

THE RELEVANCE OF AN ISLAMIC APPROACH TO PANCASILA INDOCTRINATION: CONTEXTUAL AND TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

^{1*}Fathoni, ²Febria, ³Firman Muntaqo, ⁴Hieronymus Soerjatisnanta

^{1,2,3,4}Faculty of Law, University of Lampung, Rajabasa, Bandar Lampung, Lampung, Indonesia

*Correspondence: fathoni@fh.unila.ac.id

ABSTRACT: *The paper explores why Pancasila can be seen as part of Islamic interpretation and whether Pancasila indoctrination can use an Islamic approach. It uses philosophical methods and discourse analysis to understand the text and its context. The research shows that Pancasila is not contrary to Islam and can be indoctrinated with an Islamic approach, particularly in addressing radicalism. Despite accusations that Islam is behind radicalism, the teachings of Islam include love for the homeland as half of the faith (Arabic: hubbul wathoni minal iman).*

Keywords: Pancasila; Islam; Understanding; Tafsir

1. INTRODUCTION

a. Background

Understanding Pancasila as an open ideology is closely related to the interpretation, which in Indonesia is known as "Tafsir." Interpretation is the second phase after reading the text and involves a different dimension. Reading is the process of analyzing the written text by visually perceiving it and transforming it into a language in the brain. Understanding is the outcome of this process, which typically involves multiple stages. It is not uncommon for readers to have a different understanding than the writer. Even writers may have different interpretations of their own writings, as they become readers when they read their own texts.

Different interpretations may arise from various internal factors, such as mental and physical conditions, and knowledge, or external factors such as political orientation, news, cognitive flow, etc. There will always be a gap between the text as the object and the reader as the subject, which may lead to differences in interpretation.

b. Research Questions

The study is focused on two research questions: First, why has Pancasila become a part of the Islamic doctrine? Second, can the Islamic approach effectively indoctrinate Pancasila?

2. METHODOLOGY

The methodology employed in this study is the combined methodology of law and philosophy, primarily through a literature review. This approach aims to identify how Pancasila has been incorporated as part of the interpretation of Islamic teachings that are suitable for Indonesian society.

3. DISCUSSIONS

a. Pancasila as an ideology

Experts in the field have answered the question of whether Pancasila is an open or closed ideology. Pancasila has been accepted as the definitive formulation for the basic state of Indonesia, representing all the values of the Indonesian nation-state. Unlike many Muslim countries in the Middle East, which are still grappling with how to integrate Islamic religious sentiment in politics, Indonesia has successfully developed its own concept of blending secularization with religious faith since gaining independence in the mid-twentieth century, according to Al Makin. [1]

Yudi Latif explains that Pancasila was not immediately formed as the philosophical foundation of the state prior to Indonesia's independence. The Investigative Committee for the Preparation of Indonesian Independence (BPUPK) played a crucial role in the conceptualization of Pancasila, which went through a long process consisting of a "seeding," "formulation," and "commencement" phase. The

conceptualization of Pancasila involved various elements and actors, making it a collective effort of the nation. [2] Soekarno emphasized that the Indonesian people's movement had three key traits: nationalism, Islamism, and Marxism, which Yudi Latif argues are also present in movements across Asia. To promote unity and dispel the notion that these three traits are incompatible in a colonial context, it is important to study and understand the connections between them.

Pancasila was a closed ideology during the revolution and became a singularly interpreted ideology during the New Order era, with its interpretation varying depending on the ruling power. Under the New Order, the society was indoctrinated to accept that Pancasila was the only ideology and interpretation sanctioned by the state. The harmony between Islam and the New Order emerged several years before and was based on the idea that all religions recognized by the state shared a common vision within the ideology.

M. Saifullah Rohman conducted a Review of the book titled: "*Pancasila 1 Juni dan Syariat Islam*" (Pancasila June 1st and Islamic Law) written by Hamka Haq [3], that the role of Bung Karno in the birth of Pancasila cannot be overlooked. History shows that the idea for Pancasila originated from his thoughts. As a new nation, Indonesia needed a philosophical foundation that could unify all elements of the nation in governing the country. On June 1, 1945, Bung Karno gave a speech about Pancasila, which became the foundation of independent Indonesia.

Pancasila's core values, such as belief, justice, equity, democracy, and social, are universal and adaptable, making it an open ideology that can adopt new demands without losing its essence. It is not just an ideology but a societal philosophy that serves as the foundation of all fundamental laws, with no regulations, policies, or laws allowed to contradict it. The Constitutional Court of Indonesia has the authority to interpret the ideology, and any issues arising from differing interpretations have been addressed.

When people fail to understand that Pancasila is part of the Islamic hermeneutic doctrine, it can create a dangerous situation where gaps arise between societies. This can lead to the dangerous whispers of 'Pancasila yes, Islam no' or 'Islam yes, Pancasila no'. To prevent this, it is important to create an Islamic doctrine that is in line with Pancasila, which is not difficult as the two possess the same vision in both textual and contextual terms.

b. Understanding Pancasila

The government guides the interpretation of Pancasila, the state ideology, to prevent ideological arguments, but interpretations can vary among individuals. Liberalism is seen as a threat to Pancasila because it contradicts its values. There are concerns about radical and liberal Islam campaigns

that aim to exclude Islam from the economy, culture, and political system. [4]. In one way, Pancasila is the ideology that must be defended by the people, it is depicted in part of The Holy Al-Qur'an theorem, especially written on Q.S. Al-Maidah verse 1 that stated:

“O YOU WHO believe, fulfill your obligations. Made lawful (as food) for you are animals except those mentioned (here); but unlawful during Pilgrimage is game. God ordains whatsoever He wills.”

Based on the verse, Islam suggests that Islam emphasizes fulfilling collective agreements and that Pancasila can be viewed as a mutual agreement among Indonesians that must be followed by all believers.

A contract implies an agreement. In the Indonesian context, this agreement is embodied in the ideology of Pancasila, which serves as the philosophy of the state that we must obey and support. Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) referred to this as "du Contrat Social" or the Social Agreement. This rational agreement aims to determine the extent of citizens' freedom (which, in principle, is unlimited) as well as the authority of state officials (which, in principle, is limited). The Social Agreement is formed through the free will of all, with the objective of establishing justice and fulfilling high morality.

Many national figures support Pancasila as an open ideology, including Nurcholish Madjid, who argues that Pancasila has proven effective as the foundation of the country. However, the ideology must remain flexible to adapt to changing demands. It is a better approach to determine how the ideology can function at its maximum potential to address future challenges. To achieve its vision, Pancasila must remain an open ideology. [5].

c. Pancasila as Part of Islam Doctrine

Several years ago, during the founding of the state, there were cold arguments between nationalists (most of whom were Muslim) and Islamists, with some people desiring Islam as the ideology of the nation. However, thanks to the wisdom of the founding fathers, it was decided that Pancasila would be the option to overcome our differences. Yudi Latif cites the speech of Ki Bagoes Hadikoesoemo on May 31st, which says that 'religion is the basis of the union'. Islam is a just religion that consolidates justice, builds a fair government, upholds justice, is based on populism and deliberation, and provides freedom to embrace religion. Islam is not contradictory, but rather very compatible with our nationality." [6].

The concept of Islamic doctrine that aligns with Pancasila is not accepted by some Muslims and other religious followers. Independence requires a collective effort, and Islam cannot be the only religious teaching used as the basis of the state. Every believer considers the teachings of Islam as the ideology of their life, but an agreement with the state must be based on consensus. Good relations with followers of other religions are also taught in Islam as part of social life. This is known as "hablu mminallah and hablu mminannaas," meaning the tide within Allah and the tide between societies. Formichi noted that in 1943, the Japanese began to train kiyai and ulama in pan-Asian ideology to gain popular support by co-opting Islam, hoping to integrate it into their pan-Islamic vision. [7] Formichi presents a historical fact that Islam has been "manipulated" by various groups, including Japanese invaders, to sway the thoughts of the Indonesian people.

These groups have manipulated Islamic religious leaders to promote ideologies outside of Islam and make them appear as if they are part of the religion.

On the other hand, Koento Wibisono, as cited by Noor Ms. Bakri, argues that ideologies inevitably clash with other philosophical perspectives, with the perspective of what, who, and how people support it is key. Furthermore, it is about the individual's free will, their rights, and their duties towards their nation and society, in both spiritual and material dimensions. [8].

Islamic scholar, Al-Ghazali (1058 – 1111), argues that humans are social creatures who cannot live on their own. The concept is already published earlier than Thomas Hobbes (1588 – 1679) who has a different perspective quoted in Leviathan's book that says "The condition of man... is a condition of war of everyone against everyone. "Al-Ghazali argued that there is no need to measure the ratio in electing the leader, but it is a mandate as the main duty of a leader is to consolidate the law. In another hand, he argues that life in the world is no more but a journey to gather resources for eternal life, the world is a place for humans to seek the fortune of God, but the purpose to enjoy prosperity is available when justice, safety, and order is well organized. The purposes of a human's life are not merely fulfilling a material need but also preparing to face eternal life. In order to get what it takes to be a good society, there must be a good leader that governs and lead their people into a rightful path. Ghazali describes the *Sultan* (Islam Leader) and society as twin pillars, religion is the foundation, and the sultan is the protector. a home without a foundation will be fallen, a home without a protector will be lost. The presence of a leader is a must to keep the order of society, the order is a must to reign in peaceful religion, and peaceful religion is a must for happy eternal life. Thus, the bond between religion and eternal life is very strong in order to consolidate the nation through a diligent leader who is capable to protect the people's wealth and faith [9]. Ghazali is a scholar who believes that the sultan is God's choosing, thus it must be followed. He argued that the source of society's power is described in The Holy Qur'an Surah An-Nisa' verse 59, which states: "O people of faith, obey your god and prophet, *Ulil Amri* (leader) among you." [10]

That is why, the people who love their belief must follow the sultan's command as, according to Ghazali, Sultan is the shadow of God on earth, and it is forbidden to disobey the command. It includes the feeling to follow the ideology which is the result of people's agreement.

One of the examples that can be put forward is the thought of Shah Wali Allah in Pakistan, as an important corrective to the perception that Islamic theology remained frozen in a scholastic mode, unable to address either empirical facts or broader human existential concerns. Social and political aspects of Shah Wali Allah's thought to reflect the project of contemporary Muslim scholars and intellectuals of recovering and implementing aspects of the Islamic heritage which can speak to the practical needs of today's political and social contexts. It is instructive to note that as a Muslim thinker who bridged the classical and the modern periods of Islamic history, Shah Wali Allah did not have a rigid interpretation of concepts such as the Caliphate (*khilafah*). His methodology for understanding such concepts was both historical and religious. In treating the Caliphate as the highest stage of political development, the fourth irtifaq, Shah Wali Allah allowed the super-national or transregional

Islamic polity could legitimately assume a variety of forms. [11]

For example, this exposition of the Caliphate (*khilafah*) stressed the "moral reformation of a socio-political organization rather than focusing on the specifically Islamic character of the society." This greatly enlarges the scope for the conceiving of social and political institutions within a contemporary and Islamic framework.

In Indonesia, the awareness of a Muslim to obey his leader is basically an Islamic religious order, not just an awareness of the people of Indonesia. This awareness is indisputable, but lately, there seems to have been a "conflict" between Pancasila and Islam. Of course, this is a "narrow" and "narrow" opinion in understanding what is happening in Indonesia. There has been a "political identity" that drags Islam into the "flow" of practical politics. Islam has been used by certain groups as a "political tool" for their aims. That "Identity" cannot be separated from the new Islamic populism that is related to the evolution of the state of authoritarianism and political development in Indonesia. The emergence of new Islamic populism was related to the reaction by Islamic social-political agents to the greed of the oligarchs, especially in the Soeharto era, which was considered to continue the social, economic, and political marginalization of Muslims. [12]

Hefner (2000) coined the term "civil Islam" to denote the characteristics of Islam attached to the societal landscape of Indonesia that has long nurtured rich precedents for tolerance and civility, which is attributable to the profound commitment of civil organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama along with their leaders to promoting moderate and tolerant Islam through civic and educational activities. [13]

d. Pancasila vs Neoliberalism: Development

The focus of the globalization issue is poverty, conflict area, human resource, infrastructure, urbanization, gender equity, technology for inclusive development, and the management of climate change all over the world. The Ministry of Finance of Indonesia, Sri Mulyani Indrawati, stated in International Monetary Fund IMF – World Bank (WB) 2018, held in Bali on October 08-14th 2018 will focus on global development. [14]

The myth of successfulness of developed countries is the result of the development of certain theories called Neoclassic and Neoliberalism which become the foundation and have already proven to be a good concept. It is believed that the concept works when another concept fails to be maintained. The doctrine of a free global trade market is taken from the concept which originally comes from liberalists in the 18th and 19th centuries, such as Adam Smith and David Ricardo. The term 'Washington Consensus' is known to every center of monetary governed in Washington DC such as IMF and WB. They continuously spread the concept of trade toward businessmen and governments all over the world and develop the country. [15]

Neoliberals have three main points. First, increase the role of the market to exceed the government in managing the economy, goods, and capital flow (through deleting the fixed price and aid, free trade, exchange value based on the market, etc.). Second, it is by increasing the role of the private sector (through privation, deregulation, etc.). Third, it is by spreading a strong economic policy through balanced capital, the flexibility of the human resource market, low inflation, etc. In other words, the liberalist believes that it is the only

way to reach prosperity for developing the country in this vast globalization era. They believe that the concept had increased the life standard of society, and supported democracy, and transparency in the last two decades.

The negative impact of Neoliberalism is the decreasing role of government in free trade, it results in the economic gap. The fact said that the concept had failed even if the concept came from the follower itself. The concept does not bring economic growth. The failure of the system shows that it would not be able to cover the capital taken to build the system. The system widens the gap between internal and international.

Learned from other country's experiences, Indonesia always chooses an alternative way to be applied to every sector. It includes economic status; Indonesia believes that helping each other and family principle as its foundation will be able to answer the challenge of Neoliberalism. The principle is known as "*Gotong Royong*" which means society solidarity. It is already stated in the Indonesia Constitution of 1945. The constitution of Indonesia agreed that it was against the centered capital toward one sector by repelling the other. The principle of Norma Justice, Indonesia Union, and Social Justice for All People of the Republic of Indonesia represent the resistance toward liberalism.

The alternative principle (*ummattan wasathan*) was introduced first in Islam as stated in The Holy Qur'an, Surah Al-Baqarah verse 143, as follows: "And thus (also) we have made you (Muslims), a just people and choices so that you become witnesses of (actions) of humans and that the Apostle (Muhammad) be a witness of you. And we do not set the Qibla which is your qibla (now) but rather we know (so that it is real) who follows the Apostle and who defects. And indeed (the transfer of the Qibla) feels very heavy, except for those who have been instructed by God: and God will not waste your faith. Lo! Allah is Merciful, Most Merciful to mankind".

The verse contains *ummattan wasathan* terms, the word *wasath* means middle, alternative, moderate, and the balance between two polar or extreme (left and right). Meanwhile, *ummattan wasathan* means a society of understanding, behaving and acting in a just, modest, and proportional between material and spiritual, belief and society, past, and future, logic, and prophecy, community, and individual, realism and idealism. The society that takes the middle way is people who don't waste but are not arrogant, they have no more nor less but enough, they perform all in balance and proportion, not injustice nor cheat. According to Ibn Faris, *wash* depicts justice. The chosen people are who perform justice, he also stated that in The Holy Qur'an surah Al-Baqarah verse 143, it is called "*al-khiyar wa al-ajwad*" (The best choice).

e. Pancasila Indoctrination

Indoctrination is a process to introduce an ideology toward society, in this case, the ideology of Pancasila was introduced through the speech of Ir. Soekarno on June 1st, 1945.

Together we seek the union of the *Grondslag philosophies*, looking for the "Weltanschauung" which we all agree on. I say again agree! What Yamin agreed to, Ki Bagoes agreed, which Ki Hajar agreed to, which Brother Sadoesi agreed to, which Brother Abikoesno agreed to, which you Lim Koen Hian agreed to, in short, we all looked for one mode. Mr. Yamin, this is not compromised, but we are together looking for one thing that we agree with [16] The word "but we are together looking for one thing that we agree with", in the

study of modern politics, is word of the social contract. Basically, the theory was introduced by Ghazali, which is then introduced by Rosseau as *Du Contrat Social*, it is different from Hobbes who argue that strong government is much more important, and Locke argued that free will must be protected, Rosseau desired general will. That is why, in order to commence the order of society, the government was formed to act the demand based on social contract and general will. [17]

In early 1950, the reinterpretation of Pancasila was reopened, there are two sides against each other arguments. The first side argued that Pancasila must be placed higher than politics and the social contract. The first side assumes that Pancasila is a social philosophy or the *weltanschauung* of the nation. The speech of the founding fathers on June 1st of 1945 inspired them to place Pancasila above all rules. Muhammad Yamin, one of the supporters, claims the support toward the issue that Pancasila must be *weltanschauung* of the nation and basic mental of the state. [18]

Soekarno as President of Indonesia gave his opinion that Pancasila is the only answer to each problem faced by the nation, the struggle had been issued since The Decree of 1959 (*Dekrit Presiden 1959*), he stated:

But Pancasila is a *Weltanschauung*, a basic philosophy, Pancasila is a unifying instrument, which I believe is as sure as I believe that the Indonesian Nation from Sabang to Merauke can only unite on the basis of the Pancasila. And not a tool unites upon it we place the State of the Republic of Indonesia, but also in essence a tool unites in our struggle to eliminate all the diseases that we have fought decades of, that is, disease in particular, Imperialism. The struggle of a nation, the struggle against imperialism, the struggle for independence, the struggle of a nation that carries its own style. There are no two nations that fight the same way. Every nation has its own way of fighting and has its own characteristics. Because in essence, the nation as an individual has its own personality. Personality manifested in various things, in its culture, in its economy, in its character, and so on. (Soekarno, 1958).

The struggle is well enough to be depicted that Soekarno wanted Pancasila as the final decision of the nation's ideology, he gathered every power of his political campaign which ruthlessly governed each other by Laddered democracy and in order to realize the society about the vision of the nation. He created the ideology for the nation and hoped every community would support it. The fixed order that Pancasila become an ideology of the nation is stated in MPR decision Number XX/1966. The letter states that Pancasila become basic law for every regulation of the nation, which means that Pancasila had become a fundamental norm. Thus, it could maintain the worldview and future vision. It means that Pancasila is not merely an ideology that would become every breath of the political movement of the nation but also become the character and philosophy of the nation.

Indoctrination is very important as many radicalisms approach the nation. It hides behind the banner of Islam such as ISIS and its allies. It is well known that Islam is a religion that teaches *Rahmatan Lil 'Alamin*, compassion for the universe. That is why, the issue that Islam is the place where terrorists are born must be declined and repelled, for those who have nothing left to

defend or survive, when the condition of mental and physical would not support them, it is very easy for them to be deceived and accept of such false indoctrination which clearly against the philosophy of nation.

4. CONCLUSION

The research findings show that Pancasila does not conflict with Islamic teachings, even the substances contained in the five principles of Pancasila are part of the teachings of Islam itself. Pancasila indoctrination with an approach to Islamic teaching is relevant to be carried out on the massive radicalism movement in the name of Islamic interests. There is a paradox between the "accusation" that Islam is behind the radicalism movement against the Unitary Republic of Indonesia with the teachings of Islam itself which teaches the love of the homeland as half faith (*hubbul wathoni minal iman*).

Pancasila which is understood as an open ideology, holds that Pancasila has shown its effectiveness as a support for this nation. However, Pancasila must remain flexible to fill the spirit of the times. It is precisely the important aspect that should have been developed, how the Pancasila became fully functional as the basis for the Indonesian people. To make it happen, by making Pancasila an open ideology. Political identity which sometimes positions Islam as opposed to the Pancasila must be ended immediately because basically it actually weakens the unity of the Indonesian nation.

The Muslims as *Ummatan Washatan* (the people in the middle) are people who behave, think, and behave moderately, fairly, and proportionally between material and spiritual interests, divinity and humanity, past and future, reason and revelation, individuals and groups, realism and idealism, and orientation to the world and the hereafter. This teaching is believed by the Muslim community as part of the faith, which is obeying the leader and the agreement that has been made. The agreement of the nation and state is: Pancasila.

5. REFERENCES

- [1] Al Makin (2017): 'Not a Religious State', Indonesia and the Malay World, DOI:10.1080/13639811.2017.1380279, p.3
- [2] Yudi Latif, "The Religiosity, Nationality, and Sociality of Pancasila: Toward Pancasila through Soekarno's Way", *Studia Islamika*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 2018, p.210
- [3] M. Saifullah Rohman, "Kandungan Nilai-Nilai Syariat Islam Dalam Pancasila (Content of Islamic Sharia Values In Pancasila)", *Millah Journal*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, Agustus 2013, pp. 205-215
- [4] Siradj, S. A., & Haerudin, M. M. (2015). *Berkah Islam Indonesia, Jalan Dakwah Rahmatan Lil'âlamîn. Quanta*.
- [5] Madjid, N. (2008). *Islam, Kemodernan dan Keindonesiaan (Islam, Modernity, and Indonesian Identity)*. Bandung: Mizan. (pp. 15-17).
- [6] Yudi Latif, *Negara Paripurna* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2016), p. 70.
- [7] Chiara Formichi, *Islam And The Making Of The Nation Kartosuwiryo and Political Islam in Twentieth-Century Indonesia*, KITLV Press Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, The Netherland, 2012, p. 73

- [8] Noor Ms Bakri, Pendidikan Pancasila (Pancasila Education), (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010), pp. 178
- [9] Munawir Sadzali, Islam dan Tata Negara: Ajaran, Sejarah dan Pemikiran (Islam and the State System: Teachings, History, and Thoughts), (Jakarta: UI-press, 1991), pp. 41-42.
- [10] Al-Ghazzali, Ab^vo Hamid, Fada'ih al-Bathiniyah, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmaan Badawi (Cairo: Dar al-Qaumiyyah lil-Tiba'ah wa-al-Nashr, 1964), pp. 170, Cf Richard Joseph McCarthy, Freedom and Fulfillment (Boston: Twayne Publisher, 1980), p. 275
- [11] MUHAMMAD AL-GHAZALI, The Socio-Political Thought Shah Wali Allah (Editor: Marcia Hermansen), Department of Theology Loyola University Chicagq IL, USA, Foreword, Islamabad, 2000, p. vii
- [12] Vedi R. Hadiz, Populisme Islam di Indonesia dan Timur Tengah, LP3ES, Jakarta, 2017, p. 173.
- [13] Fahlesa Munabari, Reconciling Sharia with "Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia": The ideology and Framing Strategies of the Indonesian Forum of Islamic Society (FUI), International Area Studies Review 1-22, 2017, p.2
- [14] Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia, Annual Meetings IMF-WB 2018 Will Discuss Global Development, <https://www.kemenkeu.go.id/publikasi/berita/annual-meetings-imf-wb-2018-akan-bahas-pembangunan-global/> (04/06/2018 15:44:42)
- [15] Ha-Joon Chang, Ilene Gabel, Membongkar Mitos Neolib: Upaya Merebut Kembali Makna Pembangunan (Translator: Muh Gusti Zainal), INSISTPress, Yogyakarta, 2008, p 11.
- [16] RM. A.B Kusuma, Lahirnya UUD 1945, (Jakarta: Badan Penerbit Fakultas Hukum Universitas Indonesia, 2004), p. 1.
- [17] Ramlan Surbakti, Memahami Ilmu Politik (Jakarta: Grasindo, 2007), p. 28
- [18] As'ad Said Ali, Negara Pancasila: Jalan Kemaslahatan Berbangsa, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2009), p. 21