

# ESENSIA

Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin

## Techno-Da'i and The Qur'anic Based Social Integration Building

*Nur Afiyah Febriani, Zaenuddin Hudi Prasajo, Badru Tamam*

## Shaykh Mutawalli al-Sha'rawi's Views About Tafsir and I'jaz al-Qur'an (Descriptive-Analysis Study)

الشيخ محمد متولي الشعراوي وموقفه من القرآن الكريم تفسيراً وإعجازاً (دراسة وصفية تحليلية)

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## Effects of Violence Against Women in *Suqûth Al-Imâm* by Nawal El-Sa'dâwi A Radical Feminism Study

*Syarifuddin*

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## The Reactualization of the *Pancasila* Values in the Light of Perennial Philosophy

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### Abstract

*The implementation of Pancasila remains a home work for all children of Indonesia. Pancasila, which is “excavated” from the old heritage of Indonesian archipelago throughout the times, has become the basis of state, the philosophical foundation, and the world-view of the Indonesian nation. It is also intended to be a provider of the solid foundation for the State as well as being – borrowing Soekarno’s term – a leitstar (literally means “the guiding star”) to lead the nation to achieve its goals. On the pages of history, however, Pancasila has encountered various obstacles both from the outside and the inside. Modernity and its derivative devices become the challenge from the outside, while the internal obstacles come from the nation’s own children who have not fully appreciate the values of Pancasila, which in certain level resulting the notion of replacing Pancasila with other ideologies. This fact makes all components of the nation try to think in providing the concepts, strategies and concrete steps to place Pancasila as the living values that lead to a movement and can even bring this nation into desirable future. These efforts include the studies on the values of Pancasila from various perspectives, including that of perennial philosophy’s frame. Based on this perspective, Pancasila for the Indonesian people is actually the scientia sacra (sacred science) and kalimatun sawa (common sentences), a sacred knowledge, basic principle, and a common commitment that even existed long before the independence of Indonesia. Thus, the re-actualization of Pancasila means re-practicing its values as it has been implanted deep in the heart of this nation with a new perspective, namely that Pancasila is not merely an ideology of the state and nation, but more than that, it is actually the ontological inevitability at the heart of every human being in the Indonesian Archipelago.*

**Keywords:** *Pancasila, Perennial Philosophy, Scientia Sacra, Kalimatun Sawa’.*

### Abstrak

*Implementasi nilai-nilai Pancasila sampai saat ini masih merupakan pekerjaan rumah bagi seluruh anak bangsa. Pancasila yang digali dari bumi Indonesia, digodok dan dirumuskan untuk menjadi dasar Negara, falsafah dan pandangan hidup bangsa dimaksudkan untuk memberi dasar pijak yang kokoh bagi berdirinya Negara sekaligus menjadi leitstar (meminjam kata-kata Bungkarso) untuk menuntun bangsa ini meraih cita-citanya. Namun di dalam perjalanannya, Pancasila menemui berbagai rintangan baik dari luar maupun dari dalam. Rintangan dari luar berupa kemoderenan dengan segala perangkat turunannya, sedangkan rintangan dari dalam datang dari anak bangsa sendiri yang belum sepenuhnya menghayati nilai-nilai Pancasila bahkan ada pihak-pihak yang ingin menggantikan Pancasila dengan ideologi lain. Kenyataan ini menggelitik semua komponen bangsa untuk berupaya ikut memikirkan dan menghadirkan konsep, strategi serta langkah-langkah kongkrit untuk membumikan Pancasila menjadi nilai yang hidup, yang menggerakkan bahkan yang dapat membawa bangsa ini menuju masa depan yang diidamkan. Upaya itu antara lain adalah mengkaji Pancasila dari berbagai perspektif dan salah satunya adalah dari perspektif filsafat perennial. Dalam perspektif filsafat perennial, Pancasila bagi bangsa Indonesi sesungguhnya, merupakan saintia sakra dan kalimatun sawa’, suatu pengetahuan suci dan prinsip dasar yang telah menjadi komitmen bersama dan telah terbukti hidup dalam kehidupan masyarakat, bahkan jauh sebelum Indonesia merdeka. Dengan demikian maka reaktualisasi Pancasila bermakna kembali mengamalkan nilai-nilai Pancasila sebagaimana telah tertanam jauh di lubuk sanubari bangsa ini dengan cara pandang yang baru, yaitu bahwa Pancasila tidak semata sebuah ideologi dalam berbangsa dan bernegara, tetapi lebih dari itu adalah sebuah keniscayaan ontologis yang terbawa dalam batin setiap manusia Indonesia.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Pancasila, Filsafat Perennial, Saintia Sakra, Kalimatun sawa’*

## Introduction

The *Pancasila* which we know as the basis of the Indonesian State today is the fruit of historical struggle in a very long time period. Efforts to find the basis for the establishment of a nation state, have forced the founding fathers to reflect and explore the values that have lived for centuries in factual life in the society of Indonesian Archipelago. These values are composed, debated and formulated by considering two important things mentioned by Soekarno; static principle and dynamic *leitstar*.<sup>1</sup> The static principle is intended as a solid foundation, to support the State to be established with all the dynamics and interests in it. That foundation should be approved and accepted by children of the nation, to which the people's needs will meet. The foundation is very strong and will never change in any conditions and situations. As for what is meant by *leitstar* is a visionary outlook, far-sighted view, the strong belief that the crystallized values which become the basis of the nation can lead its people to step forward in the increasingly advanced life and actively participate in complex relations between the nation states.

The hard work of the founders of the Republic of Indonesia to find a solid foundation, which became a philosophy as well as a way of life and the nation's life outlook, is a noble struggle that must be appreciated, bearing in mind that the Indonesia is inhabited by the pluralistic, multi-ethnic, multicultural and multi-religious population. Managing a nation like Indonesia requires agreement and understanding about the basic values that can overcome differences which become the characteristic of a plural society. After being approved on August 18, 1945, *Pancasila* has formalized *de jure* and *de facto* as the basis of the State. It also became the nation's philosophical foundation and the way

of life for all Indonesian people from Sabang to Merauke.<sup>2</sup>

Up to this point, the Indonesian people have found a solid foundation, but in the same time a new challenge also comes on the layer; how could *Pancasila* be practiced objectively and subjectively? The former means that *Pancasila* is implemented correctly and consistently in the legal order and state governance whereas the later refers to the individual practice for every single person of Indonesian people.<sup>3</sup> The question is, has the *Pancasila* been implemented as idealized by the founding fathers? There are two answers that can be put forward. First, *Pancasila* has been practiced because in fact the Indonesian people in the ups and downs of their journey can survive until now. Second, *Pancasila* has not been practiced or has not been practiced as it should be, due to the practices in the daily life of the Indonesian people are not fully in line with the values of *Pancasila*.

As the basis and philosophy of the State, *Pancasila* has been studied in various scientific forums and even the writings on *Pancasila* in various types have adorned the treasury of knowledge and have filled the library spaces in this country in the form of books, papers and journals. Nevertheless, *Pancasila* as the nation's philosophy must always be studied and interpreted due to the increasing challenge coming from the globalization era, which rapidly requires the fast responses to the complexity of problems which are certainly different from the time when *Pancasila* was born. This is not intended to break the historical chain in the nation's journey between the current and the previous era, it is just the effort to actualize the values of *Pancasila* in accordance with the changing context.

Why does *Pancasila* have to be re-actualized?

<sup>1</sup> Yudi Latif, *Negara Paripurna: Historisitas, Rasionalitas dan Aktualitas Pancasila* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2011), 14.

<sup>2</sup> Roeslan Abdulgani, *Pancasila: Perjalanan Sebuah Ideologi* (Jakarta: Grasindo, 1988), 30.

<sup>3</sup> Hartati Soemasdi, *Pemikiran tentang Filsafat Pancasila* (Yogyakarta: Andi Offset, 1992), 71

not to be “re-constructed” or “re-interpreted”? The author chooses the word “re-actualization” to show that *Pancasila* as the philosophy of a nation has a perennial quintessence containing the values which are taken for granted. It does not change under any circumstances and at any time. Changes to the agreed values of *Pancasila* mean changes to the form of the State, the basis of the State and even the State itself, so that what can be done is to refresh the appreciation of these values.<sup>4</sup> While the effort of reconstruction or reinterpretation is feared to have several implications for the understanding that the values of *Pancasila* remain unfinished and need a new change. Reactualization is necessary because, as mentioned above, each period and generation in the historical journey of a nation will face its own challenges, problems and paradigms.

Even in the last few years, in the fragment of time that called the reform period (*reformasi*) that has taken place after the fall of the New Order Regime up to now, this nation seems to lose its direction. The euphoria of freedom appears excessively, so that the values which have been alive in the community are slowly declined. The worse of that, a small portion of the Indonesian people are confidently showing a distrust of *Pancasila* as a principle of the nation state. They also think that the *Pancasila* has failed to bring this nation in realizing prosperity and justice. The following implication is the emerging thought to replace *Pancasila* with another ideology. In addition to that, *Pancasila* is considered as a tool of the New Order regime, and its fall in 1998 AD also means the fall of the prestige of *Pancasila*. It is the concern about these conditions that led to this paper as a part of the effort to preserve and restore the prestige of *Pancasila* as the soul of the Indonesian people.

To re-actualize *Pancasila* with the current situation, the perspective of perennial

<sup>4</sup> Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1990), 733.

philosophy is applied due to the philosophical reasons that *Pancasila* for the Indonesian people, has – borrowing Seyyed Hossein Nasr’s term – the *scientia sacra*;<sup>5</sup> the values that are considered sacred and eternal in the life of a nation state. These values have already existed in the community and have become the nature of the Indonesian nation. This approach is also intended to see the common values and national identity that have been actualized in the midst of the diversity of Indonesian society. The point of view in this approach is to highlight the essence of the *kalimatun sawa* (common sentences) in the plurality of the nation. In the Indonesian context, the basic values that have become the essence or the meeting point of territorial, religious, ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity are five principle of *Pancasila*. This paper as far as possible presents the offer to keep practicing *Pancasila* consistently as the nation’s view of life. It also aims at making *Pancasila* as a filter against the penetration of foreign culture that is contrary to the very character of the nation, without losing the adaptive ability to respond to the dynamics of modern life, intercultural relations among nations and the advancement of science and technology.

### The Anatomy of Indonesia as a Pluralistic Nation

Indonesia is described as an equatorial emerald string that binds more than five hundred ethnic groups and languages, as well as religion and culture. As the largest archipelago in the world, Indonesia consists of approximately 17,500 islands, with the latest satellite imagery showing 18,108 islands. Six thousand islands have been inhabited by the residents with different languages and traditions.<sup>6</sup> The diversity of languages, for

<sup>5</sup> For the detailed elaboration on *scientia sacra*, See Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *The Need for Sacred Science* (New York: State University Press, 1993), 9.

<sup>6</sup> Yudi Latif, *Negara Paripurna*, 251.

example, can be clearly seen in daily interactions where one island and another nearby islands have different languages, even in an island such as Sumatra which has several languages; Aceh, North Sumatra, West Sumatra, South Sumatra, in addition to Java, Madura, Bali, West Nusa Tenggara, East Nusa Tenggara, Sulawesi, Kalimantan, Papua and the most striking is the Maluku Islands.

In terms of culture, Indonesia also has a very rich diversity. Historically, the indigenous culture of the archipelago that has lived for hundreds of years has been influenced by the touch of elements of outside culture, especially Chinese elements which are thought to have begun to penetrate the archipelago in the 1st century AD. Entering the 3rd century AD, elements of Indian culture entered along with the spread of Hinduism and Buddhism. This influx of Indian culture was made possible by trade relations between the Archipelago and India which occurred through the shipping lane spearheaded by the archipelago sailors. The cross-cultural contact was creeping forward to the political landscape with the establishment of the first Hindu-Buddhist-style kingdom in the archipelago, namely the Kutai in East Kalimantan and Tarumanegara in Bogor, West Java. The next development was the emergence of the Buddhist-kingdom of Srivijaya and Hindu Majapahit. Under these two great empires, the major parts of Archipelago were united in one power. The Srivijaya Kingdom controlled much of Java, the island of Sumatra and most of the Malay peninsula. Started in the 7<sup>th</sup> Century, the Srivijaya kingdom had become a trade and cultural force that was admired by the world. Then came Majapahit, which controlled most of the coast of the archipelago, even extending westward to South Vietnam and eastward to western Papua.<sup>7</sup>

At almost the same time, Islam began to

<sup>7</sup> Yudi Latif, *Negara Paripurna*, 260.

enter the archipelago through Muslim traders from Arabia and India, even Persia and China. In addition to trading and preaching, they also brought the culture and traditions of their native countries. In coastal areas that have not been fully influenced by Hinduism, Islam shows a stronger influence as happened in Aceh, West Sumatra and Eastern Sumatra, Banten, the North Coast of Java and South Sulawesi. Politically, the Islamic institutionalization emerged in several early kingdoms such as Samudera Pasai in Aceh, Demak, Banten, and Cirebon in the North Coast of Java, Goa, Ternate, Tidore, Bacan and Jailolo.<sup>8</sup>

Thousands of islands with hundreds of tribes, languages and cultures and political dynamics with dozens of kingdoms, gathered in a vast territory. As such, Denys Lombard described the area of Indonesia as broad as fifty-seven times of the Netherlands, five times the size of Japan, and four times the area of France. If the straight line is drawn from Aceh to Irian Jaya (modern Papua), it would be the same distance from Portugal to Ural or from the Pacific coast to the Atlantic coast in the United States.<sup>9</sup> It is the mixing and unification of such geographical, linguistic, religious, political and cultural elements intertwined over a vast territory, which then shaped the character and identity of the Indonesian people into a pluralistic nation. They are uniting although they are heterogenous and they are heterogenous but they are uniting. This basic character is poured in the motto of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity).

#### The History of Pancasila

The historical account of Pancasila can be seen from two sides; in term of form and content in one hand and from the point of denotation and connotation on the other. What

<sup>8</sup> Yudi Latif, *Negara Paripurna*, 261.

<sup>9</sup> Denys Lombard, *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1996), 12.

is meant by the form here is a string of words that assembles the Pancasila in five principle (*sila*) as a whole, which historically emerged before the independence of the Indonesia. This form is a formulation, naming, position of the principle in it, and the relationship between one principle one with another. Historical record shows that it was carried out in order to answer the question of Dr. Radjiman Wediodiningrat as the chair session of BPUPKI (*Badan Penyelidik Usaha-usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan*; The Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Independence) concerning something that would be the basis of the Indonesian State to be established. From this question, the session participants expressed their opinions, which of course were accompanied by supporting arguments. In this case Soekarno said: "If we may use grandiose words, the noble Chairperson asks for a *weltanschauung*, on which we establish the State of Indonesia. Ladies and gentlemen, this *weltanschauung* must be rounded up in our hearts and minds before Indonesian independence comes."<sup>10</sup> It was this idea of presenting *weltanschauung* that gave birth to the form of Pancasila later on.

in terms of content or connotation, Pancasila is the very life of the Indonesian people themselves. The contents of Pancasila have in fact become "a salt" or they "have salted" the life of the Indonesian people since long times ago. These values have been embedded and spread throughout the layers of life among people of the archipelago. That is why Soekarno said that he did not invent Pancasila but he only excavated it from the heritage of Indonesian civilization. Thus, it can be said that Pancasila in its today formation cannot be historically released from the sessions of BPUPKI and also PPKI (*Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia*; The Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence), both before and after these

events, it is also inseparable from the figure of Soekarno as one of its major "Diggers". However, the principle of living in the spirit of God, humanity, unity, deliberation and justice, have actually lived hundreds or even thousands of years ago in the souls of the people of the archipelago. The combination between the form and the content eventually becomes the present pattern of Pancasila. From this combination of form and content, we can place Pancasila as the State Foundation, Pancasila as the State ideology, Pancasila as the nation's philosophy, Pancasila as the soul of the nation, Pancasila as the view of the nation's life and even Pancasila as the unifier of the nation.

### The Form of Pancasila

Pancasila in its present form a is a historical struggle through exhausting discussions, especially at the first session of BPUPKI from May 29 to June 1, 1945. The struggle that drained the energy had to be taken at that time as the great effort to looking for a foothold that would serve as the basis of the newly independent state. All members of the congregation made extraordinary contributions to the stage, including Mohammad Yamin and Soekarno. Mohammad Yamin in his speech proposed five principles, namely: *Peri Kebangsaan* (Nationality), *Peri Kemanusiaan* (Humanity), *Peri Ketuhanan* (Divinity), *Peri Kerakyatan* (Citizenship), *Peri Kesejahteraan* (Prosperity), On June 1, 1945, Soekarno made a speech and proposed five principles as the basis of the State, namely: *Nasionalisme atau Kebangsaan Indonesia* (Nationalism or Indonesian Nationality), *Internasionalisme atau Perikemanusiaan* (Internationalism or Humanity), *Mufakat atau Demokrasi* (Consensus or Democracy), *Kesejahteraan Sosial* (Social Welfare) and *Ketuhanan yang berkebudayaan* (Civilized Divinity)

On June 22, 1945, nine national figures who

<sup>10</sup> Floriberta Aning, *Lahirnya Pancasila, Kumpulan Pidato BPUPKI* (Yogyakarta: Media Pressindo, 2006), 126.



were also members of BPUPKI were assigned to formulate Pancasila which would be ratified as the State Base of Republic of Indonesia. These people were famously known by *Panitia Sembilan* (The Nine Committee). The results of this formulation came to be known as the “Jakarta Charter” (*Piagam Jakarta*), namely: *Ketuhanan dengan kewajiban menjalankan syari’at Islam bagi pemeluk-pemeluknya* (Divinity with the obligation to carry out Islamic *sharia* for their adherents), *Kemanusiaan Yang Adil dan Beradab* (Just and civilized humanity), *Persatuan Indonesia* (The Unity of Indonesia), *Kerakyatan Yang Dipimpin oleh Hikmat Kebijaksanaan dalam Permusyawaratan Perwakilan* (Democracy guided by the inner wisdom arising out of deliberations amongst representatives), *Keadilan Sosial bagi Seluruh Rakyat Indonesia* (Social justice for the Whole of the People of Indonesia)

However, the work of the Nine committee still requires further formulation due to the emergence of some objections from the non-Muslim Indonesian to the first point of the five principles which stated the obligation to carry out Islamic *sharia* for their adherents. The vocal responding to the Jakarta Charter came from Latuharhary, he said that

The result will be very large, for instance, to another religions. Therefore, I hope that in the basic law, although this applies for a while, we avoid the possibilities to be interpreted in various forms. I suggest that in the basic law, it should be the major “article 1” that is very clear, so that there is no possibility of anything that can bring such a feeling of displeasure to the group concerned.<sup>11</sup>

The inner circumstance that emerged at the very moments of the establishment of State foundation on August 18, 1945 and the protests that came from Christians of eastern Indonesia, were described well by Yudi Latif, especially “the tug of war” toward elimination

of the “seven words” in the 1<sup>st</sup> article of Jakarta charter; “Divinity with the obligation to carry out Islamic *sharia* for their adherents”. In addition to the protests posed by Latuharhary as quoted above, Mohammad Hatta also received an envoy from eastern Indonesia who said that Catholics and Protestants in eastern Indonesia strongly objected to the “seven-words” in the preamble to the Constitution, because it was seen as a form of discrimination to adherents of religions other than Islam. If these words remain maintained, then they prefer to be outside the Republic of Indonesia.

In response, Mohammad Hatta approached several Islamic figures who were members of the PPKI. It was said that in the morning before the PPKI session began, Mohammad Hatta approached Teuku Hasan, who then together with Kasman Singodimejo persuaded Ki Bagoes Hadikoesoemo to be willing to accept the abolition of the seven words in the Jakarta charter in order to preserve the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia which had just been proclaimed for independence the day before. Mohammad Hatta said that the spirit of the Jakarta charter did not disappear with the abolition of the seven words.<sup>12</sup> With the removal of the seven words in the Jakarta charter by Islamic leaders, the obstacle to setting the state’s foundation has been resolved due to the support and agreement of all components within the PPKI.

Thus, the formulation of the five principles which was then ratified on August 18, 1945 as the official basis of the State is: *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa* (Belief in The One and Only God), *Kemanusiaan Yang Adil dan Beradab* (Just and civilized humanity), *Persatuan Indonesia* (The Unity of Indonesia), *Kerakyatan Yang Dipimpin oleh Hikmat Kebijaksanaan dalam Permusyawaratan Perwakilan* (Democracy guided by the inner wisdom arising out of deliberations amongst

<sup>11</sup> Yudi Latif, *Negara Paripurna*, 79.

<sup>12</sup> Yudi Latif, *Negara Paripurna*, 83.

representatives), *Keadilan Sosial bagi Seluruh Rakyat Indonesia* (Social justice for the Whole of the People of Indonesia)

These five principles were named by “Pancasila” (five basic principles) by Soekarno. According to him, the name “Pancasila” was obtained from a friend who was a linguist but was anonymous. Since that time, the name of Pancasila as the basis of state has been inherited until now.<sup>13</sup>

### The Content of Pancasila

In terms of content, Pancasila has a deep root within the inhabitants of Indonesian archipelago in a very long span of time. The principle of “Belief in the One and Only God” is the symbol of the spirituality that has lived in the society since ancient times. Before knowing religion in its formal form, the ancestors of the Indonesian people had attached to such a belief in something; an Entity or a Power that transcended human life. This kind of belief performed by the ancestors of Indonesian people in the perspective of anthropological experts is referred to as animism and dynamism. Animism is the belief in the spirits that inhabit all objects (trees, rocks, rivers, mountains, etc.), while dynamism is the belief that everything has power or strength that can affect the success or failure of human efforts in sustaining life.<sup>14</sup> These kinds of belief were very deep-rooted and developed so long, so that it is also referred to as the native religion of Indonesian archipelago and even the native religion of Southeast Asia. The next layer of belief or religion that came on the scene of archipelago is Hinduism and Buddhism. The interaction between the native religions of the archipelago with Hinduism and Buddhism resulted such syncretic traditions in various forms. Under these conditions, Islam

arrived in the archipelago which was then followed by Christianity.<sup>15</sup> The religious layers that “greet” each other in the community are intertwined in such a way that forms a situation of harmony that has lived for centuries. Thus, Divinity in the Indonesian archipelago is in fact a necessity, long before the independence of Indonesia.

“Just and civilized humanity” as the second principle of Pancasila is also a manifestation of the identity of the Indonesian people. If the first principle of Divinity is inseparable from religious sphere, the second principle of humanity that is just and civilized is a logical consequence; that humans are the servants of God so that all humans are on the same level. History records that the people who inhabited the archipelago was a resilient people that possessed freedom and dignity, they sailed the ocean as the brave seafaring people. There was also the international trade traffic in the archipelago, a center of interaction between nations, with the large kingdoms such as Srivijaya and Majapahit as the two major epicenter of power. The reputation of this nation in the past, was standing parallel to the other as they also emphasized the human values. In the course of time, then came a foreign nation (read: colonial) with deceptive propaganda, causing the values of humanity and justice of this nation fall under the feet of the invaders. This bitter experience then leads to the struggle for independence in order to take back the triumphed dignity in the past.<sup>16</sup>

“The unity of Indonesia”, which is the third principle of Pancasila, gives a sign of plurality or pluralism in the Indonesian State. Historically, the people of archipelago had long been united with their diverse backgrounds long before the arrival of the invaders. Certainly, this rooted and solid unity requires an extraordinary ability and

<sup>13</sup> Kaelan, *Pendidikan Pancasila* (Yogyakarta: Paradigma, 2004), 23.

<sup>14</sup> Rahmat Fajri dkk. (ed) *Agama-Agama Dunia* (Yogyakarta: UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2012), 29.

<sup>15</sup> Siti Maryam dkk, *Sejarah Peradaban Islam* (Yogyakarta: Lesfi, 2004), 318.

<sup>16</sup> Yudi Latif, *Negara Paripurna*, 237.

determination to be continuously maintained, so that it can unite the territorial breadth and socio-cultural diversity of Indonesia within the unity of the nation's state entity.<sup>17</sup> The presence of invaders on the land of Indonesian archipelago has devastated the unity that has been tightly inherited through generations. The invaders realized that their domination would not succeed if the nation remained united. The politics of "divide and rule" (*divide et impera*) is one of the deadliest political weapons from the colonial in order to scatter these people. That is why the event of youth pledge (*sumpah pemuda*) became historic moment to re-gather awareness to the need for unity through which the independent Indonesia can be realized.

The fourth principle is "Democracy guided by the inner wisdom arising out of deliberations amongst representatives". As well as the three principles before, the content of this precept has become ingrained in the society of archipelago. It is actually the core principle of democracy which was practiced in grassroots communities long before the arrival of the notion of modern democracy. The deliberation traditions for consensus have developed through community gatherings in rural areas to discuss, for instances, irrigation arrangements in rice fields, conversations about mutual security, and deliberations for the purpose of traditional ceremonies. This notion was popularly known as a motto; "from the people, by the people and for the people". On one occasion, President Soeharto stated that this principle was an important core of the principle of kinship that lives in our society. This principle contains the guarantee of harmony between individual and communal interests. It also prevented oppression from the strong against the weak, both economic oppression and political oppression. This principle contains a basic attitude to prioritize the communal interests

<sup>17</sup> Yudi Latif, *Negara Paripurna*, 250.

and safety above the interests of individuals or certain groups, even they are the majority in a society.<sup>18</sup>

The fifth principle of Pancasila is "Social justice for the Whole of the People of Indonesia". The popular Indonesian jargon; *gemah ripah loh jinawi* (prosperous and fertile), *tata tentrem kerta raharja* (peaceful and well-being), is at the same time, a "motto" and also a memory. It is called a memory because this nation once lived a life that was prosperous. It was depicted that the pre-colonial archipelago is the various clusters of prosperity. The latest historiography about the archipelago shows a consensus that in the pre-colonial period, a rapid economic growth was a permanent picture of this region. Since the first century AD, the trade in spices and forest commodity has grown. Using the large boats, Indonesian sailors in the past brought the forest commodity such as camphor, incense, resin and gold to southern China to be exchanged for cloth, porcelain and several items made of metals, whereas cinnamon and other spices (cloves, nutmeg), were brought across the Indian ocean to the east coast of Africa and passed through Egypt up to markets in the Roman Empire.<sup>19</sup> This suggests that the people of the archipelago had lived in a fair and prosperous environment before it was finally seized by the those who invaded this region.

### Pancasila as a Philosophical System

As mentioned earlier, Pancasila is, at the same time, a static and dynamic basis. It means that Pancasila is a solid foothold, but at the same time also dynamic. Pancasila is the Indonesian nation's view of life to anticipate and respond to various national problems that are being or will be faced. This attribute cannot be relied on science, because science is only able to answer problems in its own environment, even

<sup>18</sup> CSIS, *Pandangan Presiden Soeharto tentang Pancasila* (Jakarta: 1976), 59.

<sup>19</sup> Yudi Latif, *Negara Paripurna*, 237.

science cannot answer things that are essential to itself. In turn, science needs philosophy to answer and at the same time to give direction to the development. This is the reason for the emergence of several field of study such as philosophy of education, political philosophy, legal philosophy, religious philosophy, and even philosophy of science. In this sense, the nation's view of life must be based on something that is deeply rooted and essential to be a soul that is able to answer the present and predict for the future. Since such a thing only exists in the course of philosophy, therefore it is very appropriate if Pancasila is called the nation's philosophy.<sup>20</sup>

#### *The Unity of Pancasila as a System*

As a national philosophy, Pancasila is eventually a system, in the meaning of the unit consisting of interrelated parts that worked together, intertwined, mutually reinforced for a specific purpose as a wholly-established and systematic pattern. Pancasila is also referred to as a "single plural entity", meaning that each principle in Pancasila cannot stand alone apart from the others. Pancasila has such an organic entity; each principle must not be placed individually, so that they are understood to be contradicted each other. The unity is philosophically rooted in the basic ontological nature of human beings as "mono-pluralist" creatures, that is, to have natural arrangements as physical-spiritual beings, individual-social creatures, and the inner awareness of being individual and as God's creatures. Each element of human nature forms an organic unity and is harmoniously related. Each element has their respective functions and they are mutually interconnected. Since Pancasila is actually the embodiment of human nature, it can only be understood if it is placed as a system. Understanding the principles separately

<sup>20</sup> Compare with Kaelan, *Filsafat Pancasila*, (Yogyakarta: Paradigma, 1996), 49.

will only leads to the fragmentation and misunderstanding due to the interrelatedness of them in meaning and function.<sup>21</sup>

#### *The Character of Pyramidal-Hierarchical of Pancasila*

By the attribution the of so-called "hierarchical-pyramidal", Pancasila is a unity which principles underlies, encompasses and fills each other. The first principle; "Belief in the One and Only God", underlies and fills the next precepts; "Just and Civilized Humanity", "The Unity of Indonesia", "Democracy guided by the inner wisdom arising out of deliberations amongst representatives", and "Social justice for the Whole of the People of Indonesia". The second principle of Humanity which is just and civilized is based on and imbued with the principle of the belief in the almighty God which then underlies and animates the principle of the Unity of Indonesia, "Democracy guided by the inner wisdom arising out of deliberations amongst representatives", and "Social justice for the Whole of the People of Indonesia". The principle of the Indonesian Unity is based on and imbued with the principle of belief in the Almighty God and the precepts of Humanity which are just and civilized as well as underlying and animating the principle of "Democracy guided by the inner wisdom arising out of deliberations amongst representatives", and "Social justice for the Whole of the People of Indonesia". The fourth principle of "Democracy guided by the inner wisdom arising out of deliberations amongst representatives", is based on and imbued with the precepts of "the belief in the Almighty God, "just and civilized Humanity" and the principle of "the Unity of Indonesia" then underlies and animates the precepts of social justice for all Indonesian people. Furthermore, the principle of social justice for all the people of Indonesia is based on and imbued with the precepts of the belief in

<sup>21</sup> Kaelan, *Pendidikan Pancasila*, 58.

the Almighty God, just and civilized humanity, the Indonesian Unity, and “Democracy guided by the inner wisdom arising out of deliberations amongst representatives”<sup>22</sup>

### Perennial Philosophy

Aldous Huxley in his book *Perennial Philosophy* said that the essence of perennial philosophy is to know the Divine reality which is also the substance of this world both biological and intellectual material as well as psychology in the matter of human soul. This reality existed for a long time and is universal in character. The roots of perennial philosophy itself are already contained, for instance, in the tales of primitive societies in various parts of the world, but the mature development was found in the well-established religions. Some accounts of this philosophy which originated from old theological doctrines in the past, have been contained in various writings from more than twenty-five centuries ago. In the course of time, the theme has always been repeated through various accounts of religious traditions in major languages both in Asia and in Europe.<sup>23</sup>

The main focus of perennial philosophy is, the first and foremost, concerning to God as the source of everything that exists. The Almighty God is “one” so that the religion that comes from Him is also one. Perennial philosophy also deals with the phenomenon of religious pluralism critically and contemplatively. Although religion, in the historical records is always presented with such a pluralistic form, it is believed, however, that the true religion is only “one”. In this context, a religion can have similarities with other religions but at the same time it also has special characteristics that make it different. Perennial philosophy seeks also to trace the roots of a person’s or group’s religious awareness through symbols, rites and religious

experiences.<sup>24</sup>

As Perennial philosophy views that everything is the embodiment of the Absolute, it then always insists the notion that “there is always an essence in everything”. Consequently, perennial philosophy has many branches related to cosmology, anthropology, art and other disciplines being framed in one and the same core.<sup>25</sup> One thing that is also a concern of this philosophy is the belief about a single principle that is always the same in the knowledge of all humans.<sup>26</sup>

The perspective of perennial philosophy has always framed every single reality in two-fold sights, namely the levels of exoteric and esoteric and the term of difference/diversity and unity/similarity.<sup>27</sup> From the two sides, the point of concern here is the esoteric side because it is on this plain that common understanding can be obtained. This understanding is possible because here, there are at least three things that become the focus of the conversation. First, the so-called “holy knowledge” that comes from the One or the Divine. Second, the human nature called in Islam as *hanif* character which exists in every single person. Third, the essence that can be a meeting point or – in Islamic term – *kalimatun sawa* (common sentences) in the midst of diversity and difference. It is in this context that Pancasila will be explored.

### Pancasila as *Scientia Sacra* Belief in the One and Only God

Diversity and plurality have become the very character of Indonesian people. In this case of religion, plurality is a perennial phenomenon because from the very beginning, religious

<sup>22</sup> Kaelan, *Pendidikan Pancasila*, 64.

<sup>23</sup> Aldous Huxley, *The Perennial Philosophy* (New York: Harper & Row Publisher, 1970), vii.

<sup>24</sup> Komaruddin Hidayat dan Muhammad Wahyuni Nafis, *Agama Masa Depan: Perspektif Filsafat Perennial* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995), 1.

<sup>25</sup> Hidayat dan Nafis, *Agama Masa Depan*, 4.

<sup>26</sup> Charles B. Schmit, *Perennialisme: Melacak Jejak Filsafat Abadi*, Ahmad Norma Permata (ed.), (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1996), 43

<sup>27</sup> Peter A. Angeles, *Dictionary of Philosophy* (New York: Harper & Row, 1981), 80 & 89

life has embedded in the heart of Indonesian nation people throughout the time. Currently, the Indonesians embraces five official religions namely Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism. The perennial perspective views that every religion has a distinct character that distinguishes it from the other but at the same time it has also something which Huston Smith refers to as “the common vision”, a shared commitment of submission to “the One”, which is called in Indonesian as *Tuhan* (God). This word is the mention of a name agreed upon by all religions in Indonesia, while in each religion there are certainly the different mentions in accordance with each tradition.<sup>28</sup>

In the context of nationhood and statehood, the first principle of Pancasila in perennial sense is actually the esoteric side of religions in Indonesia. The sense of Divinity or Godhead is the “common vision” that all religions have. It is the same commitment to meet at one point due to the fact all religions come actually from the same and one root that is “the Divine”. This commitment is not an agreement without a basis or decision based solely on rational consideration, but in essence is a spiritual awareness that has been embedded deep in the souls of every religion. In the perennial perspective, that awareness is known as the “Sacred Science” which is inherited by all religious communities, including in Indonesia. Without such awareness, there is no possibility of willingness to eliminate all differences from every religion.<sup>29</sup>

The very notion of “Belief in the One and Only God” for the Indonesian people is not just a surface-structure knowledge. More than that it, the principle is the manifestation of collective nature in society because all religious traditions of the ancestors in the archipelago show that awareness in plain sight. In Islamic term, it has become a *fitrah*; a view that human kind are

self-potential to be always inclined towards spirituality and they also hold the essence of submission to God (*hanif*) to speak the truth, and that truth emerges even in very crucial situations.<sup>30</sup> The esoteric truth referred to is the profound acknowledgment of the single Divine Essence, from which all the “stems”, “branches” and “twigs” originate.

In the effort to find the basis of the State represented in BPUPKI sessions, the extraordinary interests of various groups which were certainly strengthened by various arguments, show that the situation is so tense. But in the end, all parties gracefully accept the agreed decision. If it were not for the sense of divinity that was ingrained in the awareness of the people, then it was almost certain that the sentence was not about Divinity. This proves once again that the “Belief in the One and Only God” which is the first principle of Pancasila, is indeed the nature of the Indonesian nation.

Thus, a common ground for common commitment is reached. The Islamic term for such a meeting point in the perennial sense is *kalimatun sawa'* (common sentences), a rope in togetherness which is certainly taking into account the diversity. This is what Mukti Ali means with his popular term; “agree in disagreement”.<sup>31</sup> It is the meeting point that allows the establishment of a dialogue about tolerance between religious communities, the establishment of cooperation between religious communities and even providing the joint projects for humanity. In this context, religion is no longer a limitation in making harmony, moreover, a cause of conflict. Religion, in this sense, becomes the glue between the people to look to the better future as the shared interests and needs for all.

<sup>30</sup> M. Dawam Raharjo, “Ensiklopedi Al-Qur’an/ Ulumul Qur’an”, *Jurnal Ilmu dan Kebudayaan*, Vol. II No. 5 (April 1990), 25.

<sup>31</sup> H. Ludjito, “Bapak Ilmu Perbandingan Agama di Indonesia”, in W. A. L Stokhof, *Ilmu Perbandingan Agama di Indonesia (beberapa permasalahan)* (Jakarta: INIS, 1990), 14.

<sup>28</sup> Hidayat dan Nafis, *Agama Masa Depan*, xx.

<sup>29</sup> Nasr, *The Need for Sacred Science*, 97.

### Just and civilized humanity

In the arrangement of the pyramidal Pancasila, Godhead or Divinity is the basis as well as animating the following principle, including the second principle, namely just and Civilized Humanity. Under the Divine values on humanity, all people are seen as equals as God's creatures. Muhammad Hatta said that: "Recognition to the basis of the "Belief in the One and Only God" invites humans to conduct harmony in nature, carried out primarily by fostering friendship and brotherhood between humans and nations".<sup>32</sup> With this sense of humanity and brotherhood, the Indonesian nationalism is built in a very broad sense. In this case, Soekarno stressed that:

Our nationalism is not a narrow one, it is not nationalism arising from mere national pride, it is broad nationalism, nationalism arises from knowledge of the world structure and history, it is not jingo-nationalism or chauvinism and is not an imitation of Western nationalism. Our nationalism is a nationalism which accepts its sense of life as a revelation, and runs that sense of life as the manifestation. Our nationalism is a nationalism which in its institution and flexibility provides a place of love for other nations, such as the width and breadth of the air, which gives place for everything that is necessary for all living things.<sup>33</sup>

In a perennial perspective, the brilliant expressions of the two "Proclaimers of the independence" (*proklamator*) above reinforce that the very character of the Indonesian nation is spiritual. The phrase also emphasizes that the differences between humans in the form of skin color, ethnicity, origin of birth, social status and even differences between nations and their various diversity do not prevent this nation from formulating the basis of their country by looking at the innermost nature of human who actually

originated from The One which knowledge on the nature of it is inherently the sacred one. It is an innate sense that politeness and justice are knowledge possessed by all humans for being good and fair is everyone's wish.

In this context, we can say that politeness and justice are human nature including Indonesian people. Every human being whoever he is and wherever he came from, always wish to be treated fairly in noble and polite ways. Awareness of the need to be fair and have good character is the part of human conscience which always voices and warns to themselves about the need to be fair and have a noble character to fellow human beings, to other living creatures, nature, plants and animals.

Up to this point, the Indonesian people have found a common ground that becomes the common sentence (*kalimatun sawa'*) which becomes a guideline for all the children of the nation to necessarily measure their behavior with that natural tendency. It is the way of how Indonesian people treat to each other in the fields of politics, economics, culture, and even the daily-life matters. The bitter experience of the Indonesian people for hundreds of years under the grip of the invaders, further strengthened the commitment to carry out this principle purely and consequently as a call of conscience.

### The Unity of Indonesia

The third principle of Pancasila is based on and imbued with the previous principles which keywords are divinity and civilized humanity. Therefore, the essence of the third principle is the divinely and civilized unity. When declaring themselves to be united, especially through the historical event called "The Youth Pledge" (*Sumpah Pemuda*); that they acknowledge one nation, one motherland, and one language of Indonesia, they "automatically" necessitate to leaving aside of all differences and diversity.

<sup>32</sup> Yudi Latif, *Negara Paripurna*, 125.

<sup>33</sup> Yudi Latif, *Negara Paripurna*, 174.

The long struggle of the Indonesian people to achieve independence under the oppression of the colonials with the politic of “divide and rule” (*dévide et impera*), further enriched the awareness of the people about the need for unity as they found the common enemy for all. Through a speech in Banda Aceh in 1968, Soeharto, the second president of Indonesia, said that, “the principle of unity and unity of the Nation and State means that we do not exaggerate the differences in ethnic, class, interests, religious beliefs, and all other insignificant differences”.<sup>34</sup>

In the perennial perspective, awareness of the need for unity is inherited sacred knowledge because humans cannot live alone without the assistance of the others in a community. However, when the bond is made, the common interests of unity in the difference becomes a necessity to appear in a community. The experience of this nation is very rich with these values long before the struggle for Indonesian independence. The symbol of the unity in *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity), which currently becomes the official national motto of Indonesia, is the legacy of the ancestors which proves that the knowledge of the need and significance of unity has become the soul of this nation. While the second principle of Pancasila has the inner purpose of getting rid of differences to achieve equality between fellow human beings as the God’s creatures, to produce civilization and justice, the third principle aims at coordination of differences to be united on the basis that human kind are God’s creatures who have a disposition to unite, while the desire of unity among human is part of their nature. In the depths of human’s innermost conscience, there is a desire to unite with the other. Thus, the principle of “the unity of Indonesia” is a common sentence (*kalimatun sawa*), a shared commitment to live together in one place with the same goal.

<sup>34</sup> Krissantono (ed), *Pandangan Presiden Soeharto tentang Pancasila* (Jakarta: CSIS, 1976), 49.

### **Democracy Guided by the Inner Wisdom Arising out of Deliberations Amongst Representatives**

The key word in this fourth principle is deliberation based on wisdom (*kebijaksanaan*). Lexically, the Indonesian word *bijaksana* means the attitude that uses reason (experience and knowledge), being wise, sharp-minded, and clever. While *kebijaksanaan* is the ability to use reason in making a decision when facing with some difficulties.<sup>35</sup> The use of reason in this context refers to the Indonesian way of thinking which is distinct compared to the rational mode of thinking in Western style. This way of thinking involves mind and a sense of politeness at the same time. Unlike democracy in other countries, the Indonesian version of democracy which is expressed in the fourth principle of Pancasila is based on the spirit of “kinship” as the aspiration of brotherhood in the equality of citizenship have firmly rooted in the life of the Indonesian people. The tradition of deliberation in the spirit of kinship has long blossomed in rural communities through the archipelago. In this case, Mohammad Hatta, the first vice president of Indonesia, said that, the State must be in the form of a republic based on popular sovereignty, but the people’s sovereignty in question is not Rousseau’s conception which is individualistic. The sovereignty of the people of Indonesia must be rooted in the collectivity of one’s own experience of life. Indonesian democracy must also develop in the light of genuine Indonesian democracy.<sup>36</sup>

By looking at the cultural roots and traditions of the Indonesian people since long time ago, it can be understood that the existence of the fourth principle is an innate knowledge that lives through generations up to the time of independence. In the perennial sense, this

<sup>35</sup> Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1988), 115.

<sup>36</sup> Yudi Latif, *Negara Paripurna*, 385.



kind of knowledge is interpreted as sacred knowledge that becomes a natural tendency, as well as a manifestation of the God's Greatness in human beings. Historical record shows that the people of archipelago people who lived hundreds of years ago have recognized the tradition of deliberation long before the emergence of formal education. In other words, one can say that they are totally uneducated or "illiterate" in the modern sense, but they were able to practice deliberation to reach consensus in their daily interests. The fourth principle becomes an inseparable part of Pancasila as a whole as the basis of the State. Accordingly, at this point, the Indonesian people actually found the "common sentences", a shared commitment to live together in one place with the same goal.

### **Social justice for the Whole of the People of Indonesia**

The soul of this principle has been heroically described by Soekarno:

A just and prosperous society, it is the original and pure aspirations of the people of Indonesia who have struggled and sacrificed for decades. A just and prosperous society is the ultimate goal of our revolution. A just and prosperous society for which, as I say over and over again, thousands of our leaders suffer. Tens of thousands of our leaders are in prison. Tens of thousands of our leaders left the happiness of their lives. Hundreds of thousands, maybe millions of our people suffer none other than to pursue the ideals of the implementation of a just and prosperous society through which all Indonesian people from Sabang to Merauke tasted the happiness.<sup>37</sup>

Accordingly, the presence of a state order that guarantees prosperity in term of politics, economics, and social life, becomes the final goal of the independence of the Indonesia. The desire to live in prosperous deserves to be the

ideal of Indonesian people and even all human kind. For the Indonesian people who inhabited the archipelago throughout the times, it has been known that their land was a prosperous one and they always want to continue to live in such condition. The indigenous expression of *gemah ripah loh jinawi tata tentrem kerta raharja* as it has already been mentioned, is at the same time the hope of people and a reflection of their experiences, as the historical record notes that the atmosphere of prosperity were tasted by the inhabitants of Indonesian archipelago before finally being impoverished by the colonial presence.

In the perennial perspective, creating prosperity of the world is the sacred mission of human as successor (*khalifah*) on earth. The prosperity of the world in this context is quite different from that of modern thinking which is based on the positivistic sense even in such a hedonistic frame. The prosperity of the world and human kind who inhabit it, in the perennial view, is the knowledge that has been implanted in the hearts of every human being since he first appeared on the world. In his deepest heart, which is his innate nature, people believe that this world is not a "no-man's land" that can be treated arbitrarily. They believe that the world with all its contents is the "disclosure" of the Divine which must be utilized for humanity. Thus, the formulation in the opening of the 1945 State Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (*Undang-Undang Dasar 1945*), which states that all the wealth contained in the earth of Indonesia must be used for the prosperity of the people is essentially a "spiritual" expression. The Indonesian people have found a bound of togetherness that mutual prosperity is the common sentence which has been engraved deep in the hearts of people.

### **The Challenge of Modernity**

Bertrand Russel emphasizes two major

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<sup>37</sup> Yudi Latif, *Negara Paripurna*, 493.

things that characterize the beginning of modern society; the reduced authority of the Church and the increasing authority of science. Gradually, it was then followed by the emergence of new hegemony in which the State replaces the Church as a center of power that controls the cultural life of people. Several major events came on the scene such as the American and French revolutions and specifically the discovery of the Copernican theory which was continued by Kepler and Galileo in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>38</sup>

By that time, science and technology developed very quickly and have made the world seem even more “cramped” in the last few decades. The age of globalization eliminates the barriers of culture, nation and state, even the barriers of our bedroom. Industrialization has become the symbol of the supremacy of a nation resulting the stigmatic thought of the so-called “the third world” which equivalents to the powerlessness, to refer to a nation state without sophisticated industrial development. At the same time, the flow of information becomes unstoppable, so that an event that occurs in a particular hemisphere can be known and witnessed in another hemisphere in a very short time. Countries that control information means that they also control the world.

In this case, the perennialists place modernity as a challenge even as a “threat” to humanity through several reasons. Firstly, the emergence of modern philosophy that overrides the Divine realm of human life. Seyyed Hossein Nasr illustrates this condition with very interesting phrase; that because forgetting his existence, modern man has burned his hands with fire which he ignited himself. This kind of condition is similar with the Faust, a German legend who, after selling his soul to gain power over the natural environment of human, creates a situation in which the control of the

environment turns into extreme oppression, which subsequently not only results in destruction but even also lead to the acts of suicide. This condition occurred, according to Nasr, because modern life has lost its spiritual horizon. It does not mean that the spiritual horizon does not exist, it can be explained through the illustration of human who witness this contemporary life on the edge of the circle of existence, so he can only see things only from his own point of view.<sup>39</sup>

Secondly, modern science only pays attention to the level of physical ontology. Modern science explores the space and time which starts from a physical hypothesis and it ends also in physical verification measure. Everything in life is measured by the achievements of the five senses. The truth is limited to something that can be observed and touched by the five senses, while that of the physically unverified or something that cannot be measured mathematically, has ultimately become the non-existent or at least unscientific.<sup>40</sup> Third, modern Western philosophy has reduced human being to be purely anthropomorphic, as Descartes mentioned his popular words; *cogito ergo sum* (I think therefore I am). In fact, he has placed individual human consciousness as a measure of existence. Inside of human, there is nothing higher than reason and in the objective world outside of human, nothing is higher than what can be understood by reason itself with the assistance of the five senses.<sup>41</sup>

Fourth, the emergence of modern evolutionary theory. Founded by Charles Darwin, the theory had the great influence on the development of modern Western thought.

<sup>39</sup> Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islam dan Nestapa Manusia Modern*, trans. Anas Mahyudin (Bandung: Pustaka, 1983), 4.

<sup>40</sup> Huston Smith, *Kebenaran yang Terlupakan: Kritik atas Sains dan Modernitas*, trans. Inyik Ridwan Muzir (Yogyakarta: Ircisod, 2001), 9.

<sup>41</sup> Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Traditional Islam in the Modern World* (Kuala Lumpur: Foundation for Traditional Studies, 1988), 100.

<sup>38</sup> Bertrand Russel, *A History of Western Philosophy* (London: Simon & Schuster, 1946), 491.

The theory has been regarded as a scientific discovery that has proven its truth, while in fact, this opinion is actually the hypothesis which, up to current times, has not yet been proven true. Another phenomenon is the effort to juxtapose the story of Adam – which, according to the religious scriptures, is God’s creation taught to him the names of objects or science as the provision of a caliph/successor who is in charge of prospering the earth – with an evolutionist conception that explain human kind as having the same ancestry with the ape in the evolutionary process. Evolutionism is an attempt to fill the void caused by the actions of modern man who separates beings from God which results the denial of the higher realm outside human kind.<sup>42</sup>

As the result of the modernist views that put aside the realm of spirituality and the Highest Reality of human life today, the perennialists see that the future of humanity is on the brink of collapse. This can be predicted based on the following indications:

First, the exploitation of nature for being treated as the material that must be “conquered” by modern science and technology even though it will ultimately endanger human themselves. Nature is fully exploited for the benefit of a hedonist interest and even it is also destroyed to satisfy the physical pleasures. Apart from showing the miracles that hypnotize humans with the conveniences of transportation and communication, scientific thought has “poisoned” modern life through science and technology. The glory of scientific development should be paid handsomely with the corruption of the nature, even the damages are also happening in countries that are the lungs of the world.

Second, the environmental damage. Technology is the child of modern science that aims to create such a prosperous world. In

fact, it is also like a “double-edged knife”, for being able to make prosperity, on the one hand, and providing a terrible killing power on the other. As a result of the unlimited exploitation of nature as described above, the environment is now reaping the negative results, namely the damages in various parts of the earth. Environmental pollution due to the disposal of industrial waste in any place, global warming which causes melting of the Arctic iceberg, the greenhouse effect that tore the ozone layer that serves to protect the earth from the heat of the sun, are just a few examples of the damage caused by modern technology.

Third, the continuing war that is now endangering humanity very much cannot be separated from modern thought and technology. The competition in the manufacture and technological sophistication of weapons becomes the trigger for human’s desire to kill one another. In the other words, one can say that the tragedy of killing each other during the war is actually seen by the weapons producers as a promising economic project.

Fourth, the unjust global economic-politics. To illustrate that condition, it is worth to borrow the Bassam Tibi’s terms; “top dog” and “underdog”. What is meant by top dogs are Western countries that are advanced in modern science and technology, while underdogs are non-Western countries that have dependence on the West in terms of science, technology, education, politics, economics and culture. Tibi then quoted Johan Galtung that the relationship between the countries in the “top dog” circle and those in the “underdog” circle was asymmetrical due to the uneven technological progress.<sup>43</sup>

### **The Ups and Downs of Pancasila The Period of *Orde Lama* (Old Order) 1945-1965**

<sup>43</sup> Basam Tibi, *Krisis Peradaban Islam Modern*, trans. Yudian W Asmin (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1998), 17.

<sup>42</sup> Nasr, *Traditional Islam in the Modern World*, 105.

As it has already been explained, the birth of *Pancasila* was a necessity to answer the nation's problems which at that time requires the ideological basis as well as a way of life in order to achieve the goals. After being established as the basis of the State, philosophy, and way of life of the nation, *Pancasila* has conceptually reached a climax in its culmination. *Pancasila* has become a national consensus as the only ideology to become the basis of state and a final decision as something with the fixed price. Something that phase is the implementation of it in every line of life of the nation, state and society.

During the administration of the first President, Soekarno, from 1945 AD to 1965 AD, which is known as the phase of *Orde Lama* (the Old Order), *Pancasila* experienced tremendous shock in the polemical conflict of interest surrounding the newly established state. *Pancasila* was hit by political storms both from outside and inside. One of the most important, for instance, was coming from the movement of Darul Islam/Islamic Armed Forces of Indonesia (*Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia, DI/TII*), an Islamist group which seeks to replace *Pancasila* with an Islamic ideology. Another wave came from the Indonesian Communist Party (*Partai Komunis Indonesia/PKI*) which also seeks to replace *Pancasila* with the communist ideology. The political upheaval that took place in almost all regions of the Republic of Indonesia has threatened the newly independence state resulting the lack of actualization and implementation of *Pancasila* in this early stage. The most phenomenal momentum in the ideological tension between the Nationalist, Religious, and Communist groups.<sup>44</sup> The uncertain political sphere finally reached its culmination by the uprising of Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) on September 30,

<sup>44</sup> Howard M. Federspiel, "Sukarno dan Apolog-Apolog Muslimnya" *Ulumul Qur'an: Jurnal Ilmu dan Kebudayaan* Vol II No. 7 (Oktober, 1990), 39.

1965 which sought to replace *Pancasila* with a communist ideology. It was at this point that the place and function of *Pancasila* consequently began to be questioned for it was perverted for political purposes for a moment.

### **The Period of *Orde Baru* (New Order) 1966-1998**

Under the regime of President Soeharto which is famously well known as the period of *Orde Baru* (New Order), *Pancasila* is also projected to become the basis to reconstruct the ruined condition of the nation after the 1965 tragedy. It was started with the formation of *Badan Pembinaan Pendidikan Pelaksanaan Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila/BP7* (The Supervisory and Educational Committee for Implementation of Guidelines for the Appreciation and the Practice of *Pancasila*), as the forum that is responsible for studying, formulating and even implementing *Pancasila* in society. BP7 took the concrete steps starting with establishing the concept of the practice of *Pancasila* and then holding the training of P4 (*Pedoman Penghayatan dan pengalaman Pancasila/The Guidelines for the Appreciation and the Practice of Pancasila*) for all levels of society, from civilians, military members, government apparatus from the central to the regions, up to the campus through the special P4 training for students, especially new students. A special book was even published by the *Yayasan Proklamasi Center for Strategic and International Studies* in 1976 with the title *Pandangan Presiden Soeharto Tentang Pancasila* (President Soeharto's Views of *Pancasila*). In one part of the book Soeharto said:

The most important thing is that we truly feel that the *Pancasila* manifests itself in our daily lives as individuals, in our social relationships with fellow members of the community, in our national and state life. This *Pancasila* must be realized in our social, economic and political development.

Pancasila must emanate from our style of government, from the center to the smallest regions. Shortly speaking, Pancasila must be felt and have meaning in all aspects of our respective lives and together. That is why I have repeatedly invited the community to think together concerning the easy ways of understanding the comprehension and elaboration of Pancasila. Because Pancasila is our common property and we must practice it together, we also have to agree unanimously about the understanding and explanation of Pancasila itself.<sup>45</sup>

Efforts to implement the Pancasila values through the P4 training during the Soeharto era have been carried out rigorously and systematically. Pancasila is revealed in a very detailed grid in the guidelines for the comprehension and practice of Pancasila. Still, the implementation in term of state policies was frequently contrary to the values of the Pancasila itself. Eep Saefulloh Fatah criticized the new order by saying that the New Order regime was practiced in hegemony rather than domination. Hegemony is killing as if it's embracing, slapping that seems to stroke, and trampling that seems to massage. Briefly speaking, hegemony is the "smile of a vampire" that hides his fangs. He is the oppressor who lies to be a helper. Domination is the practice of honest power. It kills by stabbing directly into the heart, slapping openly and trampling with immediate pain. Domination is the "laughter of a vampire" who show his fangs. He is an oppressor who honestly claims to be an oppressor. If domination is open authoritarianism, then hegemony is authoritarianism in the form of democracy.<sup>46</sup>

The New Order under President Soeharto, who had been in power for 32 years, has certainly contributed a lot to the development of Indonesia. However, in the case of Pancasila

<sup>45</sup> Krissantono (ed), *Pandangan Presiden Soeharto tentang Pancasila* (Jakarta: CSIS, 1976), 82.

<sup>46</sup> Eep Saefullah Fatah, *Mencintai Indonesia dengan Amal, refleksi atas fase awal demokrasi* (Jakarta: Republika, 2004), 35.

and its implementation, there is a wide gap between the persistence to socialize Pancasila on the one hand and the practice of Pancasila at the state level and social life on the other. It was this condition which was caused the emergence of the succession issue. At the end of President Soeharto's administration, political circumstances were felt to be much repressive, economic crises began to open up, the exchange rate of the Indonesian Rupiah (IDR) against the United States Dollar (USD) was uncontrolled which then led to a popular uprising, which finally brought President Soeharto down from the reins of his administration in 1998. As well as the Old Order, the New Order also failed to implement the Pancasila values to prosper the people of Indonesia.

#### **Reformasi (Reform) Era: 1998-Present**

The reform movement was born as a reaction and correction to the administration of the State that deviated from the ideology of the Pancasila and the mechanism of the 1945 Constitution, which during the New Order regime was used as the "watchwords", namely implementing *Pancasila* and the 1945 Constitution in a pure and consistent manner. This deviation was causing the imbalance of power among the State institutions due to the excessive presidential power. The absolute power ultimately paved the ground to a culture of corruption, collusion and nepotism. The country's economic fundamentals are in ruins as a result of the implementation of policies which were not built on the foundation of people's economy, as it was handed over to a handful of conglomerate people. The accumulation of these problems leads to the popular movement which was labeled reformation. It was spearheaded by students and campus intellectuals, resulting the President Soeharto's resignation on May 21, 1998.

After the fall of the New Order with Soeharto

as its central figure, the Indonesian people began a new phase in the life of the nation and state, a period that we call the Reformation Order (*Reformasi*). This reformation was created as an “anti-thesis” of the New Order regime which was considered to be oppressive. Accordingly, the reformation came with freedom that might have never happened before through the history of the Republic of Indonesia. The most striking situation lies in the political sphere, the media sphere and the public sphere. In the realm of Indonesian politics, if the New Order had only three political parties; Golkar, PPP and PDI, the reformation has opened the gate for 48 parties to participate in the General Election, out of the total 143 parties which established at that time. Likewise, mass media and social media experienced a rapid development like the mushrooms in rainy season, with various versions and interests. The media seems to have the legitimacy to spit out freedom, the right to expose any information including the accounts of the President. In the public sphere, all cluster of society from students, workers, peasants, even the housewives are free to express their opinions, both individually and collectively.

One should also underline the fact that the movement of reformation, due to the high tension with the previous New Order period, has in several cases dealt with Pancasila in such a negative image, concerning its position as the basis of the State, as the philosophy of the State, as the soul and world view of the nation's life. This is due to the popular stigmatic perception that Pancasila is belong to the New Order, or more extremely, to Soeharto. The fall of the New Order, in this perception, was considered as the end of the Pancasila also. The euphoria of BP7, P4 trainings, and several other programs to socialize Pancasila and its values starting from LEMHANAS (*Lembaga Ketahanan Nasional/ National Resilience Institute*) up to Posyandu (*Pos Pelayanan Terpadu/Integrated Service Post*),

were lost at that time and almost unheard. Some parts of the community, especially among the younger generation, were talking about Pancasila in the way of turning the clock back. In such an atmosphere, a small part of the people began to think that Pancasila was not qualified to answer the state's problems anymore to bring this nation to prosperity. Thus, the presence and the absence of Pancasila is just the same, moreover, there has been the opposite opinion that Pancasila must be replaced by another ideology that is more suitable with the contemporary issues.

### **The Period of Joko Widodo (Jokowi)**

Entering the third year of the administration of Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla, Indonesia has begun to be disturbed by the uncontrolled euphoria of freedom, which bravely targets the very fundamental things namely the basis and philosophy of the State. The case of the dissolution of the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) by the government and the instructions of the Commander of TNI (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia/ The Indonesian National Armed Force*) to watch the “official” movie on the event of G30S PKI 1965 event, have become the indications to show the emerging challenge of Pancasila. The government of Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla which faces the threat of excessive freedom has also made the serious efforts to prevent the antagonistic implication of freedom, especially the movement to destabilize *Pancasila*.

Apart from the controversies over the HTI dissolution, the government sees that the effort to establish the *khilafah* system in Indonesia is equivalent to not recognizing *Pancasila* as the basis of the State, or even the purpose to replace Pancasila with other ideologies. Likewise, the re-popularization of the film on G30S PKI gives a signal that, according to the government, the communist ideology will rise again in Indonesia, at least, it is very potential

to the second emergence. In such conditions, the Indonesian people inevitably must return to *Pancasila* as the only view of life that can save the nation from undermining threats both from outside and inside this country.

To revive awareness about the importance of *Pancasila* for the life of nation state, the government established UKP PIP (*Unit Kerja Presiden untuk Pembinaan Ideologi Pancasila*) The Unit of Presidential Work for the Development of the Ideology of *Pancasila* through Presidential Regulation (Perpres) No. 54, 2017. The task of this work unit is to assist the President in formulating the general policy regarding the ideology of *Pancasila* and to coordinate, synchronize and control the overall and sustainable development of the *Pancasila* ideology. The President's work unit is different from BP7 of the New Order, both in terms of function and organizational structure. BP7 has the hierarchical structure with a focus on socialization and training of P4, while the UKP PIP structure is simpler and it is basically coordinative. UKP PIP coordinates with all relevant institutions, provides learning material on *Pancasila*, in addition to provide the monitoring and evaluation.

The government also encourages the establishment of several Centers for *Pancasila* Study in campuses which aims at educating students simultaneously through habituation of the attitudes and values of *Pancasila* in learning activities, as stated by Wiranto, the former Minister of Political, Legal, and Security Affairs of Indonesia (Menkopolkam) in the inauguration of the PSPBN (*Pusat Studi Pancasila dan Bela Negara*) Center for *Pancasila* Study and State Defense in State Islamic University of Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta. This means that the formula for practicing *Pancasila* purely and consistently in all lines of the nation, state, and society, needs to get the attention of all generations of the nation's children. Thus, it can be concluded that efforts to present concepts

and strategies to make *Pancasila* the spirit of the Indonesian nation are still very much needed.

### **Practicing Pancasila in Spiritual Awareness**

Some people argue that if an Indonesian citizen practices his religion or tradition correctly, he basically has practiced *Pancasila*. Such an opinion is not wrong, but it is also not entirely true, because religion and tradition have two sides which can be distinguished but cannot be separated; the exoteric and the esoteric sides, namely the form and content, the realm that distinguishes or equalizes one religion or tradition to another. Therefore, practicing religion and tradition as a whole does not guarantee the achievement of togetherness in this pluralistic Indonesian society. To practice *Pancasila* as a common sentence (*kalimatun sawa*) in the life of nation state, one must accentuate the esoteric side both of religion and tradition, which is actually contained in the *Pancasila*.

In this context, exploring *Pancasila* with the perspective of perennial philosophy finds its relevance. *Pancasila* must be practiced with consciousness as a sacred knowledge. The awareness of the "Belief in the One and Only God", the first principle of *Pancasila*, is the core of religion and tradition that has been exist in Indonesia which is embedded in the hearts of the people throughout the time. Thus, religious tolerance is not felt as a simply social calling concerning the humans need to live together in peace and harmony, more that it, the awareness of coexistence has strong religious roots on the basis of that esoteric essence. The awareness to coexist peacefully and harmoniously which is rooted in religion and tradition should also be recognized as the nature of Indonesian people; a whisper from the heart about the need for the preservation of peace and harmony. It is by this practice that the first principle of *Pancasila* is expected to become *kalimatun sawa*, a joint commitment of all followers of

religion and tradition to coexist peacefully and harmoniously.

In applying the values of Pancasila, the first principle is the fundamental moral basis which has the vertical dimensions, while the other four precepts have the horizontal one. Similar to the first, the second principle of “just and civilized humanity”, the third principle of “the unity of Indonesia”, the fourth principle of “democracy guided by the inner wisdom arising out of deliberations amongst representatives” and the fifth principle of “social justice for the whole of Indonesian people”, must be understood, internalized and practiced in the frame of sacred knowledge from the Divine, as “the Indonesian human nature” which became the common sentence (*kalimatun sawa*), a shared commitment to live and work together. In this sense, the practice of four principles of Pancasila that have a horizontal dimension would appear selflessness and sincerity. Here, the “just and civilized humanity” is practiced to enhance the dignity of human; that human beings are equal without any discrimination. The unity of Indonesia is practiced as a need to maintain territorial unity and national culture in the midst of diverse culture. The purpose of “democracy guided by the inner wisdom arising out of deliberations amongst representatives”, is practiced to reach consensus, not to fight for power or establish the tyranny over the weak. “Social justice for all Indonesian people” is practiced for the prosperity of all Indonesian people, not for certain groups.

In this stage, the practice of *Pancasila* is no longer driven by external coercive forces, it arises on the basis of encouragement from within that comes from the innermost awareness. With this kind of confidence, *Pancasila* will become a strong resilience both in facing the penetration of another ideologies and foreign cultures as the implication of globalization and inward levels and to strengthen moral security and

confidence of the nation for not being affected by the antagonistic impact of modernity in order to maintain their identity as the Indonesian people.

### Conclusion

The values of Pancasila which were excavated from the Indonesian heritage and formulated as the basis of the State, the soul of the nation, the philosophy and way life of the nation, have become a solid foothold as well as a direction towards the future of the Indonesian nation. In its dynamics, Pancasila faces challenges both from outside and inside. Challenges from the outside are in the form of modernity which is marked by the development of science and technology, globalization and secularization. The challenge that comes from within is a series of efforts from the nation’s own children to replace Pancasila with another ideologies in addition to the challenges in the context of the practice and implementation of Pancasila. Efforts to make Pancasila to become the sole principle of life in Indonesia imbued by all the nation’s children, have experienced “ups and downs” since the old order, the new order, up to the reformation era. Until now, Pancasila can be said to have not been fully lived in and practiced by all the nation’s children. Instead of Pancasila, which salted the entire line of life of the nation in politics, economics, socio-culture, group truth claims were even more prominent.

In this context, another perspective is required to see the different realm to practice the values of *Pancasila* in Indonesia and the perennial philosophy is one among them. This perspective offers a softer, cooler and more egalitarian perspective, due to the common principle as something that is emphasized very much, although it still recognizes differences in the context of a pluralistic nation like Indonesia. This perspective also offers the three prerequisites for the effectiveness of the practice



of *Pancasila*, namely that *Pancasila* should be placed as the sacred knowledge that comes from the Divine, awareness of *Pancasila* as a natural tendency embedded in the heart Indonesian people, and *Pancasila* as a common sentence to overcome all national issues in the context of diversity and difference. Up to this point, the practice of *Pancasila* is – borrowing Javanese proverb – *sepi ing pamrih rame ing gawe* (quietly and selfless), it is flowing in and animating the life of the nation, whether personal, community or in the state level.

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