

PANCASILA Sebagai *Virtue* NUSANTARA

MANGADAR SITUMORANG

Filsafat Extension Course
Pancasila Membebaskan
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OUTLINE

- * Ancaman terhadap Pancasila
- * Kekhawatiran atas Pancasila
- * Islam: ideology alternative ?
- * Apa yang harus dilakukan



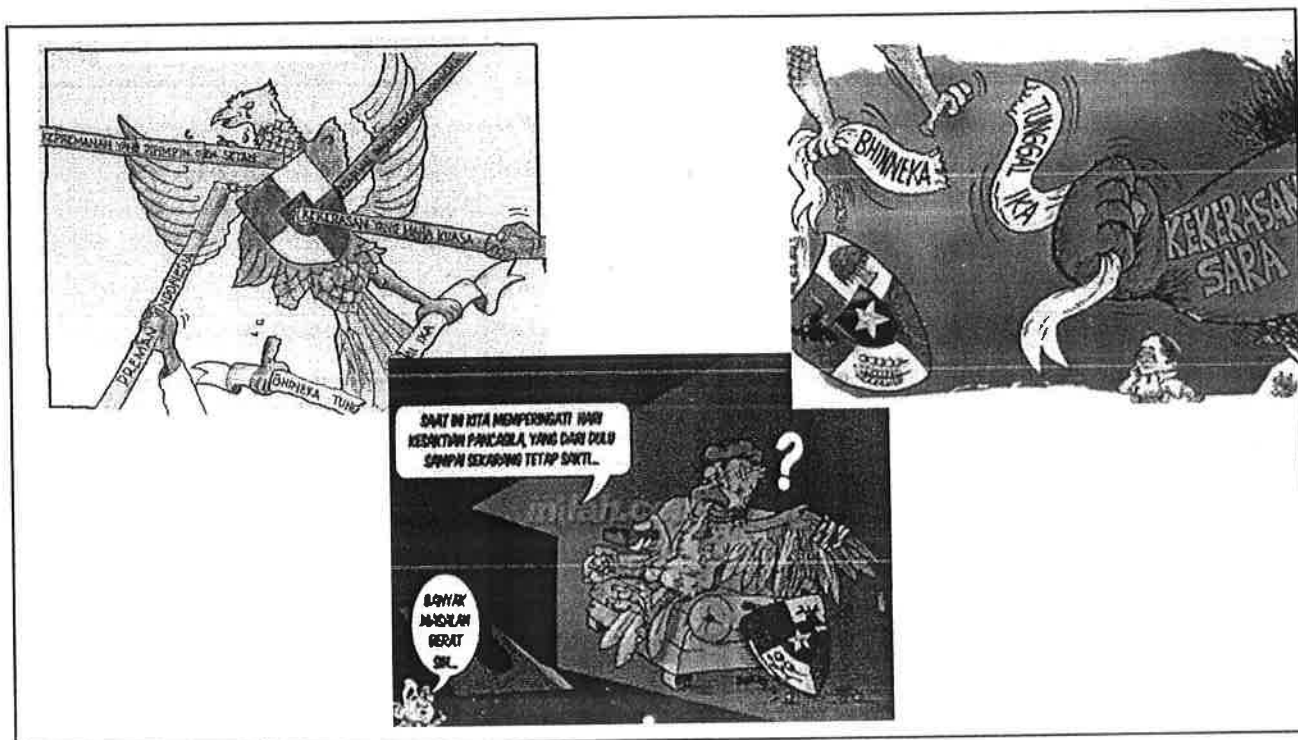
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ANCAMAN TERHADAP PANCASILA

1. pragmatism generasi yang hanya mau satu – golden crowd

2. puritanisme eksklusif keagamaan

3. korupsi kelas politik

(Franz M-Suseno, 2017:20)

1. radikalisme keagamaan

2. kapitalisme

3. budaya patriarkhi

(Tim UAJ, 2017: 129-36)

KEKHAWATIRAN #1: PANCASILA MENJADI IDEOLOGI KAUM MINORITAS

Minoritas: agama, suku, budaya, daerah (tertinggal/terluar), sosial

Marginal: sosial dan kultural; desa vs kota

Tertindas: ekonomis dan kultural

Korban kekerasan: fisik dan struktural

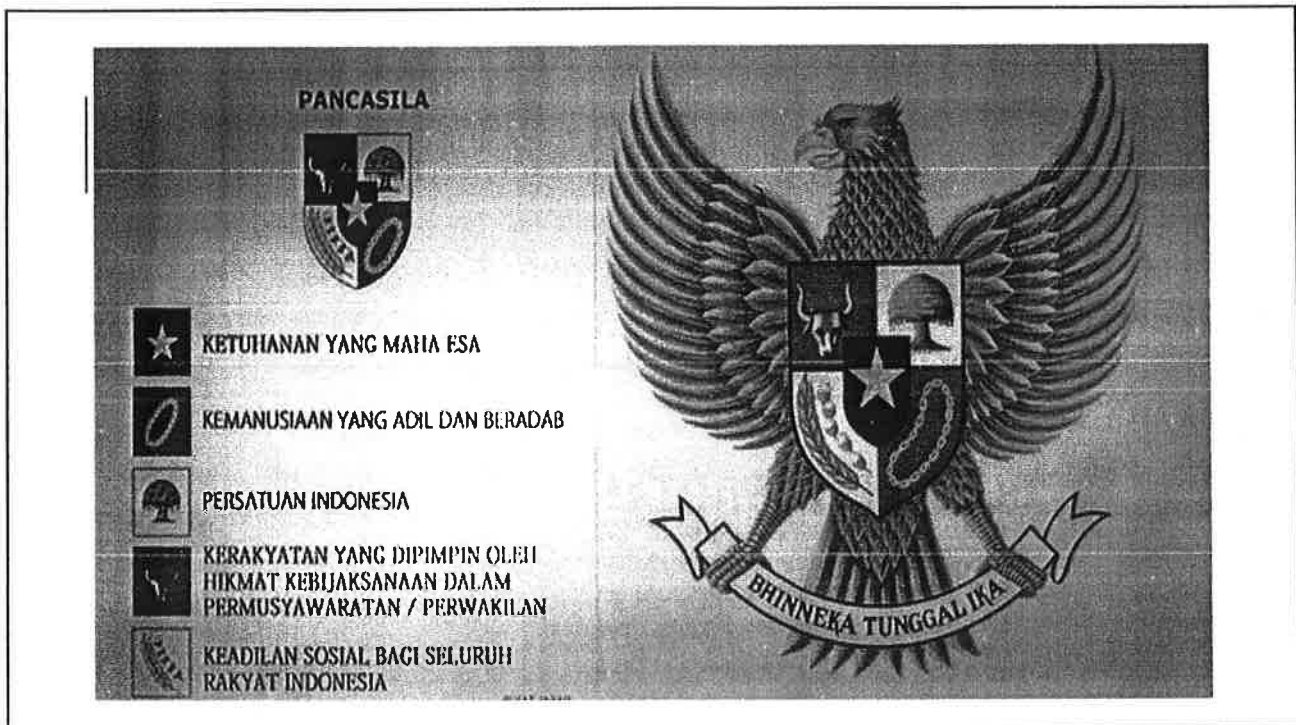
Dan selanjutnya bisa menjadi ideologi RADIKAL/REVOLUSIONER/EXTRIM (kaum radikal, revolusionis, ekstrimis, bahkan teroris)

KEKHAWATIRAN #2: PANCASILA MENJADI IDEOLOGI ELIT-POLITIS



KEKHAWATIRAN #3: PANCASILA MENJADI EKSPRESI SPONTAN/SEREMONIAL





IDEOLOGIES

(definition) "ideology is a coherent set of ideas, beliefs and values through which individuals can make sense of what the social world they inhabit"

(functions) "as a set of principles ideology

→ motivates leaders and followers or political parties

→ provides a vision of the society they wish to create

→ serves as a unifying force between party/group leaders and supporters; so that all are spiritually united in the promotion of a common sense

(See Peter Joyce, *Politics, (Teach Yourself Series), 2006,p.39*

Ideology is often considered synonymous with extreme or dogmatic political opinion and is usually attributed to the adversary's view, not to one's own.

Sociologically, ideologies aren't merely free products of the mind, they reflect the social and economic circumstances of their bearers.

In turn, politically, ideologies influence political actions, shape political behaviour and political institutions.

→ ideology may be viewed as the intervening variable between social and economic forces on one hand and the political order on the other (Sherman & Kolker, 1987: 96-7)

WHAT IDEOLOGY IS AND IS NOT?

Ideology is a system of interrelated ideas and beliefs which are relatively coherent;

It contains a statement of desired ends to be attained or defended (such as classless society or the political equality of women);

It also contains assumptions about the nature of human beings and the kind of the society that best suits them.

(For example, Karl Marx: "The mode of production of material life determines the general character of the social, political, and spiritual processes of life".)

Ideology is not an opinion or attitude

It is not only an expression of feeling or reaction to particular issues

→ Ideologies contain an interpretation of the world and how it arrived at its present shape

→ More importantly, ideologies contain a set of political values, a cluster of ultimate and sacred meanings, that are capable of evoking strong emotional responses in intended audiences

* *freedom, equality, democracy... anti-colonialism, anti-America etc*

FUNGSI IDEOLOGI

1. sumber legitimasi (Max Weber)

→ memberi justifikasi terhadap kekuasaan elit dan kepatuhan pengikut

2. simbolik – mediasi antara cita-cita idealis dengan realita sosial/pemersatu antara kekuasaan elite dengan rasa kebersamaan komunitas/rakyat (Clifford Geertz)

- revelation (membuka/menyatakan) dan concealment (menutupi/menyembunyikan)

3. Alat distorsi/manipulasi (Karl Marx)

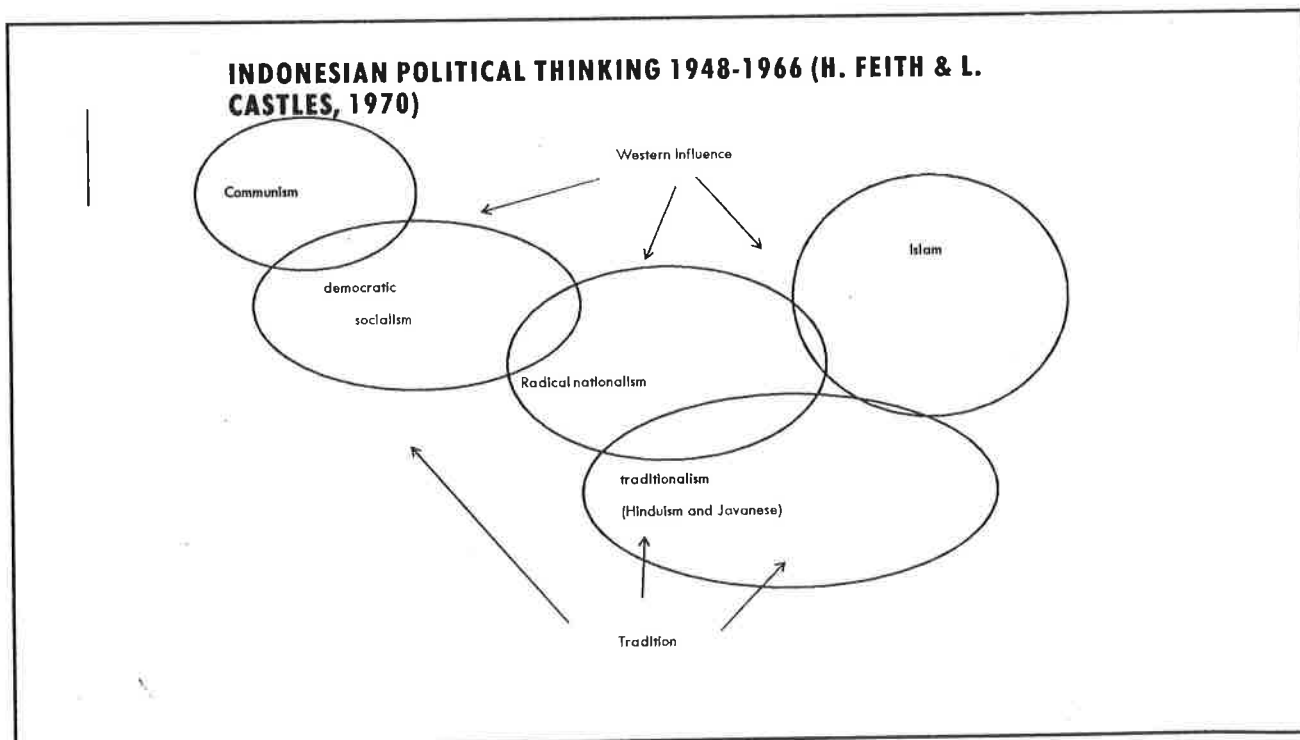
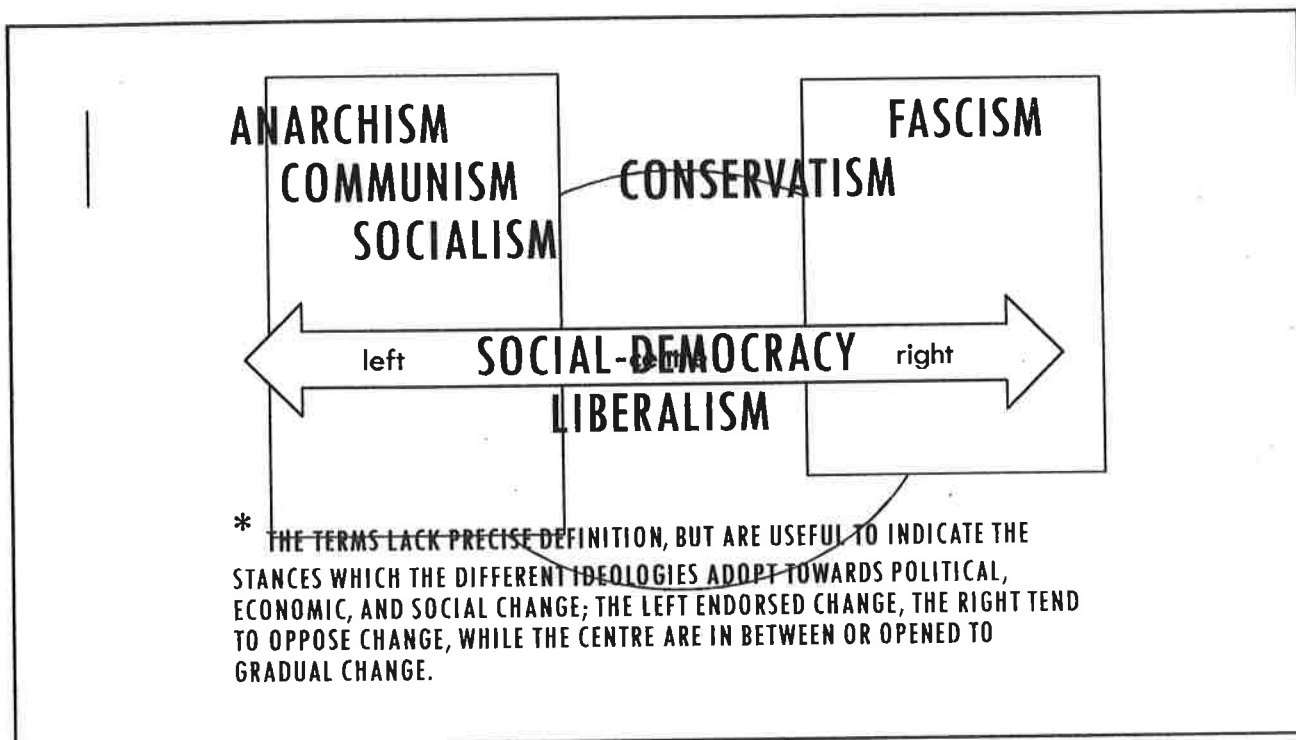
(Ignas Kleden, 2017: 10-13)

POLITICAL SPECTRUM

The term political spectrum is used to place different political ideologies in relationship to one another thereby enabling the similarities and differences that exist between them to be identified.

The various ideologies are grouped under the broad headings of 'left', 'right' and 'centre'





INDONESIA POLITICAL THINKING (1966 - 1998)

Developmentalism- Integralist:

- political stability
- economic growth
- state's central role
- social harmony
- democracy
- organicism

Critical pluralist:

- human rights
- rule of law
- social justice

Every country has its own political system that ideally based and developed upon a particularly dominant ideology.

Ideology as a set of ideas and ideals, principles and values functions as guiding the political activities, processes, and determining national political orientations and goals.

There are a number of political ideologies: Liberalism, Conservatism, Socialism, Communism, Fascism, etc (recall the materials discussed in *Introduction to Politics*, particularly on "politics as related to public goods") adopted by particular countries in order to realize national objectives, interests, needs, and values.

PANCASILA VS ISLAM



PIAGAM JAKARTA

Bahwa sesungguhnya kemerdekaan itu ialah hak segala bangsa, dan oleh sebab itu maka penjajahan di atas dunia harus dihapuskan, karena tidak sesuai dengan perikemanusiaan dan perikadilan.

Dan perjuangan pergerakan kemerdekaan Indonesia telah sampailah kepada saat yang berbahagia, dengan selamat sentosa mengantarkan rakyat Indonesia ke depan pintu gerbang negara Indonesia, yang merdeka, bersatu, berdaulat, adil dan makmur.

Atas berkat rahmat Allah Yang Maha Kuasa, dan dengan didorongkan oleh keinginan luhur, supaya berkehidupan kebangsaan yang bebas, maka rakyat Indonesia menyatakan dengan ini kemerdekaannya.

Kemudian daripada itu untuk membentuk suatu pemerintah negara Indonesia Merdeka yang melindungi segenap bangsa Indonesia dan seluruh tumpah darah Indonesia, dan untuk memajukan kesejahteraan umum, mencerdaskan kehidupan bangsa, dan ikut melaksanakan ketertiban dunia yang berdasarkan kemerdekaan, perdamaian abadi dan keadilan sosial, maka disusunlah kemerdekaan kebangsaan Indonesia itu dalam suatu susunan negara Republik Indonesia, yang berkedaulatan rakyat, dengan berdasarkan kepada: Ketuhanan, dengan kewajiban menjalankan syariat Islam bagi pemeluk-pemeluknya, menurut dasar kemanusiaan yang adil dan beradab, persatuan Indonesia, dan kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh hikmat kebijaksanaan dalam permusyawaratan-perwakilan serta dengan mewujudkan suatu keadilan sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia.

Jakarta, 22 Juni 1945

Badan Penyelidik Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia
(BPUPKI)

Panitia Sembilan

Haji Soekarno	Abikoeso Tjokroosoedjo
Haji Achmad Soebardjo	Haji Mohammad Hatta
Haji Abdul Kahar Muzakir	Haji Abdul Wahid Hasjikin
Alex Andries Mearnis	Haji Agus Salim
	Haji Mohammad Yamin

Obviously, prior to the *Reformasi* Indonesia had an official (legally or politically binding) ideology: the sole ideological foundation – *asas tunggal*: Pancasila.

This does not necessarily mean that other political ideologies did not exist. Indonesian politics (1955) recorded: Islam, Nationalism, Socialism, Communism, or even Javanism (H. Feith and L. Castles) – called as *politik aliran*

Apart from having root in Indonesian history and glorious culture, Pancasila itself is widely reiterated as basically founded on religious principle (#1 - "Belief in God")

Pancasila is also believed as containing other ideological values (#2 - "A just and civilized humanitarianism"; #3 - "National unity"; #4 - "Indonesian democracy through consultation and consensus"; and #5 "Social justice")

NONETHELESS ...

The state insistence and repression on the indoctrination of Pancasila (both under Sukarno and Suharto's regimes) failed to make other ideologies become extinct.

Indonesian ideological discourses have been dominated by Pancasila vis-à-vis Islam. While Pancasila is commonly perceived to present secular-nationalist ideology, Islam is widely believed to represent religious values, laws, and teachings. This leads to dualism ideology and ideological dilemma as well.

Reformasi opened the window for the revival of Islamic ideology as an alternative to Pancasila or in one way or two of a controlling/balancing/opposing set of value system.

Relationship (contention, competition, rivalry, conflict) between Pancasila and Islam remains unresolved, unsettled in contemporary Indonesia.

Heated, polemical national debates:**Pancasila:**

- secular-nationalist
- ideology of tolerance
- giving respect for pluralist nation
- the foundation for a democratic state
- a unifying ideology → keep the nation united

Islam:

- religious
- also emphasizes the importance of tolerance
- also gives respect for pluralism
- could also contribute to Indonesian democracy
- is questioned of having ability to maintain national integration (NKRI).

Bruinessen raises a question: "Does Islam as a system of beliefs or as a political force have something positive to contribute to the hoped-for democratization of Indonesia or will it largely be an impediment and a threat to the emergence of an open society?"

There is a disagreement in answering such a question:

1. positive views: "the reformist political Islam represents the only significant alternative to the patrimonial, authoritarian and corrupt political culture pervading almost all parties and thereby is the country's only hope for democracy!"

2. negative views: "the Muslim ambition of turning Indonesia into an Islamic state is perhaps the most serious threat the country is presently facing..."

"Post-suharto muslim engagement with civil society and democratization" by martin van bruinessen, 2004: 37-66)

Islam under threat?

Bruinessen starts his discussion by presenting opposing feelings among Indonesian people (Muslim and non-Muslim).

Many Muslims believe

in the existence of an *international conspiracy* (Zionists, Christian, imperialist politicians [the Western powers], and their various local allies) aiming to destroy or weaken Islam in Indonesia; These conspirators fight not only by force of arms, but also by or through sex, drugs and rock-and-roll or spreading deviant teachings of various kinds ranging from Shi'ism and heterodox mysticism to what is subsumed under the label of 'Liberal Islam'.

Kristenisasi (Christianization) is viewed as a key strategy and more dangerous mean.

Depoliticization of Islam and *de-Islamization* of the state institutions and apparatus are also seen as threats to Islam existence.

DDII (Indonesian Council for Islamic Predication) and KISDI (Indonesian Committee with the Islamic World) are seen to represent these views and feelings.

The threat of Islamic state

Whereas fears among many Muslims of the Islam under threat are prevailing, similar fears among non-Muslim groups (minorities) and secular-minded Muslim also exist. They are anxious and suspicious of:

- the re-emergence of ideas of *Piagam Jakarta* which is seen as trying to return to the idea of an *Islamic state of Indonesia*;
- a string of violent incidents
- the establishment of ICMI
- the formation of KISDI and the emergence of various Muslim militias (FPI, HI, ISIS)
- the call for *jihad* and for the enactment of the Islamic *Shari'a*.

Bruinessen also presents the issue of expecting the implementation of *Shari'a* by referring to a survey conducted by PPI. It is said that a high percentage of respondents (including those affiliated to the stable and moderate Indonesian Muslim organizations: NU and Muhammadiyah) desire *Shari'a* and believe that *Islamic government is to be best for Indonesia*.

In order to support the idea that *Islam contributes to democracy in Indonesia*, Bruinessen shows a number of NGO-type activities in Muslim circles:

- LP3ES, P3M, LSP
- many forms of discussion groups, networks (Jaringan Islam Liberal – JIL), forums, co-operatives, foundations, etc
- and other kinds of civic society associations: *jamaah* and *usrah*.

Jamaah: (→ JI: *Jamaah Islamiah*)

- ummah, congregation, a number of people that regularly attend the prayer times in a particular mosque.

Tarbiyah = Muslim Brotherhood; *Usrah* (a sort of study groups) mostly based on campus mosques or campus-based networks

Hizb ut-Tahrir: a kind of transnational movement that strives for the establishment of a world caliphate, an Islamic state encompassing all Muslim-majority regions.

These three jamaah share a number of characteristics:

- they are highly critical of the secular state and believe only a state based on the sharia can be just;
- they consist of relatively closed groups that avoid contact with outsiders;
- they assert that Islam is a 'total' way of life and demand their members to conform to Islamic norms in all aspects of life;
- they exercise a strict social control of their members and demand high standards of Islamic morality.

TUJUAN dan HAKIKAT NEGARA REPUBLIK INDONESIA

UNTUK MEMBENTUK SUATU
PEMERINTAH NEGARA
INDONESIA YANG
MELINDUNGI SEGENAP
BANGSA INDONESIA DAN
SELURUH TUMPAH DARAH
INDONESIA

**UNTUK MEMAJUKAN
KESEJAHTERAAN UMUM,
MENCERDASKAN KEHIDUPAN
BANGSA,**

**DAN IKUT MELAKSANAKAN
KETERTIBAN DUNIA YANG
BERDASARKAN KEMERDEKAAN,
PERDAMAIAN ABADI DAN
KEADILAN SOSIAL,**

MAKA DISUSUNLAH KEMERDEKAAN KEBANGSAAN
INDONESIA ITU DALAM SUATU

- * UNDANG-UNDANG DASAR,
- * BERBENTUK REPUBLIK
- * BERKEDAULATAN RAKYAT DENGAN BERDASAR
KEPADA : PANCASILA

Saya pun tidak mau menerima julukan pencipta PANCASILA.
Saya sekedar menerima julukan penggali PANCASILA.
Tapi nyata PANCASILA adalah satu ajaran...
suatu prinsip, yakni besarnya Negara Republik INDONESIA,
lebih besar dari negara-negara lain,
ialah bahwa Republik INDONESIA membawa ajaran,
membawa prinsip, sebagai mana juga, dengarkan perkataanku.
Se-ba-gal-mana-juga agama membawa ajaran.
Republik INDONESIA adalah satu-satunya Negara di dunia ini
yang membawa ajaran PANCASILA. Tidak ada Negara lain seperti
republik INDONESIA ini.



PANCASILA: VIRTUE NUSANTARA – BERSIFAT AKTIF/KERJA/ PROGRESIF/DINAMIS

“as a set of principles”, maka ideologi PANCASILA berfungsi untuk:

- motivates leaders and followers or political parties
- provides a vision of the society they wish to create
- serves as a unifying force between party/group leaders and supporters; so that all are spiritually united in the promotion of a common sense

(Peter Joyce, *Politics*, 2006, h.39)

Dogma politik yang santun, rasional

Buah pemikiran dan perenungan yg interaksional dengan sejarah dan budaya

Berbeda tapi terbuka

Satu kesatuan ide, keyakinan, cita-cita yang koherent

- Melindungi
- Menyatukan
- Menyejahterahkan



APA YG HARUS DILAKUKAN: PANCASILA HARUS DIRAWAT (*NURTURED*), BUKAN SESUATU YANG *GIVEN* DAN BERTAHAN DENGAN SENDIRINYA

Kontekstualisasi: Re-sentralisasi PANCASILA

re-mainstreaming, revitalisasi, enhancing – deepening, educating, disseminating, dll (oleh/di lembaga-lembaga negara, dan organisasi-organisasi politik)

Memperkuat (*empowering*) institusi-institusi lembaga2 pendidikan, organisasi2 masyarakat sipil (Civil - civilized – civilizing uncivilized society/organizations) (oleh/di lembaga/organisasi kemasyarakatan)

PENUTUP: PANCASILA SEBAGAI PENJAGA NKRI

❖ Pendidikan Pancasila perlu dilakukan secara berkelanjutan

❖ Nilai-nilai Pancasila perlu diwujudkan-nyatakan:

- > bhinneka tunggal ika/pluralitas/toleransi
- > demokrasi (musyawarah mufakat)
- > keadilan sosial

❖ Perlu penguatan lembaga/organisasi pendukung Pancasila:

- > Pemerintah (pusat dan daerah)
- > TNI dan Polri
- > Partai politik
- > Organisasi masyarakat sipil

Terimakasih - Haturnuhun