-political turmoil (cnbcindonesia.com, 2018).

Suharto's seventh election as president of Indonesia in March 1998 made the domestic situation more volatile. Open opposition to the New Order was increasingly felt. The peak in May 1998 was the shooting of four Trisakti University students who were later dubbed "reform martyrs". This incident sparked mass protests on a mass scale led by students. Until 18th May 1998, thousands of students succeeded in occupying the DPR/MPR building, a symbol of the extension of Suharto's power at that time. Despite great protest, Suharto did not budge. In the midst of the hustle and bustle he was still trying to draw up his new cabinet, the Reform Cabinet, in an effort to regain people's trust. However, instead of getting support, there were 14 ministers who resigned on 20th May 1998. A letter was sent by the ministers to Yusril Ihza Mahendra as the presidential staff. They advised Suharto to take quick steps to fulfill the wishes of the people who asked him to resign. Yusril compiled a resignation speech script. Then, Soeharto declared his resignation as president and gave power to BJ Habibie to continue the government until 2003 (Asril, 2016).

The Reform Period

After Soeharto gave up his presidency, Indonesia entered the Reform Era (namely the government of BJ Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid, Megawati, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and Joko Widodo). The striking difference between this era and the previous era lies in the wider space for the people to get their opinions freely and responsibly (Rofiq, 2019). In this period, the dynamics of Pancasila showed a ups and downs in the understanding and implementation of Pancasila values. During Soekarno's reign, especially in the 1960s the NASAKOM (*Nasionalisme, Agama, Komunisme*; Nationalism, Religion, Communism) was

more popular than the Pancasila. During the Soeharto era, the Pancasila was made a justification of power through the upgrading of the P-4. At the beginning of the reform era, the government leaders actually did not respect the Pancasila so that the Pancasila seemed to be abandoned. The government even issued the Decree of the People's Consultative Assembly number XVIII/MPR/1998 concerning the revocation of the Decree of the People's Consultative Assembly number II/MPR/1978 concerning the Guidelines for Living and Practicing the Pancasila (P-4; *Ekaprasetia Pancakarsa*) and stipulating the affirmation of Pancasila as the basis of the state. This was done because the content and implementation of the P-4 were considered to be no longer suitable. As a result, the KOMPAS survey released on 1st June 2008 showed that public knowledge about the Pancasila declined sharply (Nurwardani, 2016).

The government also revised the law on Political Parties by issuing regulations in 2008 and 2011 to remove the Pancasila as *Asas Tunggal* (the Single Principle) of political parties. In the law, it was stated that the principle of political parties should not contradict Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The political parties are obliged to practice the Pancasila, implement the 1945 Constitution, comply with laws and regulations, maintain the unitary of Indonesia, participate in national development, and uphold the supremacy of law, democracy and human rights. (Undang-Undang Nomor 2 Tahun 2008 tentang Partai Politik, 2008; Undang-Undang Nomor 2 Tahun 2011 tentang Perubahan atas Undang-Undang Nomor 2 Tahun 2008, 2011) Then regulation in 2013 regarding community organizations stated that Pancasila was the basis and philosophy in the life of the Indonesian people, nation and state. Therefore, all citizens (individually and collectively) including mass organizations were obliged to make Pancasila the spirit to manage the organization. The mass organizations must not embrace, develop or spread atheism, and communism/Marxism-Leninism. The elimination of Pancasila as the only principle of political parties and social organizations proves the success of the people's desire since the New Order in rejecting the Pancasila as a single principle was realized during the reform era. The New Order always dissolved any organization that did not accept the Single Principle of Pancasila. The pressure of the New Order was able to make mass organizations and Islamic organizations to submit to the government, including the Nahdlatul Ulama, the Muhammadiyah, and the United Development Party (PPP). During the New Order era there were hardly any social and political organizations that dared to openly reject the Single Principle of Pancasila, except HMI MPO (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam Majelis Penyelamat Organisasi*; the Islamic Student Association of the Organizational Rescue Assembly) and PII (*Pelajar Islam*

Indonesia; Indonesian Islamic Students). In addition, Islamic leaders who dared to reject the Single Principle of Pancasila were M. Natsir, Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, AM. Fatwa, and Abdul Qadir Jailani (Rizieq, 2012).

Furthermore, the government issued a Presidential Decree of Indonesia in 2016 concerning the birthday of the Pancasila. This provision certainly caused historical controversy because according to the book of *Indonesian National History* published by the New Order government that the date of birth of Pancasila was 18th August 1945, while 1st June 1945 was only the birth of the term "Pancasila" and there was no agreement on official writing of the Pancasila. The Jokowi's government stressed that 18th August 1945 was designated as a Constitutional Day based on the Presidential Decree in 2008 so that to complete the history of Indonesian constitution, it was necessary to stipulate the birthday of Pancasila, namely 1st June 1945.

Then the government issues PERPU (*Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang*; the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law) Number 2, 2017 concerning Social Organizations which are affirmed by the Law of Indonesian Republic, Number 16, 2017 concerning PERPU that violations against the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution have tarnished the agreement of the Indonesian nation founders. The purpose of this PERPU is to differentiate and protect social organizations while adhering to and consistent with the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. After the issuance of the PERPU, the government acted decisively against an organization called Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) because this organization clearly contradicted the Pancasila through the revocation of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia's legal permit on Wednesday, 19th July 2017. Finally HTI's resistance really stopped after the Supreme Court strengthened the organization's dissolution on 14th February 2019 (Taher, 2019; Tempo.com, 2017).

Furthermore, the government issued a Presidential Regulation, Number 7, 2018 concerning the establishment of BPIP (*Badan Pembinaan Ideologi Pancasila*; the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency). According to the presidential regulation, Pancasila as the basis and ideology of the state since 1st June 1945 (as stipulated by the Presidential Decree, Number 24, 2016), must be enforced and practiced in a society, nation and state. In order to uphold and implement Pancasila values, it is necessary to foster the Pancasila ideology through programs that are systematically arranged so that the Pancasila become a guide for all state administrators, national components, and Indonesian citizens. BPIP is an institution that is under and is responsible to the President. BPIP is a revitalization of UKP PIP (*Unit Kerja Presiden Pembinaan Ideologi Pancasila*; the Presidential Work Unit for the

Development of Pancasila Ideology). BPIP assisted the President in formulating the policy direction for fostering the Pancasila ideology, carrying out coordination, synchronization and control of the development of Pancasila ideology in a comprehensive and sustainable manner, and implementing standardization of education and training, conducting education and training, and providing recommendations based on the results of studies on policies or regulations to high state institutions, ministries (institutions), regional government, social political organizations, and other components of society. In carrying out its duties, BPIP carries out its functions through [1] formulating policies for fostering the Pancasila ideology, [2] compiling the outlines of Pancasila ideology and the Pancasila ideology roadmap, [3] compiling and implementing work plans and fostering the Pancasila ideology programs, [4] coordination, synchronization, and control over the implementation of Pancasila ideology, [5] setting up the Pancasila ideology, [6] implementing monitoring, evaluation, and proposing steps and strategies to facilitate the implementation of Pancasila ideology, [7] implementing socialization and cooperation and relations with high state institutions, ministries (institutions), regional government, socio-political organizations, and other social components in the implementation of Pancasila ideology, [8] assessment of Pancasila learning materials and methodologies, [9] advocacy for the implementation of Pancasila ideology in the formation and implementation of regulations, [10] standard arrangement dissemination of Pancasila education and training; and [11] formulation and submission of policy recommendations relating to the Pancasila (Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 7 Tahun 2018 tentang Badan Pembinaan Ideologi Pancasila, 2018).

The formation of the BPIP caused controversy in Indonesia, especially related to the salaries of its leaders. The salary of BPIP Chairperson, Megawati Soekarnoputri, reached Rp. 112,000,000.00 is considered too high in the midst of Indonesia's weakening economy and not in line with BPIP's workload. The political researcher, Bawono Kumoro, worried that this exorbitant salary would invite negative perceptions from the public, as a means of 'reciprocating' President Jokowi. Many of the people who contributed to the campaign period were commissioners, such as in Adhi Karya, Telkomsel, Jasa Marga, and BRI. Does BPIP aim to accommodate those who are not accommodated in BUMN commissioners or cabinet? (bbc.com, 2018). The controversy after the salary of the BPIP leadership continued. The head of BPIP, Yudi Latif, gave a great surprise by declaring his resignation from his position. He apologized to all Indonesians while serving as head of BPIP. He considered that his resignation was the right moment for refreshing the leadership structure in BPIP. President Joko Widodo claimed to have received the resignation letter of Yudi Latif on 8th June 2018

(Damhuri, 2018). Yudi Latif's assignment was then continued by Hariyono who was previously the Deputy Head of BPIP. Hariyono confirmed that he had been appointed to serve as the Chair of BPIP before the definitive chair position was set. He started his position since 2nd July 2018 (Rizki, 2018). Finally, Yudian Wahyudi is appointed by Jokowi as new BPIP chairman on 5th February 2020 (thejakartapost.com, 2020).

However, it must be admitted that the performance of BPIP is considered to be not optimal. This institution is considered to have not contributed significantly to give awareness to the public about the values of Pancasila. The statement was stated by Sapriya, the Secretary General of AP3KnI (*Asosiasi Profesi Pendidikan Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan Indonesia*; the Indonesian Association of Pancasila and Citizenship Education Professionals), on 1st December 2018. In fact, a kind of BPIP institution was formed by the New Order government, namely BP7 (*Badan Pembinaan Pendidikan Pelaksanaan Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila*; the Educational Development Agency for Implementation of the Guidelines for the Practice of Pancasila) whose influence was more visible than BPIP. The government needs to implement policies with a top down approach. Another effort is to optimize the role of mass media to more effectively improve BPIP performance. BPIP must exist and contribute in fostering an understanding of Pancasila values (kalbarupdates.com, 2018).

The Harmonization of Islam and Pancasila

The values of Pancasila (divinity, humanity, unity, popularism, justice) sociologically have existed in Indonesian society for a long time. The Pancasila is an authentic product from the founding fathers of Indonesia. The Pancasila values are extracted from the values of religion, culture and customs. The Pancasila is the national view of life and the basis of state philosophy. Although there were efforts to replace the Pancasila with other ideologies, it was proven that the Pancasila was the best choice for the Indonesian people. The Pancasila can prevent the splitting of the Indonesian people because the values of the Pancasila are based on balance and harmony for Indonesian dynamic life with its diversity in one solid uniformity. The Pancasila provides clear direction on the rules of social life for all people without any discriminatory treatment for anyone. Therefore, the Pancasila encourages to create a better nation based on divinity, humanity, unity, popularism, and justice.

The divine values (religiosity) of Pancasila as a source of ethics and spirituality (which means transcendental verticals) are considered important as the basis of ethical life in Indonesia. The state must be able to protect and develop religious life. Similarly, religion

must be able to play a public role that is supported by social ethics. As a country inhabited by people of various religions and beliefs, the Indonesian state can take the same distance, protect all religions, and ensure that the country can develop its policies guided by religious values. Indonesia has national principles and visions that are able to guarantee the plurality of society and contribute to the diversity of people not to be uprooted from their traditions and similarities. The divinity, humanity, nationality and democracy must realize social justice for all Indonesian citizens (Nurwardani, 2016).

The Pancasila is really important for the survival of the Indonesian nation in its diversity. The majority of Muslims and other minorities must respect each other. The government must be fair to all adherents of religions. The past history of Indonesia and other nations shows that fractional divisions have resulted in great losses. The Indonesian nation was colonized by other imperialists because the Indonesian people were easily divided. A similar situation had also occurred in the civilization of Mughal Empire in India when Muslim and non-Muslim communities could unite. Unfortunately, many conflicts then occurred among them so that the kingdom suffered a collapse and foreign invaders took advantage of unpleasant situation.

The Mughal progress began to be reached in the government of Jalal al-Din Muhammad Akbar (1556-1605). The success was due to the stability and integration of the people under his government through *Sulh-i Kull* (the universal tolerance) and applying the eclectic concept of *Din-i Ilahi* during his leadership (Richards, 2009). The *Din-i Ilahi* was the main tool of the Akbar bureaucracy to unite the people of Mughal (Nur, 2014). Akbar applied the *Din-i Ilahi* after religious leaders criticized each other about religious issues and followers of religions in India were very fanatical and conflicted because of the religious leaders' influence. The religious condition in the Mughal region changed during the reign of Awrangzib since 1658. The Awrangzib government forced the values of Islamic law to be sustained by its high religious enthusiasm, the support of Islamic scholars, and its formidable military power. The Hindu people became oppressed and saw Awrangzib as a tyrannical leader because Islamic rules were strictly implemented (Thohir, 2006).

Aurangzib's death in 1707 encouraged rebellions of non-Muslims. The Mughal rulers after Awrangzib were weak leaders. The situation was exacerbated by the grip of British colonial power that began with the granting of trade licenses to the British East India Company (BEIC) since 1610. When the government was held by Bahadur Shah II, the Indian people were mobilized to resist the British imperialism. However, because of the great help of Hindu kings, the British imperialist could break the rebellion. Sultan Bahadur Syah was

arrested on 20th September 1857 and exiled to Rangoon (Burma or Myanmar) on 7th October 1858 (Yatim, 2011). The British colonialist controlled the Indian government with the help of Hindus and then the Hindus began to openly agitate and undermine the Muslims. The Indian Muslims declared the proclamation of Pakistan led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah in 1947 because of their strong desire to separate Muslim territory from the Hindus and avoid oppression against the Muslims. Furthermore, the territory of East Pakistan led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman also founded Bangladesh in 1971 (Thohir, 2006).

There are similarities between the *Din-i Ilahi* and the Pancasila as a unifying means for a pluralistic society. The Mughal dynasty ruled by the Muslim government was unable to maintain the *Din-i Ilahi* and harmony of religious life between Muslims and non-Muslims. However the conflict and division of the Mughal region in India struck the Mughal government. Therefore the Indonesian government must be able to maintain the Pancasila in order to maintain the unity of Indonesian nation. The Indonesian leaders, the Muslim organizations, and all the Muslim people should promote tolerant Islamic teachings. They must prevent radicalism and avoid liberalism to create a peaceful life. The multicultural Islamic education is a means for Indonesia with its *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (the Unity in Diversity) to shape inclusive religiosity. (Rofiq, 2018) The Pancasila, as a national ideology, must overcome the ideology of different individuals, groups, tribes, and religions in Indonesia. The ideology of Pancasila should put the interests of the Indonesian people in the main position above the interests of others (Puji Asmaroini, 2017).

The Indonesian Muslims must prioritize the unity of the Indonesian nation and uphold the Pancasila by not establishing an Islamic state or *khilafah*. Thus, the government's strict punishment in the dissolution of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is very appropriate in order to safeguard the existence of Indonesia and the Pancasila. HTI's thoughts, beliefs and activities clearly prove that HTI seeks to establish an Islamic state with a caliphate system. According to HTI, the caliphate system which had been abolished by Mustafa Kemal on 3rd March 1924 caused Islamic sharia law to not be implemented perfectly. Therefore, upholding the caliphate system is the obligation of Muslims (An-Nabhani, 2012). When the caliphate system was implemented in one country, this achievement was the starting point for reunification of the entire Islamic world (HTI, 2009). Therefore, the HTI movement to establish a *khilafah* system was contrary to the Pancasila and the concept of nationalism. Finally, the Panel of Judges decided that HTI had violated the regulations set by the government and had to be dissolved (Kompas.com, 2018).

The Pancasila is truly vital for Indonesian unity. Unfortunately, the Pancasila became weak after displaying too long as a ceremonial decoration without good care. The Pancasila must be effectively grounded in the three domains of civilization (i.e. the realm of values, governance and prosperity) together with the strengthening of Pancasila in the three dimensions of ideology (i.e. beliefs, knowledge, and actions). The Pancasila values are directed at making the nation with a personality with its main values based on the first, second, and third pillars. The power of spirituality in humanist, egalitarian life with integrity and creative spirit can be developed with divinity, humanity, and unity. The first challenge in the Pancasila empowerment is how to convince all citizens that the values of Pancasila ideology are suitable, relevant, and effective as a meeting point, fulcrum, and point of departure in a pluralistic national life. The second challenge is how to explain the Pancasila values through a scientific approach in a multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary, and transdisciplinary manner. The third challenge is how to encourage citizens (especially students) to be able to develop life practices based on the values and conception of Pancasila. (Latif, 2019) The most important thing about the steps of the Pancasila ideologization above which is absolutely carried out (but not yet maximally realized) is the practice of Pancasila values. Therefore, the leaders of Indonesian people should be figures in the implementation of Pancasila. The government leader must truly apply the values of Pancasila and strive to achieve the glory of the Indonesian nation in accordance with the spirit of Pancasila. He was obliged to protect all people (both Muslims and non-Muslims), prioritize the wishes of the Indonesian people, even though he became a leader of Indonesia because of political parties in the general election.

Conclusion

The success of the Indonesian struggle for independence was an extraordinary gift from God. Indonesian heroes have sacrificed to be free from inhuman colonization. The obligation of all people to defend Indonesia's independence and subsequently realize the advancement of Indonesian nation. The plurality of Indonesian people must be maintained in harmony. The means to maintain harmony is a necessity in the implementation of the Pancasila optimally. The dynamics of the Indonesian nation since the pre-independence period until the independence period passed various periods of government (namely the Old Order, the New Order, and the Reform Period) and showed the facts that the Indonesian nation experienced trials and disturbances in maintaining the existence of Pancasila.

The Indonesian Muslims as the majority citizens have a significant role in maintaining the integrity of the plural Indonesian nation. They should not prioritize their sectarian interests by exaggerating the political aspects of Islamic teachings to establish an Islamic state because Indonesia is a nation state based on the agreement of all people consisting of various religions. The Muslims must have a positive view of the values of Pancasila that do not conflict with the teachings of Islam. A

similar obligation also should be applied to adherents of non-Islamic religions in order to create harmony, peace and prosperity in Indonesia as the ideals of independence. Furthermore, the government leaders of Indonesia are obliged to practice the Pancasila and become an example for the Indonesian people. They must realize prosperity and justice in all fields. Thus, all Indonesian people feel the benefits of Pancasila values in their lives in Indonesia and do not expect other ideologies that are not in accordance with the Pancasila.

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