



# Pancasila and the Call for Social Justice

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# Indonesia: The Biggest Archipelagic Country



# Indonesia as a plural society

- Indonesia is a plural society par excellence

Indonesia is the biggest archipelagic country in the world, stretching almost 5,000 kilometers from west to east and consists of over 16,000 islands (about 6,000 of which are inhabited).

Around 8 hours flight from corner to corner (equivalent from London to Moscow)

240 million population, 171 millions in active years

It incorporates ethnic and cultural diversity of over 500 ethnic groups and 600 distinct languages (around 2/3 still to be documented into documentation or put into readable Indonesian translation)

# Pancasila as The Unifying Principles

Pancasila = Five Principles of the State

- 1. Belief in the Supreme Being.  
(Civilized theism)
- 2. Just and civilized humanity.  
(Internationalism)
- 3. The unity of Indonesia.  
(Unity in diversity of Indonesia)
- 4. Democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberation amongst representatives.  
(Deliberative democracy)
- 5. Social justice for the people of Indonesia.  
(Social welfare)

# The Five Principles Can be Converged into Three Principles

- **In Soekarno's view, those five principles could be still converged into three *sila* or principles:**
- Kebangsaan dan internationalism (sosio-nasionalisme);  
Nationalism and internationalism (socio-nationalism);
- Demokrasi-politik dan Demokrasi ekonomi (sosio-demokrasi);  
Democracy of politics and democracy of economy (socio-democracy);
- and Ketuhanan yang berkebudayaan  
Civilized theism (Socio-Religious)

# The Three Principles Can be Converged into One Principle

- Furthermore, Soekarno said, “If I am to reach the very heart of those principles: five to three, three to one, then I will arrive to one original Indonesian word: *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation).

The state of Indonesia should be founded as state of *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation)

- loosely translated or paraphrased “jointly-shouldering, sharing, closing the loose ends”. This word came from the practice of rural population in providing (public) services, make a work according to roster/schedule, eating from one or two big plates in time of pray or fest, moving homes, making terrace and irrigation.

- In other way of explanation, the foundation of all principles of Pancasila is *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation)
- This explains to: theism which must be *gotong royong* in its core (theism which is of cultural, wide and tolerance); and not a theism which is aggressive and alienating of each against the other.
- The principle of internationalism should be of *gotong royong* (which is of humanistic, just and civilized); and not an internationalism which is of colonialistic and exploitative.
- The principle of nationhood should be of *gotong royong* (capable to develop unity in diversity, “*bhinneka tunggal ika*”; not a nationhood which eliminates differences and diversity, or refuses unity.
- The principle of democracy should be of *gotong royong* (develop a deliberative process); not a democracy which is dictated by majoritarianism (majorocracy) or by few elites of powerful-resourceful groups (minorocracy).
- The principle of social welfare should be of *gotong royong* (develops a wider participation and emancipation in the field of economy with the spirit of brotherhood); not a vision of welfare which is based by individualism-capitalism, but also not that which oppresses individual liberty or physical humans just like happened in etatism.

# Soekarno as “Social-Democrat”

- Mendengar aku berbicara tentang demokrasi, seorang pemuda bertanya apakah aku seorang demokrat. Aku menjawab, “Ya, aku sangat pasti seorang demokrat.” Kemudian dia berkata, “Tetapi dalam pandanganku Anda seorang sosialis.” “Ya, aku sosialis,” jawabku. Dia menyimpulkan semua itu dengan berkata, “Kalau begitu Anda pasti seorang sosialis-demokrat.” Mungkin inilah salah satu cara untuk memberi nama padaku.
- Bangsa Indonesia berbeda dengan bangsa lain di dunia. Sosialisme kami adalah sosialisme yang tidak memasukkan konsep materialisme yang ekstrim, karena bangsa Indonesia adalah bangsa yang takut kepada Tuhan dan mencitai Tuhan. Sosialisme kami adalah campuran. Kami mengambil persamaan politik dalam *Declaration of Independence* dari Amerika Serikat.

# What he saw in Indonesia

- Sukarno imprisoned (1930):  
a belief in the dignity of human life; anti-slavery;  
refusing way of life dominated by capitals,  
plutocrats, unrepresentation (pledoi “Indonesia  
menggugat”)
- Sukarno and PNI (1927): a belief in people’s  
movement and in a “nation” –something bigger  
than individuals life

# What he saw in Indonesia....

- Sukarno and Marhaen (1930):  
a belief in the audacity of common people, of rural toiler, of commonalities of hope
- Sukarno and Pancasila (1945):  
the fundamental norm should represents what Indonesian fight for, what Indonesians live everyday

# Sukarno and independence

- The fight for independence is built upon struggle and suffering, but also commonalities of hope
- The power (:representative government) is justified by this fight
- The power is the people's sovereignty. The term “democracy” was understood in Bahasa Indonesia as “people's sovereignty”

# Sukarno and independence...

- ....*Sebagaimana tadi yang telah saya katakan: kita mendirikan Negara Indonesia, yang kita semua harus mendukungnya. Semua bagi semua! Bukan Kristen untuk Indonesia, bukan golongan Islam buat Indonesia, bukan Hadikoesoemo buat Indonesia, bukan Van Hoek buat Indonesia, bukan Nitisemito yang kaya buat Indonesia, tapi Indonesia buat Indonesia –semua buat semua! Jikalau saya peras yang lima (Pancasila) menjadi tiga, dan yang tiga menjadi satu, maka dapatlah saya satu perkataan Indonesia yang tulen, yaitu “gotong royong”. Negara Indonesia yang kita dirikan haruslah negara gotong royong! Alangkah hebatnya! Negara gotong-royong! (the speech 1 June 1945)*

(transl...)

- “...as I emphasise, we have to establish the state of Indonesia, in which we all must carry it. All for all! Not christian for Indonesia, not Islam group for Indonesia, not Hadikoesoemo for Indonesia, not van Hoek for Indonesia, not the rich Nitisemito for Indonesia, but Indonesia for Indonesia –all for all! If I am to transform the five (of Pancasila) into three, three into one, I will arrive in a truly Indonesian spirit, “gotong royong”. The state of Indonesia should be the gotong royong state....”

# The key dimension of gotong royong

- The just and civil human life (*kemanusiaan yang adil dan beradab*)
- Life as the grace of the Almighty, that any abuse, slavery, persecution from one against the other are never justified.
- Recognition of history, ongoing practices, institutions of deliberations (*musyawarah*)

# They key: Formulation on Social Democracy

- formulation of (on socio-democracy):  
semangat, hakekat dari bekerja bersama, hidup bersama dan saling bantu-membantu. Kalau ini dicampurkan semua, maka hasilnya adalah Sosialisme Indonesia (the spirit, essence of cooperation, a shared life and mutual help. If those transform into one, that is Indonesian socialism.)

# The Key: Formulation on Social Democracy

- Sosio-demokrasi adalah demokrasi yang memperjuangkan keadilan sosial, yang tidak hanya mempedulikan hak-hak sipil dan politik, melainkan juga hak ekonomi. Soekarno Katakan:
- “Demokrasi-masyarakat, sosio-demokrasi--, adalah timbul karena sosio-nasionalisme. Sosio-demokrasi adalah pula demokrasi yang berdiri dengan dua-dua kakinya di dalam masyarakat. Sosio-demokrasi tidak ingin mengabdikan kepentingan sesuatu gundukan kecil sahaja, tetapi kepentingan masyarakat. Sosio-demokrasi bukanlah demokrasi ala Revolusi Perancis, bukan demokrasi ala Amerika, ala Inggriss, ala Nederland, ala Jerman d.l.l.,--tetapi ia adalah demokrasi sejati yang mencari keberesan politik DAN ekonomi, keberesan negeri dan keberesan rezeki. Sosio-demokrasi adalah demokrasi-politik DAN demokrasi-ekonomi” (1932a; 1965: 175).

# The justification of democracy:

- The argument of “...golden bridge...”: the face of humanity should be transformed into a better society –or nothing.
- “kemanusiaan yang adil dan beradab” the life is all about just and civil life in a multi-ethnic, multi religions and beliefs, multi-history

# Call for social justice

- “Sukarno imprisoned” represents the fight for justice
- Democracy should mean a truly “people’s sovereignty”; sovereignty of politics (*demokrasi politik*) and economy (*demokrasi ekonomi*)
- In the large extent, “social justice” represented by the concept of sovereignty of economy, the pursuit of just and civil life, and welfare of society

# Social justice beyond welfarism....

The “social justice” in the context of framers/founders discourse (where Sukarno is paramount):

- Recognition the practice of gotong royong in each ethnic group life
- Recognition that no system is perfect: so state should be resourceful and stands ready to take care the most unfortunate (the article 34 of constitution)

# Social justice beyond welfarism...

- Recognition the very concept of “endowment” and “custodian”: all resource of Indonesia is to be of benefit of all Indonesians –now and the next (the article 33 of constitution); the duty of the state to make the resource available and accessible from one generation into the next into the next into the next.....

# Engagement of Pancasila with Globalisation

- In fact, diverse contemporary global and local problems have been anticipated by Pancasila with its ability to look into those problems and inherent ability to engage.
- In engaging the emboldened religious fundamentalism, first principle emphasises principle of civilized theism. Soekarno (or *Bung Karno*, as his fellow citizen name) said, “State Indonesia should be a state where each and every person could believe and pray to their God freely. All people should be have God in their life in cultural way, that is without ‘egotism of religion’... Theism with high virtue of full human, theism who pay respect one to other”.

# Engagement of Pancasila -continued

- **In engaging destructive impacts of globalisation and localisation, in the form of homogenisation and particularisation of identity, the principle of “socio-nationalism” which is enshrined in the second and third principle gave a powerful virtue and framework to do positive engagement.**
- **In the principle of “socio-nationalism”, Indonesian nationhood is nationhood which surpasses narrow individual and group thinking, stand on all for all. At the same time, Indonesian nationhood is also humanistic nationhood, which brings universal sisterhood and fraternity into reality, along with justice and civility of the world. Bung Karno said, “Internationalism could not live without rooting in fertile soil of nationalism. Nationalism could not fertile if that did not lives in the flower garden of internationalism”**

# Engagement of Pancasila-continued

- On engaging tyranny and injustice in the polity and economy, the principle “socio-democracy” which is enshrined in the fourth and fifth principle of Pancasila, is of powerful engagement.
- These principles necessitate and provide a necessary framework for political democracy which is in line with economic democracy.
- In the political sphere, democracy which is developed is deliberative democracy which is impartial, which take wider involvement and considerations all parties inclusively.
- In the economic sphere, state should be active in achieving social justice, in order to respond and to counterbalance the inequality in the market, by developing a health climate of competition, to defend those who cannot defend themselves, and developing investments on public goods for the livelihood and welfare of the people.



**Thank You**

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**The Indonesian Initiative**