

## BUNG KARNO'S SPEECH AND PANCASILA FOR WORLD PEACE

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**ABSTRACT.** The purpose of this study to analyze the stored ideas so that not simply forgotten and left as archives, so that they benefit the world. This study uses a qualitative method. The analysis was carried out by interpreting the data based on the literature study. Data were collected from primary data and secondary data. Primary data was obtained from interviews, and secondary data from previous reference journals, books, and news from internet sources. This study concludes, Pancasila can become an international reference. With the designation of Bung Karno's speech entitled "To Build the World Anew" as Memory of the World, it became easier for the international public to access the text archive of the speech as a reference for developing studies. This is because the text of the speech is open for use by researchers, academics and international practitioners in studying Pancasila as a philosophical and political discipline, whose values are very relevant for mediating socio-cultural conflicts.

**Keywords:** Pancasila; Ideology; International Relations

### INTRODUCTION

The era of globalization was born with positive and negative influences so that nations that cannot use it properly will be increasingly left behind. Nowadays, conditions for world peace in the era of globalization are increasingly crucial along with rapid advances in technological development. However, efforts to maintain world peace must be fair and prioritize the public interest so that everyone can enjoy it. If this is the case, then it is the obligation of countries to try to resolve the problem, at least play an active role in the UN agency to help send troops to countries experiencing war or conflicts of interest (Lukum, 2013). Along with the globalization process, the development of contemporary post-Cold War theory of international relations has spawned many new discourses. Issues related to identity and locality that previously had no place in the analysis of International Relations, are now starting to be considered as realities in the science of International Relations.

The development of contemporary International Relations theory after the Cold War has given birth many new discourses. Prior to the 1980s, International Relations only focused on matters that were material in nature, state-centric, or put forward a positivistic analysis. According to Umar (2011), discourses in International Relations before the 1980s were more dominated by discourses on war, peace, arms race and control, deterrence, to military forces. With such discourse construction, international relations become based on the perspective of great powers. Within the framework of realism, International Relations is a matter of the interaction of countries that have the power to maintain and expand the existence of the power they have (Umar, 2011).

The theory of International Relations is very closely related to the foreign policy of a country.

Indonesia, which has a Pancasila state as its basis and has a Pancasila ideology, with problems like this, Indonesia in handling conflicts in other countries, is based on a free and active foreign policy. According to Lukum (2013), this statement shows that the Indonesian state has an obligation to participate in efforts to help UN international institutions together with other countries resolve conflicts in countries hit by war or natural disasters. This policy is also stated in the preamble to the 1945 Constitution, as stated in paragraph IV, "to participate in implementing world order based on independence, eternal peace and social justice" (Lukum, 2013).

International Relations can take the form of friendly relations and can also turn into competition and lead to war over the national interests of their country, because each country wants to fulfill the needs of its citizens in order to maintain the existence of their country. For large countries, this could be a domestic problem due to the development of this technology, because increasingly sophisticated technology that replaces human labor with machines will require energy. The limited energy in their country motivates them to make connections with other countries, and this relationship could be carried out by invading countries that are considered to be able to support the lives of large countries (Lukum, 2013). In line with the development of an increasingly modern era, countries in the world must have resilience to the development of this era, because of the changes in this era, no country can avoid them, what can be done is only to try to use the rapid development of the world in things that will benefit the country.

The study of International Relations is a strategic study program because it deals with international relations, interactions with other countries, and foreign diplomacy. According to Hastangka and Farid (2021), International Relations Studies is a strategic study program. The existence of this study program

is part of the national interest to make graduates and academics have a nationalist, national spirit and fight for national interests above international interests. National and state life cannot be separated from international geopolitical and geostrategic influence. International programs often have an impact on the process of forming the identity and sustainability of the nation and state. The global agenda that is carried through concepts, materials, international issues can have an impact on generations of nations through international relations study programs to lose their sense of nationalism (Hastangka & Farid, 2021).

As we all know, Pancasila, which is the basis of the Republic of Indonesia, was first introduced to the world through the United Nations (UN) General Assembly forum. This incident occurred on September 30, 1960. At that time, President Sukarno was given the opportunity to deliver a speech at the UN General Assembly entitled "To Build The World Anew". Quoted from the Presidential Library website of the National Library of Indonesia, the text of Sukarno's speech at the UN General Assembly was 28 pages long. Meanwhile, in that speech he mentioned Pancasila 23 times. According to Bung Karno, Sukarno's nickname, Pancasila is the five pillars of the state which do not originate from the ideas of the Communist Manifesto or the United States Declaration of Independence (Kesbangpol, 2023). Researchers have collected several previous studies related to this research keyword, namely Pancasila, Pancasila Ideology and International Relations, collected from previous reference journals, books, and news from internet sources (Adha, M. M., & Susanto, E., 2020; Daullah, R., et al., 2022; Della, A. M., et al., 2022; Desia, L. D., 2018; Dewantara, J. A., et al., 2019; Hastangka. & Farid, M., 2021; Khasri, M. R. K., 2021; Latif, Y., 2020; Lukum, R., 2013; Rahmah, L. A., 2020; Regiani, E., & Dewi, D. A., 2021; Tria, P. N., et al., 2022; Umar, A. R. M., 2011; Wibowo, A. P., et al., 2020; Yohanes, T., et al., 2022)

Next, the researcher tried to conduct a study by reviewing the literature and previous research that had been carried out previously. In research conducted by Tria, Cahyaningsih, Suwandi, & Fitriyono (2022), discusses how Pancasila is the basic value of the Indonesian people. According to Tria, et al (2022), Pancasila is the basis of the vision of the life of the Indonesian nation and state. The position and function of Pancasila is very important for the nation's personality, soul, ideology, nation, noble agreements, Indonesian personality, and national goals. Indonesian citizens should know that Indonesia's ideology is Pancasila. Apart from Pancasila being a guideline for all Indonesian people in life in society, nation and state, Pancasila is a

noble value that needs to be lived wholeheartedly. Understanding the values of Pancasila, if studied in depth, will further strengthen one's identity, character and identity that has a Pancasila attitude or personality (Tria, P. N., et al., 2022).

Furthermore, research conducted by Latif (2020) discusses the beginnings of Soekarno's thinking in formulating Pancasila as the basis of the Indonesian state. Latif (2020) explains that in formulating a conception of the basis of Indonesian statehood and nationality, Soekarno reminded that "we must be able to place the country on a static table that can unite all elements within the nation, but must also have dynamic guidance in the direction in which we move the people, this nation and country". Soekarno further said, "If we are looking for a static basis that can gather everything, and if we are looking for a dynamic Leitstar that can be a direction of travel, we must dig as deep as possible in the soul of our own society. If we want to include elements that do not exist in the Indonesian soul, it cannot be used as a basis for sitting on it." (Latif, Y., 2020).

Next, research conducted by Hastangka & Farid (2021) discusses how Pancasila values can be applied in International Relations. International Relations is a strategic science in an effort to prepare the younger generation and students to become diplomats with character, professionalism and competence in their field. One of the national strategic issues facing Indonesia, both geopolitically and strategically, is also influenced by international issues. According to Hastangka and Farid (2021), the Concept of the State in the context of Pancasila can be part of a comparative study in International Relations circles which discusses the concept of the state from various foreign or outside thinkers. Understanding the perspective of the state, society and state institutions based on Pancasila and based on an international relations perspective will provide new insights for international relations studies in looking at comparisons between countries. Material about the position and function of Pancasila can be part of the discourse for students of international relations when studying the topics of comparative ideology, national outlook on life, and state philosophy or political philosophy. Western thinkers' version of the theory of power with the Pancasila version is interesting for the learning process in Pancasila classes in the field of international relations (Hastangka, & Farid, M., 2021).

Furthermore, research by Daullah, Srinita, Ramadhani, & Fitriyono (2022) discusses Pancasila as the basis of the Indonesian state and the source of all legal sources. According to Daullah, et al (2022), there are ten elements of the legal system that influence each other and synergize in such a way

that if just one element does not work as it should, then the entire system collapses. At the same time that one element changes, such as a rule or institution or procedure, all other elements of the relevant legal system also change. Pancasila as the basis of the state and philosophy of life must be implemented (Daullah, R., et al., 2022).

Yohanes, Widiyastuti, Krisnantoro, & Handoyo, (2022) discusses the potential risk of violating the Pancasila ideology in the implementation of inclusive education in the Early Childhood Education (PAUD) program. Yohanes, et al (2022) in their research found that there is a risk of Pancasila ideology potentially being violated in the implementation of Early Childhood Education (PAUD) when it is included in the implementation of inclusive education because the local Governor's Regulation does not regulate who and how the recruitment of special assistant teachers and the community can participate in the implementation of special education, thereby making it possible that they will not be committed to internalizing the values of Pancasila to students (Yohanes, T., et al, 2022).

Della, Utaminingsih, Ardana, & Fitriyono (2022), which studied how humans organize their daily lives by applying Pancasila as a guide to life. Della, et al (2022) said that Pancasila as the basis of the state means that the values contained in Pancasila are the basis or guideline for people's lives in Indonesia. As Indonesian citizens, we understand the values of Pancasila so that we can implement them in life well so that everything we do is in accordance with existing norms and creates a society with character. Apart from that, the application of Pancasila in everyday life is also a way for us to appreciate the services of the heroes who formulated the Pancasila design (Della, A, M., et al, 2022).

Based on previous studies, the researcher feels it is necessary to explain the differences and position of this research with previous studies. This research aims to describe and answer the question of how Indonesian historical archives so that they benefit the world, so that the stored ideas are not just forgotten and left as archives. Bung Karno's speech entitled "To Build the World Anew" delivered at the UN on September 30 1960 is a world memory. Bung Karno presented an argument for why every country needs to adopt Pancasila as its state ideology. Bung Karno proved that Pancasila values are not only Indonesian national, but Universal and International. Specifically for nationalism, Bung Karno explained that this value is universal, because nationalism is shared by all modern countries. Furthermore, Pancasila is united by love. This spirit of love is what Bung Karno called "Gotong-Royong" or Mutual Cooperation in his working words. According to him, "Gotong-

Royong" is a dynamic understanding, more dynamic than kinship. "Gotong-Royong" is breaking bones together, sweating together, and struggling to help together. All deeds are for the benefit of all, all sweat is for everyone's happiness, for the common good.

Pancasila principles will be developed with the spirit of Gotong-Royong. The meaning is: The principle of God must have the spirit of Mutual Cooperation, which means a divinity that is cultured, spacious and tolerant; not divinities that attack and isolate each other. The principle of internationalism must have a spirit of mutual cooperation, which means humanity and justice; not colonizing and exploitative internationalism. The national principle must have a spirit of mutual cooperation, which means being able to develop unity from various differences; not a nationality that eliminates differences or rejects unity. The principle of democracy must have a spirit of mutual cooperation, which means developing deliberation and consensus; not democracy which is dictated by the voice of the majority (majorocracy) or a minority of the ruling elite-financiers (minorocracy). The principle of welfare must have the spirit of mutual cooperation, which means developing participation and emancipation in the economic sector with a spirit of kinship; not a vision of welfare based on individualism-capitalism; nor does it curb individual freedom as in the etatism system (Latif, 2020).

## METHOD

This study is an exploratory qualitative study that examines how the values contained in Pancasila can be utilized for the benefit and understanding of the continuity of life in world peace with secondary data collected. The research method used in this study is document-based qualitative research or in other terms, literature-based qualitative research (Bakry, 2016). This secondary data includes previous reference journals that have been collected by researchers, literature that has references related to research and news documents from trusted internet sources. News website was used to collect the news documents.

The qualitative research used is a deductive qualitative research that looks at the relationship between the concept and research data. To explain a certain phenomenon, deductive research is structured based on a specific analytical framework. This study tries to combine the analysis of primary data and secondary data (Bakry, 2016). Primary data was obtained from interviews and explanations from member of the BPIP Expert Council for Foreign Relations Strategy. This study uses a normative juridical research method by examining data sources from the legal literature and literature review. This

research uses literature study. The literature review procedures are organized, synthesized, identified and formulated. This research analysis wants to describe a series of events that can be interpreted as the beginning of the concept of Pancasila being heard to the world.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The influence of politics can influence the attitudes of the younger generation regarding their concern for national political participation (Borge, 2017). Every society in any part of the world really wants their young generation to be prepared to become good citizens and be able to participate in the life of society and their country. This desire is more accurately described as a concern that continues to grow, especially in a democratic society, that there is no country, which has not yet reached the level of understanding of rights and responsibilities as good citizens in supporting constitutional democracy which aims to form intelligent and citizen citizens, the good one. In this case, an understanding of Pancasila values can be proposed and offered in civics education as a filter for political education for the younger generation (Wibowo, AP, et al., 2020).

### Views of Pancasila in the International World

In his speech at the 15th United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) on September 30 1960 which titled "To Build The World Anew", Soekarno widely known as Bung Karno very boldly criticized the then world system that had been built by the Western world, especially the system that existed within the United Nations. The problem that Soekarno emphasized at that time was Colonialism and Imperialism which were contrary to the principles of Humanity or Internationalism.

The challenges of post-Cold War globalization require a new commitment and vision of internationalism that is relevant to current developments. The challenge is how to develop democratic practices on a transnational scale to respond to interdependent global realities. The problem in today's world order is the gap between the development of time (temporality) and space (spatiality); namely the incompatibility between the socio-political reality of the globalization era and the structure of the state, between economic developments which are increasingly breaking down territorial boundaries and the development of political democracy which is still confined within the territorial boundaries of nation-states.

On the one hand, globalization reduces the authority of nation-states. On the other hand, globalization provides ample opportunities for strong

countries to take its advantages, as the case of China. However, it should be noted, the notion of strong here is not synonymous with authoritarianism. Rather, it refers to the capacity of the state to maintain its authority through regulation and law enforcement. Thus, there must be a balance between commitments to internationalism and nationalism, empowering international governance and empowering the state. At this point, the basic philosophy that inspires the second principle of Pancasila, namely Internationalism, as stated by Soekarno is correct. "Internationalism cannot thrive if it is not rooted in the earth of nationalism. Nationalism cannot thrive if it does not live within the essence of internationalism." (Latif, 2020).

Pancasila as a living ideology with all its diversity, of course, must be open for the differences in attitudes or thoughts of fellow countrymen but not of the same mind. As is known, pluralism in Indonesia, which has the Pancasila ideology, consists of social, cultural, religious and so on. Plurality is diversity which is an undeniable reality. Social, cultural, political and religious plurality and diversity in society constitute the wealth of a nation. However, apart from being positive, plurality can also have negative impacts if it is not managed well. Even though diversity is a challenge in itself for the country of Pancasila, it provides great opportunities for Pancasila to stand out in the face of other ideologies in the world. Indonesia is recognized as a country that is at the forefront in terms of promoting the values of peace. Upholding the values of Pancasila, Indonesia might be considered as a role model for other countries, especially regarding the concept of peace since Indonesia has great potential to become one of the world's magnets in terms of the demographic-geospritual dimension (Rahmah, 2020).

According to Rahmah (2020), Pancasila and the concept of peace are a complete package that contains peace and repels all that is contrary to the concept of peace itself. Being a role model of peaceful culture, quite a few are trying to examine the roots of Indonesian people's way of life. Indeed, Pancasila is said to be the unique soul of all Indonesian people. Besides being able to manage the diversity of Indonesian people, the big mission of this ideology is about maintaining national unity and projecting to the world, the value of peace and harmony that is upheld by Indonesia with the ideology of Pancasila (Rahmah, 2020).

The rapid and unavoidable progress of world development has brought an explosion of external and internal plurality as well as various forms of social inequality that make it difficult to realize social inclusion. The global wave of democratization and protection of human rights are becoming more intense. However, reverse flow of opposition and



antagonism to these tendencies are also taking place. Throughout the world, “identity politics” which reinforces differences in collective identity—ethnicity, race, class and social status, language, religion, language and nation—is experiencing a rising tide. Since every search for identity requires a line of difference with others, identity politics is always the politics of creating differences. Against this tendency, what must be guarded against is not the inevitable dialectic of identity/difference, but rather the possibility of the emergence of an atavistic belief that identity can only be maintained and secured by eliminating difference and otherness.

### **Activating and Capitalizing Pancasila to Benefit the World**

Pancasila as an ideology can maintain its strong relevance to the development of people’s aspirations and the demands of changing times. It is due the fact that Pancasila contains the Reality Dimension, the Idealism Dimension, and the Flexibility Dimension as well. Being a strong ideology, Pancasila has a mutually complementary and mutually reinforcing relationship between the dimensions of reality and the dimensions of idealism contained therein. Pancasila has succeeded in making itself the basis or foundation (through the dimension of reality) and at the same time the goal (through the dimension of idealism) in developing various areas of social, national and state life. The open or democratic ideology of Pancasila actually finds, places or even bets its relevance or strength on its success in stimulating its people to develop new thoughts about the basic values contained therein. With these new thoughts about ideology, it refreshes itself, maintains and strengthens its relevance over time. The three dimensions contained in this ideology must be interrelated, complement each other, and strengthen each other so that the ideology is resilient and can withstand the test of time (Wibowo, AP, et al., 2020)

This discourse about internationalism or humanity is actually discussed endlessly by social activist experts as a means to serve humanity itself. But unfortunately the goals of internationalism seem to be distorted by something we are very familiar with in the world of politics called interests. The concept of internationalism in Pancasila itself is a great thought from the great statemen, namely Soekarno. According to Desia (2020), Soekarno invited the Indonesian people to open their eyes that Indonesia is a country that the world should reckon with. In his speech at the UN general assembly on 30 September 1960 entitled “To Build the World Anew”, Soekarno very confidently introduced the Pancasila precepts one by one and internationalism was one of the issues that was hot enough to be discussed at that

time. And yet Soekarno gallantly offered Pancasila as an alternative ideology for the world which at that time was haunted by the Cold War between the West Block and the East Block (Desia, 2020).

Soekarno in the meeting seemed to be trying to show his capability or ability in the field of political communication and also their ability to agitate the masses. In this speech, Soekarno very bravely criticized the system that had been built by the western world, especially the system that existed within the United Nations. The problem that Soekarno emphasized at that time was colonialism and imperialism which were contrary to the principles of humanity or internationalism (Desia, 2018).

Based on the results of the interview, it is known UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) in May 2023 awarded Bung Karno’s speech at the UN entitled “To Build the World Anew”, 30 September 1960, as a World Archive Heritage (Memory of the World). Apart from Bung Karno’s speech, UNESCO also designated the archives of the First Meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement as Memory of the World, which was proposed by 5 countries, namely Algeria, Egypt, India, Indonesia and Serbia. The award granted to Bung Karno’s speech as a World Heritage Archive would enable the international public to access the text of archive as a reference for developing studies related to UNESCO’s areas of work, such as education, science and culture. It is commonly realized that archives only remain archives, if they are only stored in bookshelves and documents files.

Furthermore, the interviewee explained, In his speech entitled To Build the World Anew, Bung Karno introduced Pancasila for the first time at the UN forum. The momentum was truly relevant to the world situation. At that time, the world was haunted by the pull of interests and rivalry between two major hegemonic ideologies in the context of the Cold War. Liberal-Capitalism led by the United States versus Socialist-Communism led by the Soviet Union. In the midst of ideological competition between the two blocks, Bung Karno offered the principles of Pancasila to inspire the UN Charter. Bung Karno said, while the two big ideologies clashed and defeated each other, Pancasila actually offered principles that could be accepted by the two ideologies. Pancasila contains universal values in the realm of relations among countries, whatever their ideology.

According to interview sources, Liberal-Capitalism does not recognize social justice, but upholds the human values contained in Pancasila. Socialist-Communists do not recognize God, but prioritize Social Justice which is also contained in Pancasila. It can be seen that the values of Pancasila are in accordance with these two world ideologies.

There is universality in Pancasila. The universality of Pancasila seems to “reconcile” the values held by the two opposing ideologies. Because of its universal nature, it can be accepted by all ideologies. It is therefore no exaggeration to say: Pancasila is the Ideology of Peace. Pancasila is an ideology that brings closer and unites the nations.

The unifying value of Pancasila cannot only be seen in the political life of the nation and state in Indonesia. Thanks to Pancasila, even though it is facing national and global political turmoil, Indonesia remains intact as a nation and state up to this day. Pancasila values are also manifested in the international political stage.

The researcher believes that in the results of this research analysis, there are two levels of observation that can actualize the unifying values of Pancasila in international forums. First, in deliberation in multilateral forums. Bung Karno in his speech at the UN said, “The only way for this organization (the UN) to be able to carry out its functions satisfactorily is through consensus obtained in deliberation”. This is an exercise of deliberation to reach consensus (dialogue for consensus). In diplomatic terms, deliberation is nothing but multilateralism, where each member’s voice is heard to reach agreement or consensus. The value of deliberation is the spirit of multilateralism, dialogue, negotiation and peaceful conflict resolution in diplomacy. These values are also reflected in issue deliberations at the UN. It is possibly due to the similarities in values and spirit, that the UN unanimously agreed to award the speech with Memory of the World status.

Second, Pancasila values can also be applied in the context of inter-state relations. In the last few decades, especially after the world was no longer bothered by ideological competition following the end of the Cold War, socio-culture has become an important factor in relations among nations. An observer of international relations said that with the end of the Cold War, cultural factors did not only become important in international relations, but also became the driving force in increasing the intensity of international relations (Mazarr, M. J., 1996). Mazarr’s views are relevant to the current world situation. Conflicts triggered by ideological rivalry are reduced. Instead, it was replaced by conflicts with socio-cultural backgrounds, such as conflicts between ethnicities, races and religions. Just take a look at what happened in Myanmar. The Muslim Rohingya ethnic group was expelled from Buddhist-majority Myanmar. In India, which is predominantly Hindu, the Hindu-Islamic conflict seems to never end. In Arab lands, even internal Islamic conflicts devastated many countries. In Europe and America, which claim to be champion of respecting human

rights, are not immune from acts of violence and hate speech against Islam. Even in the US, when the Covid 19 pandemic was whacking the world, anti-Chinese and Asian sentiments emerged among the people.

Ethnic, racial and religious conflicts are not only a political phenomenon, but also a socio-cultural one. When socio-cultural hatred is rife, mutual understanding is needed. Mutual respect and understanding will only grow in a tolerant and moderate society. Tolerance, moderation and respect for differences are Indonesian human DNA, which has been ingrained in the lives of our ancestors for hundreds of years. And the values of tolerance, moderation and respect for diversity are embedded in the unity of Pancasila values. Precisely with these values (tolerance, moderation and respect for diversity) Indonesia was invited by Myanmar to share experiences in overcoming ethnic and religious conflicts. It is also the case of Afghanistan when its leaders were overwhelmed in resolving the conflict with the Taliban. Indonesia with its Pancasila has the credentials or trust to help bridge ethnic and religious disputes. Indonesia is considered capable of being a bridge-builder when two enemies do not want to unite. At this point it appears that Indonesia with its Pancasila can help friendly countries hit by ethnic and religious conflicts.

The recognition of Bung Karno’s speech by UNESCO as a World Heritage Archive open up space for Indonesian diplomacy to introduce Pancasila to the international world. This is because the text of the speech is open for use by researchers, academics and foreign practitioners in studying Pancasila as a discipline of philosophy and politics. It is suggested that Indonesia can facilitate foreign academics interested in studying Pancasila, the values of which are very relevant for mediating conflicts with socio-cultural backgrounds. Besides that, Indonesia together with Algeria, Egypt, India and Serbia can also promote the basic values mandated by the Non-Aligned Movement Conference, namely anti-colonialism and the principle of non-intervention in international politics. The UN has recognized Bung Karno’s speech about Pancasila as a World Heritage Archive. It remains only for Indonesian diplomats to creatively capitalize on this status to promote the noble values of Pancasila so that they can provide inspiration for countries suffering from the humiliation of ethnic, racial and religious conflicts.

## CONCLUSION

Soekarno’s speech before the participants of the XVth UN General Assembly which was held on September 30, 1960, had its own role for the

existence of Pancasila in the eyes of the international community. This was indicated by the occurrence of ideological confrontation that disturbs world peace. In the end, Soekarno offered Pancasila as an alternative ideology, where one of the emphasis that Soekarno used was on the brotherhood of nations which is the goal of internationalism. Apart from that, the text of the speech is open for use by researchers, academics and foreign practitioners in studying Pancasila as a discipline of philosophy and politics. So this speech is one of the communication media that Soekarno chose to make an effort towards world peace, while at the same time increasing the existence of Pancasila in the eyes of the international community.

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