



# Strategy for the Development of the Pancasila Ideology in Indonesia during the 1945-1966

Rendy Ananta Prasetya<sup>1</sup>, Syamsul Maarif<sup>2</sup>, Joni Mahroza<sup>3</sup>, Luhut Simbolon<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1,2,3,4</sup> Indonesian Defense University

Corresponding Author Email: rendy.ananta@idu.ac.id

## Abstract

Social diversity can be potential for inter-ethnic conflicts, tensions, divisions due to ideologies both in Western and Eastern Europe. On the other hand Ideology can also realize the unity and integrity of the nation which is bound by shared values, origins, origin, value system, the same ideology that is continuously built through a consensus that is believed by its citizens (Adhia, 2013; Rokeach, 1971). Ideology can be a major force in social change. The importance of paying attention to the birth of a nation by paying attention to the social context that existed in their respective times and the usage of ideology as a nation paradigm. The Pancasila Ideology Development Strategy is about finding developmental guidance that can deal with social diversity as the basis that underlies Pancasila since the birth of the nation's ideology that can unite various members of the nation's citizens into one. Pancasila itself is one of the important instruments in the formation and construction of the social identity of the Indonesian people. Nationalism of loyalty for the homeland proclaimed based on Pancasila. This means that, in developing nationalism in the nation-building project, the government of the Republic of Indonesia will place Pancasila in a central position, especially at the level of indoctrination. This paper tries to show how the government institutions of the republic of Indonesia develop various programs and strategies for fostering Pancasila ideology as the nation's ideology in the nation building process in terms of historical lines, especially from the post-colonial years 1945-1966. From the birth of Pancasila through Soekarno's speech in 1945 to the formation of the Committee for the Retooling of State Apparatus (PARAN) and the Institute for the Development of the Revolutionary Spirit (LPDR). Various forms of this program are devoted to indoctrinating the values of Pancasila to the Indonesian people to maintain the unification of the Unitary State of Indonesia. This writing is based on qualitative data processing through archive or archival studies. the values of Pancasila as a state ideology with an archipelago perspective will encourage people to be able to respect each other's differences and socio-political-economic diversity that exists in society.

**Keywords:** Identity Politics, Nation-building, Pancasila, State Ideology

## Background

Social diversity can be potential for inter-ethnic conflicts, tensions, divisions due to ideologies both in Western and Eastern Europe that can lead to the disintegration of the OECD and European Union nations, 2015; Hechter 1975; Nairn 1981; Smith 1981; Rex 1986; Castles et al. 1988; Glazer and Moynihan 1975; Sokolov 2002). On the other hand Ideology can also realize the unity and integrity of the nation

which is bound by shared values, origins, origin, value system, the same ideology that is continuously built through a consensus that is believed by its citizens (Adhia, 2013; Rokeach, 1971). Ideology is related to the national interest of a nation, as a common reason for the existence of a nation (1936). The nation as an imagined community (Imagined Communities) with clear and sovereign boundaries and built through the process of 'becoming' a nation is a

continuous and inherent process (Anderson, 1983).

Strategic Ideology Development is the implementation and elaboration of national ideology as the basis of shared values towards national consolidation as the national interest of a nation (Leschenko, 2008). Ideology can be a major force in social change (Kirchmeier, 1990; Katz and Mair, 1995) as well as a strong catalyst in binding a nation, establishing state sovereignty and bringing a new breath of liberation as in the era of imperialism and colonialism in Indonesia (Smith, 2008).

The importance of paying attention to the birth of a nation by paying attention to the social context that existed in their respective times. In contemporary Indonesia, various acts of discrimination, anarchy, and SARA (Ethnicity, Religion, Race, and Intergroup) are rising among the community, the essence of multicultural implementation is fading in the noble values of Pancasila, diversity and values of justice marked by ethno-nationalism or equality - inequality, leaving behind tolerance, peace, humanity, pluralism, deliberation for consensus and justice values. These conditions have the potential to become threats to ideology. Likewise with the symptoms of radicalism that weaken the nature of diversity. People's actions slowly ignore the values of peace, tolerance, unity and justice contained in Pancasila (Indonesian State Defense Strategy, 2014: 41-42). Based on the research results, the Pancasila Ideological Resilience Index (IKIP) has decreased (Maharani, 2019). Likewise was conveyed by the National Resilience Measurement Lab (*Labkurtannas*), the National Resilience Institute that the ideological gatra is the gatra with the lowest index compared to other gatrass at 1.93 which is

included in the less resilient category (Labkurtannas Lemhannas RI, 2015: 32-33).

So it is important to pay attention to how the process of becoming a nation was passed through a series of historical processes that occurred in the early days of Indonesian independence, especially in the development of ideological development carried out by the founders of the Indonesian nation, namely in the period of 1945-1966.

During the Sukarno era, the Indonesian nation was still undergoing a transition to become a fully independent nation. In the New Order Era, the government massively increased the internalization of Pancasila through the P-4 under the pretext of banishing external ideology (Susan, 1982)(such as communism and socialism). Since 1978 the government has held an intensive program of ideological development through the P-4 programme which is based on MPR Decree Number II/MPR/1978 concerning ideological development which is then continued to be part of the education curriculum or what is called upgrading process. The process of Upgrading ideology is an attempt to sustain and strengthen the government authority. An action taken by the government to perpetuate their power. During the New Order era, the policy of fostering ideology developed into a political tool or as a Javanese political domination era (Wheaterbee, 1985; Morfit, 1981).

In the New Order Era, as explained by Syafrudin Prawiranegara (1984), Pancasila which was imposed as a sole ideological and organizing principle in the organizational foundation would actually develop in the opposite direction. Likewise, with the rationalization of the political party

system (1973), the P-4 program in schools was carried out through an upgrading program (Wheaterbee, 1985). Meanwhile, with the Pancasila immersion program through the role of television culture in the New Order government by using the series "Si unyil" which premiered in 1981. The TVRI channel has become one of the engines of state and government hegemony in shaping the character of children (Kitley, 1999).

President Soeharto forbade criticism that could bring down the government on the grounds of stability because it could cause domestic instability. On one occasion in front of high-ranking ABRI officials on April 16, 1980 at the Sandi Yudha (Kopassandha) Command Headquarters, Cijantung, Suharto said something that later sparked a polemic. *"Those who criticize me are criticizing Pancasila,"* said Suharto, quoted from the daily *Republika* (11 November 2011). The strengthening of nationalism in the New Order era through the implementation of Pancasila education at the university level is considered by some experts as a way to maintain the status quo. However, Pancasila as a formulation of the traditional philosophy of life that already exists in the community (immanent), is not a foreign doctrine that is forced into people's lives, so that P-4 is not a doctrinal tool but to draw out what is already immanent in Indonesian society (Morfit, 1981).

The Pancasila Ideology Development Strategy is about finding developmental guidance that can deal with social diversity as the basis that underlies Pancasila since the birth of the nation's ideology that can unite various members of the nation's citizens into one sustainable national unity through the value of Pancasila as an effort to develop the nation.

(Nation-building) (Fitch & Webb, 1989:48; Ting, 2008).

This study focuses on the strategy models carried out by the Pancasila Ideology development agencies/institutions in Indonesia since the founding of the Institute of Revolutionary Spirit Development (LPDR) and the Retooling Committee of State Apparatus (PARAN);

### **Nationalism in Nation-Building**

Nation-building has been one of the buzzwords in the current debate since the post-war era and has become an international community effort to restructure or rebuild the country. In the process of understanding the process of nation building or nation building, it is necessary to first examine the understanding of a nation.

The nation has been considered as a "soul", "spiritual principle" or "morally conscious", meaning that in the development of a nation state becomes the main identity that is firmly held by the community. Smith (2003) argues that nationalism is an ideology that makes the nation the central theme and tries to assert its existence to achieve and maintain autonomy, unity, and national identity. Nationalism consists of two elements, namely nationalism as an ideology and nationalism as a political movement (Ever, 1995 in).

Gellner (1983) defines nationalism as a principle of political legitimacy that requires the harmony of every national and political unit. In this context, nationalism can be understood from two perspectives; Nationalism as a sentiment and nationalism as a movement. First, nationalism as a sentiment shows that nationalism is an emotion both as anger because of a certain transgression and satisfaction as one's

needs being met. Second, nationalism as a movement displays nationalism as a result, response, or actualization of surface feelings and sentiments so that they will manifest into a social movement (Setiarsih & Suharno, 2018: 155).

Nationalism lives from the imagination of a community that is present at all times in the minds of every member of the nation who acts as a reference for social identity. Anderson's constructivist perspective is interesting because nationalism is interpreted as a collective imagination in building the border between "Us" and "others". Borders that are culturally built through the imprint of capitalism, are not just the ideological fabrication of the dominant group. Finally, a country is not only imagined as a community because the consolidated groups in the imagined community also have their own nationalism long before the new state is formed.

Castells (2010) explains that the social construction of identity will always occur in a context related to power relations, therefore there are three forms of identity construction; Legitimacy identity, resistant identity, and project identity. First, legitimate identity is the construction of identity by dominant institutions in society with the aim of extending and rationalizing domination to social actors. Second, resistant identity is an identity construction produced by actors who are oppressed, devalued, stigmatized by dominating groups. Third, project identity is an identity that arises when social actors build new identities with available materials and culture to change their position in society and also to change the social structure of society as a whole. Pancasila itself is one of the important instruments in the formation and construction of the social identity of the

Indonesian people. Nationalism of loyalty for the homeland proclaimed based on Pancasila. This means that, in developing nationalism in the nation-building project, the government of the Republic of Indonesia will place Pancasila in a central position, especially at the level of indoctrination.

### **Political Identity based by National Identity and Nationalism**

Identity is a never-ending process in people's lives. Identity is always formed and reshaped by the community through their social life. Hall (1990) suggests that identity is not necessarily a product of reflection on existing social conditions but rather as a representation of the driving forces that transform individuals – or rather society – into new subjects with which new fields of discourse can be found. Hall argues that identity can be viewed in two different perspectives. The former defines 'cultural identity' as a form of collective 'one true self', lurking within the many more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves' shared by people with a shared history (1990: 223).

The second perspective recognizes more than similarities, but also at the deep and significant critical point which is 'what we really are'; Or rather - History for intervening - 'what we have made' (Hall, 1990: 225). In this perspective, Hall shows that cultural identity always comes from somewhere, and has been evolving ever since. Hall also points out that identities are far from being permanently fixed in the essential past, they are also subject to ongoing historical, cultural, and power 'games'. Overall, Hall argues that:

*“Identity is the name we give to the various ways we give to the various ways we position ourselves, and*

*position ourselves within, the narrative of the past.”* (1990:225)

From Hall's point of view we can see that identity is a dynamic process. Identity formation in this case is a situational process, and can be adapted to social situations (current, past, or future). The two perspectives shown by Hall argue more about the socio-cultural level. It focuses more on the identity attributes in showing the similarity of 'us' and representational processes to distinguish 'others'.

Castell, on the other hand, sees identity as a source of meaning for society (2009). He bases his argument on the process of constructing meaning based on cultural attributes, or related to a set of cultural attributes, which are given priority over other sources of meaning. He defines meaning as the symbolic identification by social actors of the purpose of their actions (2009: 7). In addition, Castell also proposes that identity can also originate from dominant institutions, through the prospect of internalization and construction of meaning by social actors. Castell's definition of identity focuses primarily on collective identity rather than individual identity (2009: 7). Castell's point of view suggests that a sense of 'identity' stems from the network of power relations in a society. He proposes a distinction between three forms of identity building:

- Legitimizing Identity: Introduced by dominant community institutions to expand and rationalize their dominance vis social actors.
- Resistance Identity: Generated by actors who are in positions/conditions that are devalued and/or stigmatized by the logic of domination, thereby building trenches of resistance and survival based on principles different from, or

against, those permeating the institution -community institutions.

- Project Identity: When social actors, based on whatever cultural material is available to them, construct new identities that redefine their position in society and, in so doing, seek a transformation of the overall social structure

Castell's three forms of identity show that identity has no progressive or regressive value outside of its historical context. Castell argues that each type of identity-building process leads to a different outcome. Hall & Castell's argument demonstrates the characteristics of identity as both a mode of identification and an instrument of self- and other legitimacy. While Hall focused on the role of agency in the process of identity construction, Castell focused more on discourse about identity itself.

Castell's argument suggests a more contextual form of identity, especially in its correlation with socio-political conditions. Understanding the correlation between identity and politics is a must in identifying the dissemination of public awareness (Setiarsih & Suharno, 2018: 157). Identity can also be used in the political struggle of ethnic groups to achieve certain goals, such as independence. From the point of view of Castell (2009), a form of identity politics can be analyzed in terms of the relationship between dominant and subdominant institutions. Inferior versus superior relationship. Identity politics can then be recognized when a sub-dominant institution or society organizes and reorganizes as opposition to the dominant institution. The form of identity politics can be seen in the formation of nationalism.

Nation and national identity are closely intertwined. As already explained, 'nation' as a concept does not have a common and generally accepted definition, its meaning is still contested by different strands of scholarship, but it is shared that a nation is rooted in historical values that are constantly shared from one generation to another. Anderson defines a nation as an "imagined political community" that is "...understood as a deep and historical friendship" (Anderson 1995:5; 7). The state on the other hand can be seen in the form of territorialization of political power (Jessop, 2011: 2). Jessop defines the state as collective subordination by common law, and should, ideally, recognize the state as a legitimate authority within its sovereign territory (Jessop, 2011: 240). The three main features of statehood are state territory, state apparatus, and state population (Jessop, 2011: 240). Both definitions of the state and nation provide striking differences, one shows a collective that is built based on the law and within the jurisdiction, while the other is a form of 'kinship' formed from the same historical background, shared values which are then embedded in the collective consciousness.

Nationalism on the other hand explores the differences between nation and state. Gellner (1983: 3) defines nationalism as a principle of political legitimacy that requires the harmony of every national and political unit. In this context, nationalism can be understood from two perspectives; Nationalism as sentiment and nationalism as movement. First, nationalism as a sentiment shows that nationalism is an emotion both as anger because of a certain transgression and satisfaction as one's needs being met. Second, nationalism as a movement displays nationalism as a result, response, or actualization of surface

feelings and sentiments so that they will manifest into a movement (Gellner, 1983).

Nationalism lives from the imagination of the community that is present at all times in the minds of every member of the nation which acts as a reference for social identity. Nationalism is a logical conclusion in the stage of humanity where industrial society dominates (Setiarsih & Suharno, 2018: 155). Nationalism lives from the imagination of a community that is present at all times in the minds of every member of the nation who acts as a reference for social identity. Nationalism can also be seen as an instrument to enforce social cohesion. Nationalism as a form of social identity then legitimizes through many political movements that groups uphold. Nationalism as a national identity is a living and dynamic reality.

### **Ideology development strategy for Nation Building**

In the current political era, there emerges a variety of new social awareness in the form of nation-state society. Meanwhile, the consciousness of a society is based on the commonality of their culture, rather than the consciousness approved by the state. A form of social identity is then constructed through this similarity. The development of this nation is a fundamental aspect of the power relationship between the nation and the state. Anderson defines the state as 'an imagined political community - and is imagined to be both inherently limited and sovereign'. In this notion of an 'imagined community', Anderson refers to the fact that a nation is a community of people who are connected to one another without necessarily knowing each other.

Alesina & Reich define nation building as a process that leads to the formation of states in which citizens feel a sufficient number of interests, goals, and preferences so that they do not want to be separated from each other (Alesina & Reich, 2015:3). From this view, nation building is formed based on the homogenization of society. The process of nation building in this paper should be considered as an urgent problem and a complementary challenge for the development of the country.

Grotenhuis in his book sees nation building as a process of building a shared identity as the basis for people to live together, to accept laws and to share resources which are often overlooked in donor strategies to overcome fragility (Grotenhuis, 2016: 12). Grotenhuis sees nation building more as a relationship between society and the state. Nation-building in his view can be seen not only as a form of response to the 'fragility' of the state – their political interests and power through the manifestation of their policies – but can also be used as a complementary effort to develop the state (Grotenhuis, 2016: 13).

### **Pancasila as the basis and the ideology of the state**

The definition of ideology from the Greek language is 'idein' which means to see, or idea which means facial expression, stature, ideas and the word 'logi' which means teaching, thus ideology is teaching or science about ideas and ideas or science of ideas. (Marsudi, 2001).

Puspowardoyo (1991) states that ideology can be formulated as a complex of knowledge and values as a whole to become the basis for a person or society to understand the universe and the earth in its

contents, and determine the basic attitude to cultivate it. Based on the understanding that is lived, a person can catch what is seen as right and wrong and what is considered good and bad.

Pancasila as the nation's ideology means that Pancasila is the ideals of the state or ideals that become the basis for a theory or state system for all the people and the Indonesian nation. Based on MPR Decree No. XVIII/MPR/1998 concerning the revocation of the MPR's decision on P4. It is emphasized that Pancasila is the basis of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia which must be implemented consistently in the life of the nation and state.

The ideology of the state is the development of the ideology of the nation. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) (1991: 163), stated that Pancasila as the nation's ideology means that every citizen of the Republic of Indonesia is bound by very basic provisions contained in the five precepts. Sometimes the two terms are combined into Pancasila as the Ideology of the Indonesian Nation and State. Pancasila as the Ideology of the Indonesian Nation and State means that Pancasila in essence is not only the result of reflection or thought of individuals or groups of people as other ideologies in the world, but Pancasila is based on traditional, cultural and religious values contained in the view of the life of the Indonesian people before forming the state. In other words, the elements that constitute the material of Pancasila are none other than the views of the Indonesian people themselves, so that this nation is the materialist cause of Pancasila. The elements of Pancasila were then adopted and formulated by the founding fathers of the state. So that Pancasila gains a central

position as the basis of the state and ideology of the Indonesian nation and state.

The preamble to the 1945 Constitution states that Pancasila is the basis of the state. Thus, Pancasila becomes the basic normative value of the entire administration of the Republic of Indonesia. In other words, Pancasila is the basis of state philosophy or state ideology, because it contains the most basic norms for measuring and determining the legitimacy of various state administrations as well as important policies taken in the process of government regulation (Poespowardojo, 1991: 44). Pancasila as the state ideology means that Pancasila is the teachings, doctrines, theories and/or knowledge of the ideals (ideas) of the Indonesian people which are believed to be true, compiled systematically and given instructions with clear implementation.

Abdurrahman Wahid (1991: 163) states that Pancasila as a state philosophy has the status as a framework that must be followed in drafting laws and other legal products, in formulating government policies and in regulating formal relations between institutions and individuals living within the territory of the state. Meanwhile, Pancasila as the basis of the Indonesian state has the consequence that all laws and regulations are translated from the values of Pancasila. In other words, Pancasila is the source of Indonesia's basic law, so that all Indonesian positive legal regulations are derived or translated from the values of Pancasila.

Then, Pancasila as the basis of national and state life is the Indonesian National Identity (Kaelan, 2010:39). It means that the origin of the values (materialist cause) of Pancasila is the Indonesian people themselves. Consequently, the characteristics and

character of the Indonesian nation are reflected in the value system of the Pancasila philosophy. As a value system, the composition of Pancasila (1) is hierarchical and pyramidal in nature, (2) is complementary and mutually qualifying (Kaelan, 2010 :10-12).

The hierarchical and pyramidal arrangement, meaning that the sequence of the five 'precepts' denotes a series of levels in both breadth and content, is a specialty of the precepts that it presents. In a hierarchical and pyramidal structure, the One and Only God is the basis of humanity, Indonesian unity, democracy and social justice. On the other hand, the Supreme God is a humane God, which builds, maintains and develops Indonesian unity, which is democratic and socially just, and so on, so that each precept in it contains other precepts. Then the arrangement of Pancasila in the pyramidal hierarchy can be formulated in a complementary and mutually qualifying relationship. Each precept contains the other four precepts, qualified by the other four. The formula is as follows:

1. The first precept: Belief in the One and Only God is a just and civilized God, which unites Indonesia, which is just, led by wisdom in deliberation/representation, which is fair to all Indonesian people.
2. The second precept: A just and civilized humanity is a humanity that believes in the one and only God, which unites Indonesia, which is a democracy led by wisdom in deliberation/representation, which is fair for all Indonesian people.
3. The third precept: Indonesian Unity is a unity that believes in the One and Only God, which is just and civilized, is a democracy led by wisdom in



deliberation/representation, which is fair to all Indonesian people.

4. The fourth precept: Democracy led by wisdom in deliberation/representation is a people who believe in the One and Only God, which is just and civilized, which unites Indonesia, which is just for all the people of Indonesia.
5. The fifth precept: Justice for all Indonesian people is justice that believes in the One and Only God, who is just and civilized, who unites Indonesia, which is democratic led by wisdom in deliberation/representation.

The above formulation in sequence constitutes a unified whole. If the order is not like that, then it will be fragmented and there is no connection between one precept and another, then there is no Pancasila, so it cannot be used as a spiritual principle for the state.

### **Methodology**

The main approach used in this research is a qualitative approach. The role of the researcher is to obtain a holistic (systemic, comprehensive, and integrated) picture of the context under study: its social setting, how it works, and various explicit and implicit regulations (M. B. Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014). The purpose of the qualitative strategy is to understand the meanings conveyed by respondents to the phenomenon being studied (Bandur, 2019). Qualitative approach research is based on the notion that "reality" is subjective: each human being constructs an individual, personal view of how the world works based on his specific interactions with it (including the people who are a part of it). As a result, much of what people, including researchers, perceive reality actually consists of a series of impressions, conclusions and opinions in each person's

mind. Hawking and Mlodinow (2010: 39) further argue that, from the point of view of people interacting with their environment, there is no such thing as objective reality: what is considered "reality" is actually a model that the individual constructs based on observations and interpretations of events. However, everything seemed real to the person in question.

This means that, in the research process, the subjectivity of the respondents holds a very central position in the qualitative approach. This subjectivity is realized through various forms of narrative submitted by respondents either directly (for example in the interview method), as well as narrative results that have been documented (in various forms of writing such as articles, journals, books and other documents). The qualitative research approach in this writing is carried out through the process of capturing narratives that have been submitted by various individuals (in this case the experts) which have been documented in various forms of writing.

The qualitative research approach carried out in this writing is through the archive research method. Archival research methods include a variety of activities applied to facilitate the investigation of documents and textual materials produced by and about organizations. In the most classical sense, the archiving method is one that involves the study of historical documents; that is, documents created at some point in the relatively distant past, giving us access we might not have had to previous organizations, individuals, and events. However, the archiving method is also used by scholars engaged in non-historical investigations of documents and texts produced by and about contemporary organizations, often as a tool to

complement other research strategies (field methods, survey methods, etc.)

In carrying out the archival studies as a research method in this writing. The author focuses on the traditional archival research form, namely historiography (Ventresca & Mohr, 2001: 5). In historiographical research A distinctive character is shown in its attention to the rich details of organizational life, making what is essentially an ethnographic study of organizations conducted and expressed through the medium of archival material. Specific individuals are identified, lives and careers are recorded, thought patterns and ideologies are interpreted, and conflicts, contests and power relations are revealed. Explanations are sought to demonstrate specific institutional configurations, modes of operation, and management styles. A wide variety of archival materials are commonly used, including organizational documents, internal office memos, public announcements, and personal narratives. In this case, the author focuses on the research process on various historical archive materials in explaining the understanding of Pancasila ideology in the process of nation building.

## **Discussion**

### **Pancasila as a Unifying Ideology**

The will to unite as conveyed by Renan and Bauer, feels that unity is a condition of a nation because of the unity of fate, one destiny and the ability to exchange ideas (Indonesian Great Commission Moeda, 1981:310). Indonesia as a nation that stands based on a consensus or agreement, is the result of the construction of a single nation through the *Sumpah Pemoeda* (Abas, 1987, 38; Herbert and Milner, 1989, 125; Hardjito, 1952: 103).

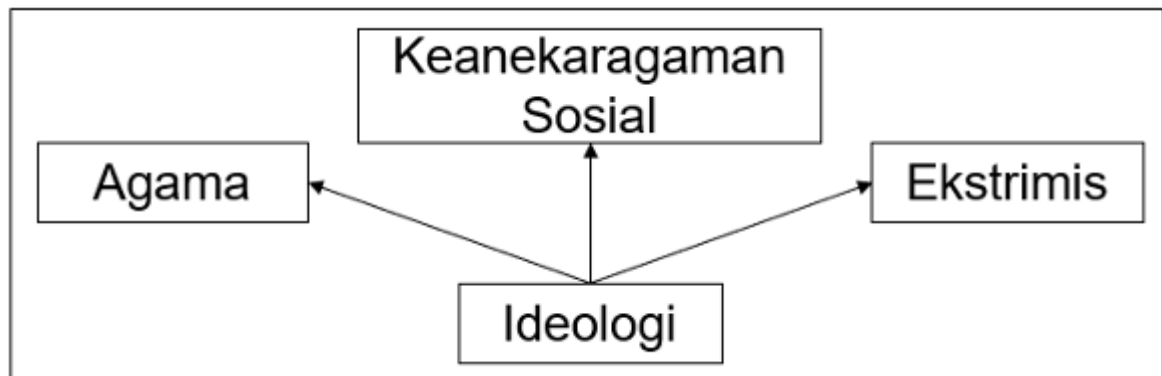
Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen the ideology that can unite the unity of Indonesia as an interactive, dialectical process and as a process "to become Indonesian" as part of nation-building.

In his speech, Bung Karno warned about the importance of a unifying national ideology, "Draft a Constitution that is truly the *Res Republica* Constitution" on November 10, 1956, the speech of the President of the Republic of Indonesia at the opening of the Constituent Assembly said:

*"They (heroes) died for an idea, for an ideal that was bigger and more lasting than those who died. An idea is an unseen substance, which cannot be expressed in words, but can only be felt most intimately by the soul and heart which is revealed to be from it... An idea can make a weak human being feel strong and courageous; willing to sacrifice, willing to go to prison, willing to be thrown out, willing to climb the gallows. This idea goes through several phases, first is ethnicity. Each tribe only thinks of itself as an absolute unity. Each tribe only thinks about their own safety. Besides this tribal spirit, the spirit of the archipelago also grows. Each island thinks that it is an absolute unity. One tribe is willing to cooperate with other tribes, but on the basis of federalism, and no one tribe is willing to sacrifice for the whole of Indonesia. Brothers and sisters, please don't misinterpret: I just don't recommend that Sundanese people to not love the Pasundan, or that Javanese people to not love the Java area, or that Minangkabau people to not love the Minangkabau area, or that Balinese people to not love Bali, or Acehnese people to not love Aceh. Mark my*

*words from all my heart, I urge you to love and promote in all the fields of your respective regions of origin, but don't forget that each of your regions is an inseparable part of one body, namely the Motherland of Indonesia. the Indonesian nation, and the Indonesian language in the framework of unity”*

The ideology of Pancasila is able to be a solution to various problems that have been experienced by the Indonesian people such as guarding against potential conflicts that are formed from social diversity, religious radicalism (Prawiranegara, 1984), and various other ideological threats as shown in the picture below.



**Figure 1.2 Relationship of Ideology with Religion, Social Diversity and Extremism**

**Source: by the Author (2022)**

Ideology can knit harmonies dynamic in an interaction of social units that exist within the unity of the nation even though it consists of various islands-sea (archipelago), ethnical diversity (ethnicity), sectarian, race, class, immigrants and non-migrants, natives and non-natives, and so forth. especially when the State faces the same problem, namely the existing social diversity. The importance of ideology is being able to build character and identity for the nation.

The State of Indonesia is an area where the blood of the Indonesian people is spilled, which is used as a national identity which we recognize as one unified identity. This is the breath of the nation that must still be considered to this day as the foundation of the Republic of Indonesia. The Indonesian nation should use the politics of unity to strengthen the sense of loyalty for their nation because our body

and soul and all our nerves and veins are united to create unity under the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

Each of the former Dutch East Indies colonies consisting of Sumatra Island, parts of Borneo, Java, Celebes, Lesser Sunda, Maluku and the surrounding islands is a republic of Indonesia, including Tarakan, Morotai, Papua and Halmahera, North Borneo, Semananjung Malaya (Malacca) with the islands around it. The centers of Indonesia's bloodshed include the struggle against the Dutch East Indies invaders such as Cornelius de Houtman who died in Aceh, Sumatra Island, Java, Borneo, Selebes, Maluku, Little Sunda who was ready to unite themselves under one Indonesian nationality. This includes Papua (Merauke, Fakfak, Digul and so on) which have been united with Maluku and are united with Indonesia (Minutes, BPUPK 1945, 1999).

Indonesia is a country that is deliberating for consensus or on a unanimous agreement to form an independent, just and prosperous national state. Ideology becomes a base for unity of the Indonesian people to become one breath, one spirit, one movement that manifests into one Indonesian nation. The Indonesian nation is a nation that is firm in its stance to unite for Indonesian independence which is free from the interests of groups and special social classifications.

The importance of being a nation with the ideology of one independent nation requires a revolution that involves various physical security, political security and economic security that are interconnected with one another. Political security as a reflection of ideological security and economic security which are interconnected with each other, is needed by citizens. Regarding the basis and purpose of the Indonesian revolution, it is related to social awareness of what social justice and independence are which have universal moral demands. The objectives of the Indonesian Revolution are based on 3 aspects of the underlying framework, firstly the establishment of a single Republic of Indonesia in the form of a Unitary State, a National-State from Sabang to Merauke. Second, the establishment of a just and prosperous society materially and spiritually within the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia. Third, the establishment of a good friendship between the Republic of Indonesia and all countries in the world, especially the countries of Asia and Africa on the basis of respect and cooperation to form a new world that is free from imperialism and colonialism towards world peace (Abdul Gani, 1962).

So that the Indonesian constitution can work in accordance with the framework of revolution or social change that is fundamental and will quickly bring goodness to all citizens of the nation, as mandated by the Preamble to the fourth paragraph of the Constitution, namely,

*"To form a State Government of Indonesia, which protects the entire Indonesian nation and the entire homeland of Indonesia people and to promote general welfare, educate the nation's life and participate in carrying out world order based on independence, eternal peace and social justice, the Indonesian National Independence was drawn up in an Indonesian Constitution which formed in a structure of the Republic of Indonesia which is sovereign for the people based on: Belief in the One and Only God, just and civilized humanity, the unity of Indonesia, Democracy, led by the wisdom of the representatives of the people, and by realizing social justice for all Indonesian people."*

The Indonesian revolution, which is based on the idea of the ideology of Pancasila, is also based on a democratic national power, different from the revolutions in other socialist-communist countries. This joint revolution is a representation and contribution from all groups, classes and thoughts that oppose imperialism and colonialism and then wishes to establish a familial state based on mutual cooperation and led by a wisdom over the entire concentration of national power and the strength of the Indonesian people. Anyone who is referred to in the ideology of Pancasila in the era of the period 1945 - 1966, namely the Marhaen, which consists of three elements, namely

the proletariat, the poor peasants and other destitute people. Each of these components must liberate themselves together and work hard to build the state and society so that awareness of strong national power can lead to a peaceful, just and prosperous society (Abdul Gani, 1962).

The author agrees that justice, justice and prosperity is a goal, but the social diversity that exists in each region in the Republic of Indonesia is a diversity that is still important to be maintained, even though a concentration of resources is needed as a driving force in the revolution, but that does not mean a uniform view must be made of the condition of the natural and social resources that exist in each region. Each region has its own uniqueness and distinctiveness as well as its own privileges which must be maintained in order to achieve Indonesia's national goals. One example, poverty is not measured in the same perspective, but is completely relative between poverty standards with one another because each has its own features and architectural complexity that distinguishes one from another.

### **Pluralism & Multiculturalism in Indonesia**

*"I just don't recommend that Sundanese people to not love the Pasundan, or that Javanese people to not love the Java area, or that Minangkabau people to not love the Minangkabau area, or that Balinese people to not love Bali, or Acehnese people to not love Aceh. Mark my words from all my heart, I urge you to love and promote in all the fields of your respective regions of origin, but don't forget that each of your regions is an inseparable part of one body, namely the Motherland of Indonesia. the Indonesian nation, and the Indonesian*

*language in the framework of unity"* (Soekarno, 1956)

The snippet of President Soekarno's speech above gives us the view that there is the need for loyalty and love for the Indonesian nation and state must be above the loyalty and love for the area of the community. This means that diversity needs to be respected and maintained, but the unity of the nation and state must be the main agenda that needs to be realized by the entire Indonesian people.

Multiculturalism is a term used to describe a person's view of the variety of life in the world, or cultural policies that emphasize acceptance of the reality of diversity and cultural diversity (multicultural) that exist in people's lives regarding the values, systems, cultures, habits, and politics that exist in society. they profess (Azzuhri, 2012: 15). Multiculturalism is a concept used to build the strength of a nation consisting of various ethnic, religious, racial, cultural and linguistic backgrounds, by respecting and respecting their civil rights, including the rights of minority groups. This appreciative attitude will be able to increase their participation in nation-building, because they will become great through the greatness of their nation, and they will be proud of the greatness of their nation. The multiculturalism that is formed in Indonesia is the result of various and broad socio-cultural and geographical conditions. According to geographical conditions, Indonesia has many islands where each island is inhabited by a group of people who form a society. From this society a culture is formed about the community itself. Of course this has an impact on the existence of very many and diverse cultures. The conception of multiculturalism in Indonesia

is closely related to the realization of a society based on *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, which means "different but still one goal", and realizing a national culture that is unifying for the Indonesian nation. Multiculturalism in Indonesia provides a platform for the appearance of the "other". The presence of the "other" must be understood without reduction or distortion (Azzuhri, 2012: 17). The "other" must appear in solidity and in a complete form. Identity in this case needs to be seen as an exotic fact and thus impossible to generalize or simplify.

Meanwhile, pluralism can be interpreted as the coexistence of various groups or beliefs or identities at one time while maintaining their respective differences and characteristics. Pluralism can be interpreted as diversity or social conditions of society in which there is diversity. Pluralism is not only a social reality (plurality), but also as an idea, understanding, and thought. Diversity has been going on for centuries, long before the Indonesian state became independent. The 1945 Constitution states clearly that "The State guarantees the freedom of every citizen to embrace their own religion and to worship according to their religion and belief". Based on this law, all citizens, with diverse cultural identities, ethnicities, genders, religions, etc., must be protected by the state.

In contrast to multiculturalism which emphasizes more on "diversity" in people's lives, pluralism is more defined as a "diverse" society. This means that pluralism is seen more as an understanding that recognizes that there are different characteristics in society, which are shown in various forms of race, ethnicity, religion, cultural values, language, social status, and others. Meanwhile, multiculturalism is an

understanding that emphasizes more on emotional values (which are shown appreciatively) which are formed from various differences that exist in society. Indonesian society is a society that holds these two notions. Indonesian people hold fast to both forms of understanding (Pluralism & multiculturalism). Indonesian society is a plural society in various cultural aspects. On the other hand, the Indonesian people show a form of appreciation for cultural differences.

### **Diversity with 'Nusantara' Insight**

Indonesia wants to establish a national state that is unified as whole (which consists of parts that form one unit) not uniting itself with the largest group only, but overcoming all groups and will heed and respect the privileges of all groups, whether large or small. Bung Karno called it by the term, a country that stands for and for all groups or '*all for all*'.

The unified national state will directly or indirectly respect any existing differences, making religion and belief systems the foundation of the nation and state. So that religious groups will automatically unite into one part of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia. Both the majority and the minority religious groups. A united national state with social diversity and a belief system, for example, will maintain noble values in their human character and uphold the noble moral ideals of the people. Thus Indonesia rejects federalism as a form of state. All groups of people from all regions have their own specialties which have their respective places and positions as organic (different) parts, but remain one without losing the elements and patterns of variety that exist in them. When to be one and when to be

different (with their respective varieties). So the national state can pay attention to the privileges of the various groups of the nation. The state must overcome the selfishness of each group and must unite for the sake of the state and nation (Minutes of the BPUPK session, 1995).

### **Soekarno's 1 June 1945 speech about the birth of Pancasila**

*“In my opinion, what Your Excellency is asking for is the *Philosophische Grondslag* / philosophical basis for an independent Indonesia. *Philosofsiche grondslag* that is the foundation, philosophy, thoughts that are as deep as the soul, Desire, on which the eternal independency of Indonesia was built...”*

#### *a. Indonesian Nationality*

*“To establish a state, 'all for all'. Not one person for one person, not one class for one class, not only just for both the nobility and the rich, but 'all for all'”.*

#### *b. Humanity/internationalism*

*“The nationality that we advocate is not a solitary nationality, not chauvinism,... We must go towards a united world, world brotherhood. We must not only establish an independent Indonesian state, but we must also establish an independent Indonesian state, we must also lead to the kinship of nations.”*

#### *c. Consensus/Democracy*

*The base is the basis of consensus. “I believe that the absolute condition for the strength of*

*the Indonesian state is deliberation of representatives. Anything that is not satisfactory, we will discuss it in deliberation”.*

#### *d. Social welfare*

*“If we seek democracy, it should not be Western democracy, but deliberation that gives life, namely politiek-economische democratie which is able to bring about social welfare. Therefore, if we really understand, remember, love the Indonesian people, let us accept the principle of this sociale rechtvaardigheid principle, which is not only political equality, brothers and sisters, but also in the economic field we must establish equality, meaning the best possible common welfare.*

#### *e. Cultured Divinity.*

*The fifth principle should be:*

*“Composing an independent Indonesia who fears the Almighty God... The principle of God! Not only the Indonesian people have a god, but each Indonesian should believe in his own God... The Indonesian state should be a country where everyone can worship their God in a free way. All people should believe in God culturally, that is, without "religious egotism"....that the fifth principle of our country is a God of culture, a God of*

*noble character, an almighty God that respects each others" (Latif; 2010 ; 15-17, see also Soekarno; 147-154).*

Soekarno named these five principles "Pancasila". As he puts it:

*"I have proposed the foundations of the state. The number is five. Is this the five dharmas? No! The name Panca Dharma is not appropriate here. Dharma means obligation, while we are discussing the basics... The name is not Panca Dharma, but—I call it Pancasila. Sila means principle or basis, and it is on these five principles that we establish the state of Indonesia, which is eternal and eternal" (Soekarno: 1984; 154).*

Why did Soekarno choose five? In addition to the five elements that have been deeply rooted in the soul of the Indonesian nation, he apparently really likes the symbolism of the number five, such as the five pillars of Islam, five fingers on our hand, humans have five senses, five pandavas and many others. However, Soekarno further explained that for those who don't like the symbolic number five, the number can be squeezed into just three things or even just one.

*"Or maybe there are brothers and sisters who don't like the number five? I can squeeze again, so there are only 3 left...I call it socio-democracy...socio-nationalism...divinity. But perhaps not all gentlemen are happy with*

*this trident and ask for one, just one basis? All right, I make it into one, I collect into one. What is that one? 'All for all' ... namely the words of gotong-royong .." (Soekarno; 1984; 154-155).*

Namely, the principles of nationalism and internationalism are summarized as sionationalism, the precepts of consensus or democracy and social welfare are summarized as socio-democratic and cultural divine precepts. Next, according to him, this Trisula can still be squeezed into *Ekasila*, namely "*Gotong Royong*".

It should be emphasized that although the order is not principled, each of the precepts in Pancasila is an integral unit that interlocks and presupposes each other.

*"The sequences that I usually use to mention the five precepts in Pancasila are: Belief in the one and only God, nationality number two, humanity number three, people's sovereignty number four, social justice number five. This is just a sequence of habits. There are friends who take another order, namely putting the humanitarian precepts as the second and the national precepts as the third. For me, in principle, there is no objection to taking the sequences." (Soekarno, 1958, in Latif, 2013: 30.)*

*"Why are you thanking me, why am I being glorified, even though I have often said that I am not the creator of Pancasila. I am just the one who dug Pancasila from the earth of this Indonesian homeland, which then the five pearls that I dug up, I*



*present back to the Indonesian people. In fact, I have said that the actual result, or more strictly the excavation of Pancasila, brothers and sisters, is a gift from God to me... As every human being, if he truly asks Allah Subhanahu Wa Ta'ala, he will be inspired by Allah Subhanahu Wa Ta'ala" (Soekarno in Latif, 2011: 21).*

### **The Establishment of the Djiwa Revolution Development Committee as the Development of the Pancasila Ideology**

The formation of the Djiwa Revolutionary Development Committee (PPDR) as one of the ideological developments during Soekarno's leadership was also inseparable from the first, various difficulties that arose in Indonesia due to colonialism and imperialism caused by the Dutch trade partnership. Then, the Dutch Kongsi also carried out the politics of division between kingdoms, ethnicities and various other social attributes, causing conflicts among Indonesians to create an atmosphere of mutual hatred among Indonesians. Indonesia then also created the National Defense Council as an agency that was formed based on a state of danger for all Indonesian people, in the event of a war situation. The divisive politics that Van Mook started in 1946 (the Linggarjati agreement) was aimed at dividing Indonesia - to separate the Republic of Indonesia from national leaders who were outside the Republic of Indonesia. The Netherlands implemented a policy of dualism/different standards when trying to negotiate with Indonesia (on the one hand) in the Linggarjati agreement, then on the other hand carried out negotiations with leaders outside the Republic of Indonesia to

separate and pit them against each other so as to create conditions for a narrative about federalism and not a republic. This is a dualistic policy implemented by the Dutch.

On the different side and time when Muso came to Indonesia after not being in Indonesia for a long time, so his knowledge of Indonesia is certainly not the same as before he left abroad. Not long after that, Indonesia also faced rebellions throughout the country, from DI/TII, PRRI (Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia) – Permesta, RMS (Republic of South Maluku), Madiun Rebellion, and so on. Internally, Indonesia faces disasters through civil wars that can tear and divide the Indonesian national power. Each component in the Republic of Indonesia at that time carried out disturbances from certain political groups which were intended for political purposes which were centered on the notions of social, political and religious revolution. Against groups that are usually faced with armed forces, they are armed with ideology as their main instrument, in creating disharmony, insecurity in the Indonesian social order.

The government, the people, the army, parties, groups, employees, all elements of society are united as one – as the motto of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* / diverse but still one. On May 20, 1908, there was national awareness as one Indonesian nation, the source of national awareness, one homeland as one independent nation.

### **Formation of PARAN & LPDR in Government Retooling & Pancasila Indoctrination**

In 1958, 13 years after the Proclamation of Independence, the state of the Republic of Indonesia experienced various upheavals both socially and

politically. Starting from the Darul Islam Rebellion (DI/TII) which is still running in West Java, Central Java, Aceh, and South Sulawesi, to the emergence of various other separatist movements such as the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PRRI) in Sumatra and the People's Struggle of the Universe (Permesta) in Sulawesi.

Not only rebellion, young people at that time seemed to be at a crossroads. Various aspirations emerged, from state autonomy, religion, to the path of liberalism, which tried to provide a different interpretation of post-colonial Indonesia.

On the other hand, the liberal democratic model adopted at that time (1950-1959) made political life become unstable. This can be seen from the 9-year period, there were 7 changes in the Cabinet. The rapid change of cabinets causes government activities in the governance process to be hampered and become ineffective. Various programs and projects scheduled by the government can't be finished.

Entering 1959, President Soekarno tried to answer all existing social complexities through a Presidential Decree on July 5th 1959. One of its contents was the cancellation of the 1950 Provisional Constitution, then the restoration of the 1945 Constitution. However, the Presidential Decree did not solve many problems, especially in the case of society's politics and economy. This is what prompted President Soekarno to carry out the Retooling program. Retooling is a conception used by Soekarno with several main agendas, namely: First, getting rid of all mentalities that distort the revolution, such as egocentrism, I-centrism, Hollands

denken thinking style (imitating the Dutch), and so on. Second, improve the perspective that is still trapped in 'dualism' which disorients the direction and goals of the Indonesian revolution, such as liberal democracy, capitalistic economy, and so on.

So, the essence of retooling is to clean up the tools of the revolution (state institutions, political parties, mass organizations, and others) so that these tools are in line with the Political and Human Rights Commission (UUD 1945, Indonesian Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy, and Indonesian Personality). This means that retooling as a program launched by President Soekarno does not only focus on driving the political wheel but also on economic, social, cultural, and defense-security. More than that, the essence of retooling is to return Pancasila as the state ideology and all its noble values back to a central position in developing and prospering society. This is of course in line with the fourth precepts of Pancasila "People led by wisdom in deliberation and representation" (Fakih, 2013: 98).

Quoting from [tribunnews.com](http://tribunnews.com), the Committee for the Retooling of State Apparatus (Paran) is an institution established by AH Nasution with the approval of President Soekarno. PARAN is a government agency that focuses on retooling. PARAN was formed with the aim of increasing the capability of the Indonesian state civil apparatus and to see bottlenecks and problems in the government apparatus and to create scientifically and politically correct cadres. This effort departs from the belief that as a result of the fragmented ideology of political parties and their infiltration into the civil service, the creation of good

governance requires the application of scientific public management, a rigorous and institutionalized campaign of indoctrination (Fakih, 2013: 97). PARAN designed a number of indoctrination courses intended to eradicate those who did not support the government, its policies, and the revolution. The goal lies in the belief that bureaucratic problems are inherently political. The purposeful creation of civil servants should be shaped by a scientific, political and technical approach. Retooling is carried out in various contexts of Indonesian political life, such as:

**A) Retooling in the community**

It is the total mobilization of material and spiritual energies and makes the two energies “strijdvaardig” and “strijdwaardig”. Retooling efforts in the context of society through mass indoctrination and education. In its implementation it is necessary to provide guidance and provide broad understanding by using all agencies in society. Retooling of political life is also necessary which is also a consequent implementation of the Presidential Decree No. 7 of 1959.

**B) Retooling in state apparatus**

Covers the legislative, executive, judicial, prosecutorial, and so on. Retooling efforts in the state apparatus include three things: organization and procedures, personnel, and mentality. The field of retooling includes: soul, spirit, structure, work procedures, regulations, legislation, personal and material use. In terms of development, there is an important quote, "Retooling in the field of

development which is currently under implementation and in the future."

**C) Retooling in the field of Organization and Work Procedure**

Based on the 1945 Constitution and the Political Manifesto, there needs to be a fundamental overhaul of the government structure to conform to these principles. To carry out a "planmatig" reform, which is a process, a permanent body is needed that has the responsibility for thinking about public policy, planning, coordinating, programming, and supervising the process. Thus, there needs to be a review and determination of the government structure at the center and at the local level.

Apart from the establishment of PARAN, as a way to resolve existing problems or social unrest, PPDR was also formed in 1960 as a way for the government to indoctrinate the values of Pancasila and statism. In order to expand and intensify indoctrination efforts and accelerate efforts to retool the state apparatus, the PPDR Instructions to guide indoctrination teams, the basis or materials for indoctrination are:

- 1) "Birth of the Bung Karno *Pancasila* ", Bung Karno's speech on June 1st 1945 of the 1945 Constitution and its explanation
- 2) Political Manifesto (Manipol), along with its explanation from DPA Presidential speech dated August 17th, 1960, known as "*Djarek*" along with details from DPA
- 3) President's speech in public by the United Nations on September 30th, 1960 along with the details from the DPA

- 4) Explanation of Manipol and Usdek A series of speeches by the chairman of PPDR H. Roeslan Abdulgani

As a way to simplify and also expand the scope of indoctrination, an indoctrination team was formed, consisting of the Indonesian National Unity Development Institute (LPKBI), the Djawa Pantjasila/Manipol R.I Trustees Institution and the Pembina Djawa Team in 1963. (PPDR), PARAN, and the Ministry of Information. The formation of the indoctrination team is written in the Decree of the Chairperson of PARAN, Minister of National Security, No. 12/M/1961 concerning the formation of indoctrination teams in Level I Self-Employed Regions, which refers to:

1. Report of the Committee for Retooling of State Apparatus at the 16th working Cabinet meeting, September 10th, 1960
2. Presidential Instruction dated September 23rd, 1960 No. 4 jo No. 5 regarding the retooling of the State Apparatus.
3. Presidential Instruction No. 1 of 1961 dated February 9th, 1961.
4. Your Excellency's Letter to the President/Commander-in-Chief dated February 22, 1961 No. 682/PR/91
5. Secret letter of His Majesty Jang Mulia, Minister of Home Affairs and Regional Autonomy dated May 15th, 1961 No. Sekrx 15/4/21

Then based on Instruction/report No. 721/61/M December 1st, 1961, Instruction regarding the provision that people who have received direct 'coaching' from the PARAN leadership, namely Roeslan Abdulgani, may provide Manipol / manifesto politic 'indoctrination'. Thus the

implementation of Manipol/Usdek indoctrination does not deviate from one systematic and one predetermined interpretation. The construction of this indoctrination team is also based on the Decree of the Minister of PTIP No. 7 of 1963.

In 1964, with the general shift of the Dekon (Economic Declaration), retooling was handed over from PARAN to a newly formed body called the Supreme Command for Apparatus Retooling under Soekarno's own direction.

In 1966, the Committee for the Trustees of the Revolutionary Spirit was then replaced by the Institute for the Development of the Revolutionary Spirit (LPDR). LPDR was formed based on the Decree of the President of the Republic of Indonesia No. 80 of 1966 (19 April 1966). The head of the LPDR is Dr. H. Roeslan Abdulgani who is a minister. The establishment of the LPDR was weighed against: First, the urgency to spread, absorb and practice the teachings of Pancasila, Manipol/Usdek, it is necessary to perfect the PPDR in accordance with the needs of the Indonesian revolution. Second, it is because of the broad understanding of the development of the Indonesian Nation and in the context of strengthening the mental resilience of the Indonesian people. Third, considering the breadth of these tasks and functions, a new agency or institution is needed that includes the tasks of PPDR and LPKBI.

## **Conclusion**

Pancasila as the state ideology is not only an instrument in maintaining mental resilience, social order and the peace of the plural and multicultural Indonesian society.

Furthermore, the values of Pancasila as a state ideology with an archipelago perspective will encourage people to be able to respect each other's differences and socio-political-economic diversity that exists in society.

The ability of Pancasila as a unifying ideology of the nation helps the government of the republic of Indonesia to develop various strategies to achieve the value of unity and integrity. Historically, it can be seen that the main strategy of the Indonesian government (especially that led by President Soekarno) focused on indoctrinating the values of Pancasila to deal with the existing social turmoil. This indoctrination is carried out through various forms of government institutions, starting from the emergence of PPDR, PARAN, LPKBI to LPDR. The process of retooling and indoctrinating Pancasila values is expected to be able to instill an appreciative view by the community to accept and further appreciate differences.

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