

# **BUNG KARNO's POLITICAL THOUGHT ACCORDING TO PANCASILA: A Study of Bung Karno's Speech on June 1, 1945, and the President Soekarno/Bung Karno's Pancasila Course Throughout 1958-1959**

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**ABSTRACT.** This paper examines the evolution of Bung Karno's Pancasila concept, tracing its origins from his pivotal June 1, 1945 speech and the comprehensive elucidation of Pancasila during the 1958 Pancasila Course, a crucial moment in shaping its official formulation. Pancasila has become an enduring cornerstone of Indonesian ideology. This prompts a closer examination of Sukarno's political ideals. This study scrutinizes Bung Karno's Pancasila ideology within the context of his political philosophy. Methodologically, this article employs a Qualitative-Descriptive approach, primarily drawing on literature and documentary sources. The concept of deconstruction has also used in this article. The findings underscore how Sukarno's political convictions found expression in Pancasila. His political thought was deeply influenced by Indonesia's social and political landscape, emphasizing the nation's diverse yet interconnected destiny and history. Sukarno ingeniously infused this diversity with spiritual unity, encapsulated in the five principles known as "Pancasila." For Sukarno, Pancasila wasn't theoretical; it was his practical political tool to manage diversity and avert polarization among Indonesian citizens. The first principle, "Believe in One Supreme God," was particularly pivotal, serving as the foundation on which the others relied to maintain their integrity. This study sheds light on how Pancasila became more than just a concept; it was Sukarno's practical response to the complexities of Indonesia's socio-political landscape, emphasizing unity amidst diversity.

**Keywords:** Basic Philosophy of the State; Sukarno; Pancasila; Philosophical Thought; Falsafah Dasar Negara

**ABSTRAK** Artikel ini mengkaji terkait dengan konsep pemikiran politik Bung Karno dalam Pancasila, berdasarkan pidato pentingnya pada tanggal 1 Juni 1945 dan penjelasan komprehensif tentang Pancasila dalam Kursus Pancasila tahun 1958-1959. Dalam perjalanannya, Pancasila telah menjadi pijakan abadi dalam ideologi Indonesia. Maka dari itu, artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi lebih mendalam terkait dengan gagasan politik Sukarno dalam Pancasila. Secara metodologis, artikel ini menggunakan pendekatan Kualitatif-Deskriptif, dengan menggunakan studi literatur dan dokumenter. Konsep dekonstruksi oleh Derrida membantu penelitian ini dalam menganalisis gagasan politik Sukarno. Hasil dari penelitian ini adalah Pemikiran politik Sukarno dalam Pancasila sangat dipengaruhi oleh kondisi sosial dan politik di Indonesia, yang menekankan pada budaya dan sejarah yang beragam namun saling terhubung di dalam bangsa ini. Sukarno menyatukan keberagaman dengan kesatuan spiritual, yang diwujudkan dalam lima prinsip yang dikenal sebagai "Pancasila." Bagi Sukarno, Pancasila bukan hanya sekadar konsep teoretis; ini adalah alat politik praktisnya untuk mengelola keragaman dan mencegah polarisasi di antara warga negara Indonesia. Prinsip pertama, "Beriman kepada Tuhan Yang Maha Esa," sangat penting, menjadi dasar di mana prinsip-prinsip lainnya bersandar untuk menjaga integritas

**Kata Kunci:** Dasar Negara; Sukarno; Filosofi; Falsafah Dasar Negara; Pancasila

## **INTRODUCTION**

Ir. Soekarno was a formulator of Pancasila. He is called a formulator because he delved into the values of Pancasila and proposed it as the foundation of the nation on June 1, 1945, before the First Plenary Session of the Investigating Body for Preparatory Work for Independence (BPUPK). Soekarno was also becoming the Chairman of the Nine-Member Committee formed during the First Plenary Session of BPUPK. This committee formulated the speech delivered by Ir. Soekarno on June 1, 1945, which later became known as the Jakarta Charter on June 22, 1945. Additionally, Ir. Soekarno served as the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI), which enacted the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD) 1945 on August 18, 1945. In the Fourth Paragraph of the Preamble of the UUD, there was a formulation and systematic arrangement of Pancasila, even

though the word "Pancasila" was not explicitly mentioned in either the Preamble or the body of the Constitution.

Bung Karno's speech on June 1, 1945, was published in the book titled "Lahirnja Pantjasila" in 1947. The book was introduced by the Chairman of BPUPK, Dr. K.R.T. Radjiman Wediodiningrat. In the introduction, Radjiman testified that on June 1, 1945, Bung Karno proposed Pancasila as the foundation and ideology of the state (recht-ideologie). The speech was delivered spontaneously by Bung Karno and was agreed upon during the First Plenary Session of BPUPK on May 29 - June 1, 1945. It later became the main reference for the formulation of the foundation of the state as the Formulation and Systematic Arrangement of Pancasila.

In the post-independence period, Bung Karno continued to develop the concept of Pancasila. He did this through the Pancasila Course held at the State Palace, which took place several times in 1958, as well

as during visits abroad, such as the Congress of the United States in 1956 and the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) in 1960. Furthermore, Bung Karno's concept of Pancasila was also conveyed on several occasions during the commemoration of Pancasila Birthdays in 1958 and 1964. Throughout its development, Soekarno's Pancasila underwent a challenging journey, including the de-Sukarnoization of Pancasila during the New Order era. The de-Sukarnoization project during the New Order era took place in two steps, which are:

1. It shifted Bung Karno's role as the sole figure proposing Pancasila on June 1, 1945, during the First Plenary Session of BPUPK (the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence). This step was accomplished by acknowledging Mr. Muhammad Yamin and Mr. Soepomo as figures who had earlier proposed Pancasila. Yamin delivered a speech at BPUPK on May 29, 1945, while Soepomo gave his speech at BPUPKI (the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence) on May 31, 1945.
2. This project separated and eliminated the connection between the official Formulation and Systematics of Pancasila found in the Fourth Paragraph of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution and Bung Karno's construction and philosophical thinking expressed on June 1, 1945, during the First Plenary Session of BPUPK, along with its underlying premises. As a result, many generations during the New Order era and even up to the present day feel that there is no relationship between the official Formulation and Systematics of Pancasila and Soekarno's ideas. This process has created massive "brainwashing," leading to the perception that Pancasila has no connection with Soekarno's thinking up to this day. However, this "revisionism" is rejected by the historical figures who were directly involved as participants in the BPUPK sessions. One prominent figure who vehemently rejected it was Mohammad Hatta, also one of the Proclaimers of Indonesian Independence, Vice Chairman of the PPKI (Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence), and the First Vice President of Indonesia. In his Memoir, which also serves as an autobiography, Hatta stated that Yamin's speech proposing the five principles, namely: nationalism, humanity, divinity, democracy, and social justice, was not the speech delivered on May 29, 1945, but rather ideas written in the draught of the 1945 Constitution's Preamble during the Ninth Committee Meeting on June 22, 1945. In other words, this narrative was written after Bung Karno's speech.
3. The elimination of the commemoration of Pancasila's Birth on June 1. The commemoration of Pancasila's Birth has, in fact, been held since

President Soekarno's administration from 1964 to 1969, but since 1970, the commemoration of Pancasila's Birth has been eliminated by the New Order and replaced with the commemoration of Pancasila Sanctity on October 1. The elimination of the commemoration of Pancasila's Birth was based on the historical account of Pancasila's birth, which placed Yamin and Soepomo as the proponents of Pancasila before Bung Karno (Notosusanto, 1981).

4. The elimination of Bung Karno's thoughts on Pancasila from the material reinforcing Pancasila, namely the Guidelines for Understanding and Practising Pancasila (P-4). This was done through the "assertion" that the authentic Pancasila is the one written in the Fourth Paragraph of the Opening of the 1945 Constitution, not the Formulation and Systematics of the Jakarta Charter, nor Bung Karno's Formulation of Pancasila in his speech on June 1, 1945. This assertion is regulated in MPR Decree No. II/MPR/1978 concerning P-4. By limiting Pancasila to only refer to the Fourth Paragraph of the Opening of the 1945 Constitution, the New Order succeeded in eradicating the original concept of Pancasila elaborated by Bung Karno on June 1, 1945. Since then and throughout the New Order era, Bung Karno's ideas about Pancasila were no longer included in P-4 and various efforts were made to strengthen the Pancasila ideology during that period, at least until the issuance of Presidential Decree No. 21 of 2016 concerning the Pancasila Birth Anniversary.

After several periods, the Program for Strengthening the Pancasila Ideology was reinitiated during President Joko Widodo's administration since the reform era of 1998. Previously, the program had been halted from 1998 to 2016 due to the revocation of the People's Consultative Assembly Decree No. II/MPR/1978 concerning P-4 by Decree No. XVIII/MPR/1998. Through the revocation of the P-4 Decree, the P-4 Education Program was abolished, along with its implementing body, the Agency for the Implementation of the Guidelines for the Internalization and Implementation of Pancasila (BP-7). Starting in 2017, the Pancasila ideology strengthening program was gradually revived by President Joko Widodo through the establishment of the Presidential Institution for Pancasila Ideology Development (UKP-PIP) based on its legal umbrella, Presidential Regulation No. 54 of 2017 regarding UKP-PIP. Furthermore, UKP-PIP's institutional status was elevated to the Agency for Pancasila Ideology Development (BPIP) in 2018.

In the attempt of de-sukarnoize, Pancasila has hitherto been firmly irreversible notions in Indonesia,

thus this is an interesting matter to explore the political thought that Sukarno attempted to brought into the table. This writing aims to explore Bung Karno's Pancasila ideology, particularly in the context of his political thought, from his June 1, 1945 speech until after Indonesia's independence. The study will cover the official formulation of Pancasila, including the Pancasila Course in 1958.

The concept of reconstructions by Derrida helps this research to understanding the context of Sukarno's Political Thought in his speech on the 1st June and the Pancasila Course in 1958-1959. As a relevant theory to be used as a measure in seeking answers to this research, the author employs the theory of deconstruction that was elaborated in Norris (2003) that Deconstruction is a method of reading texts. Through deconstruction, it is shown that every text always contains assumptions considered absolute. However, each assumption is actually contextual, always existing as social-historical constructions. In other words, these assumptions can be traced back to their formation within a historical context. Through the concepts that have been introduced by Derrida, such as Difference, Trace, Reconstruction, and Iterability, writer would be able to analyze and comprehend political thought in Pancasila that is implicitly stated in his speech on the 1st June and Pancasila Course in 1958. By using these concepts to analyze the topics, text from Bung Karno's Speech can be continuously interpreted in vary contexts in terms of understanding the texts that are flexible and agile; These are indications that can be repeatedly restated and can vary based on the reader's perspective and interpretation.

In broader terms, this research used the concept of deconstruction by Derrida which is a way to bring to the forefront the hidden contradictions behind our concepts and ingrained beliefs. Derrida introduced the concept of "Differance," a peculiar word combining the meanings of differentiation (to differ) and deferring certainty (to defer). Within texts, truths and meanings must constantly differentiate and defer their certainty. Derrida also uses the concept of "Trace" to depict the trail of meaning. According to him, what can be known is the traces of truth itself. Traces are mysterious and unrevealed, emerging as a force and a shaper of writing, penetrating and energizing its comprehensive activity. This signifies that meaning will be in constant motion, always needing to be traced.

The concept of "Reconstruction" refers to building or restoring something based on the original events. Within this reconstruction, primary values that must be retained are embedded in the process of reconstructing something according to its original conditions. This applies to the reconstruction of

historical events, past phenomena, and even the intellectual concepts put forth by previous thinkers. Lastly, the concept of "Iterability" pertains to a text's ability to be continuously interpreted in various different contexts. Texts are flexible and agile; they are signs that can be repeatedly reiterated and differentiated according to the reader's horizon and interpretation. (Norris, 2003)

There were several previous studies regarding Sukarno's Thought in Pancasila (Wedakarna & Suyasa, 2022). Besides that, there were previous studies about Sukarno's Social, Economical, and Nationalism thought (Basri, 2013; FARID, 2015; Fuadhillah, 2010; Handoyo, 2018; Jamil, n.d.; Mali et al., 2023; Melawati & Kuswono, 2019; Putra, 2015; Supratman, 2022; Yunus, 2012). Lastly, the research about Sukarno's Political thought has been also conducted (Waluddin, 2005; Rosolemba, 2017; Wati, 2017). These researchs explains about how Sukarno thoughts shaped in Pancasila and how it influenced the notions. Futhermore, Based on previous research, there has not yet been a detailed study that discusses the topic of Bung Karno's political thought according to pancasila: A Study of Bung Karno's Speech on June 1, 1945, and the President Soekarno/Bung Karno's Pancasila Course Throughout 1958-1959. These previous studies are used in this article to help researcher gain and deepen knowledge about Sukarno's Political Thoughts particularly in Pancasila and its speech on the 1st June and throughout the Sukarno's Pancasila Thought during 1958-1959.

## METHOD

This writing is conducted using a qualitative research approach. The qualitative method can help the writer in exploring the meaning of Pancasila's thoughts according to Soekarno and its construction (Creswell, 2009). In this writing, data and information are collected through literature study methods and supported by documentary and archival studies to strengthen the data and information as historical facts that actually occurred. Authors using the main data to help generating the idea and analysing the concept of deconstructions that will be helpful to explore Sukarno's political thoughts towards Pancasila. The main data are the documents of Sukarno's Speech on the 1<sup>st</sup> June and Pancasila Courses during 1958 to 1959. These data were choosen as the primary data in this research to do the reconstruction based on text of the Sukarno's political thoughts on Pancasila. As this research using qualitative- descriptive approach, triangulation from other research as different perspective would be inserted to validate the argument and analysis that has been stated in this article.

Source criticism is also used to criticize these sources of the history of thought to ensure the authenticity of the existing sources and documents. Based on these two stages, interpretation is made of the historical sources of Pancasila's thoughts according to Bung Karno through an inter-textual approach in the writing of Pancasila's historical thought according to Bung Karno, which is in line with Bung Karno's intentions or at least very close to them. The next step is to classify data, construct data, and verify data with secondary data by conducting expert triangulation and triangulation of secondary data obtained by the writer. Next, a deepening and analysis of all data and information are carried out, resulting in a construction of discussion and conclusions in this writing.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Several conceptual frameworks proposed by Notonagoro, Dewantara, and Hatta indicate that the substance of Pancasila consists of the substance of thought and knowledge. Moreover, according to the writer, the epistemological, ontological, and axiological processes of Pancasila are more prominent compared to its substance and construction. In essence, the epistemological substance of knowledge within Pancasila was arranged by Bung Karno. However, the conceptual frameworks formulated by Notonagoro and Hatta seem to limit Bung Karno's role to being the initial proposer of Pancasila on June 1, 1945, and neglect his role in the formulation and finalization phases of Pancasila. A different view is presented by Dewantara, where he emphasizes that Bung Karno's role was not only to propose the "substance" of Pancasila but also to propose its "form" or systematization (Dewantara, 1950: 11). At least in the writer's view, Dewantara's perspective appears to be more documentary-historically factual, aligning with what actually happened (Daradjati & Kurniawan, 2020; Koesoema, 2017). Based on this conceptual framework, Bung Karno had two types of Pancasila thoughts: first, the initial thoughts on Pancasila on June 1, 1945, and second, the thoughts within the framework of the official Pancasila on August 18, 1945, as mentioned above.

### **Bung Karno's Thought of Pancasila: The Substances Contained in Pancasila and its Construction: Bung Karno's Thought in the Pancasila Description in 1 June 1945**

Based on Presidential Decree No. 24 of 2016 regarding Pancasila Birth Anniversary, President Joko Widodo has re-established June 1st as the birth anniversary of Pancasila. This commemoration is based on the Speech of Ir. Soekarno on the

Elaboration of Pancasila on June 1, 1945, before the First Plenary Session of the Body for Investigating Efforts to Prepare for Independence (BPUPKI). Bung Karno's speech is referred to as the "Birth Speech of Pancasila" because it was the first time that Pancasila was proposed as the foundation of the state. During that occasion, Bung Karno responded to the question and agenda of the First Plenary Session of BPUPK expressed by the Chairman of BPUPK, Dr. K.R.T. Radjiman Wediodiningrat, which was: "What will be the foundation of the independent Indonesian state that we will establish?"

Bung Karno's speech on the 1<sup>st</sup> June inserted Sukarno Political Thoughts about how a nation should be build. He emphasized the cultured politics (Politik yang berkebudayaan) should be the basis on the nation's daily lives. The cultured politics emanates from the social conditions in Indonesia that its citizen has a vary background of religion and ethnicity. The cultured politics had also based on equality, not only in politics, but also in economic. Ratu adil was an embodiment of this notions, when nation is striving for *sociale rechtvaardigheid* (social justice) and *politieke rechtvaardigheid* (political justice) to build the *ationale staat*. (nation state)

In this context, Bung Karno's Pancasila thought can be mapped into two phases: first, the birth phase of Pancasila on June 1, 1945, and second, the post-independence phase of the Indonesian nation. During the birth phase, Bung Karno proposed Pancasila as the national ideology based on the principle of belief in God, while in the post-independence phase, Bung Karno developed the concept of Pancasila based on the official systematization of Pancasila, which is stated in the Fourth Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, referring to the idea of nationalism "under the protection" of religious values. On June 1, 1945, Bung Karno proposed Pancasila as the philosophical foundation and worldview that consists of five principles (Burlan, 2020; Suyasa, 2022):

1. Indonesian Nationalism, meaning that the foundation of Indonesia as a nation-state is nationalism because Indonesia is a nation where the state is established for all citizens from various ethnic groups. As a nation, Indonesia is not a state formed for only one or a few specific groups, but it is a state for all its citizens or people. Therefore, it can be concluded that Indonesia is a nation-state. In this context, Bung Karno defines a nation as a social-political bond formed by "common destiny and history". This common destiny gives birth to a "common will" to become a united nation. Thus, Bung Karno argues that what unites the Indonesian nation is not ethnicity, religion, or language, as these factors are factors of progress that need to be united. What unites the Indonesian



nation is the “will to unite” amid these various differences.

Bung Karno placed this national value as the First Principle in the initial concept of Pancasila on the Elaboration of Pancasila on June 1, 1945, before the First Plenary Session of BPUPK. This idea of nationalism indicates that Bung Karno was a nationalist figure in the BPUPK session, which was different from the Islamic group that proposed Islam as the basis of the state. However, Bung Karno's concept went beyond mere nationalism, as he also included the “value of belief in God” in the elaboration of Pancasila on June 1, 1945, thus forming what is known as Pancasila. The value of belief in God, in the context of Bung Karno's Elaboration of Pancasila on June 1, 1945, even served as the foundation and simultaneously “locked” the other Principles.

2. Internationalism or Humanity. This value is a characteristic of the nation conceived by Bung Karno. It reflects the principle of Indonesian nationalism that is not chauvinistic, colonialistic, or imperialistic but instead aims to build humane relations among nations. That's why Bung Karno also used the term ‘humanity’ as a substitute for internationalism. In this context, an internationalist (humane) nation is the antithesis of the European nations at that time, which were anti-humanitarian, due to their colonial and imperialistic nature. This situation eventually gave rise to Western colonization of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In contemporary times, this is referred to as Neo-Colonialism and modern imperialism, which more subtly manifests as Globalization.
3. Consensus or Democracy. This value represents the ‘inward aspect’ of Indonesian nationalism, pertaining to the management of state power that must abide by democratic values and systems. This is because, according to Bung Karno, only through democracy can all groups within a nation participate in governing and formulating state policies. He believed that “democracy is the political consequence of a nation building itself.” As the nation unites diversity, democracy becomes the political system that provides opportunities for all groups to engage in governance. During the BPUPK session, Bung Karno made democracy a guarantee for Islamic groups to be involved in shaping state policies based on Islamic aspirations. According to him, although Indonesia is not an Islamic state, democracy allows Islamic groups to fight for their aspirations through the parliament. He also extended this guarantee to Christian and various other religious groups in the country.
4. Social Welfare. This value is an attribute of democracy and an attribute of nationalism. In

this context, Bung Karno placed social welfare, or the welfare of the people, as the goal of democracy, so that “Pancasila democracy does not stop at political democracy” but includes social democracy. By this, Bung Karno meant that Pancasila should facilitate a democratic system that not only ensures the political rights of its citizens but also guarantees their economic rights. This social democracy is what will save Pancasila democracy from falling into “bourgeois-capitalistic democracy.” Democracy should align with the aspirations of the common people for a prosperous life in a nation that has achieved independence from colonialism.

5. Belief in the One and Only God. This value is designated by Bung Karno as the fifth principle. He did this because he wanted to ground Pancasila with values of belief in God. Indeed, the principle of Belief in the One and Only God was first proposed by Bung Karno in his speech on June 1, 1945, where he stated: “The fifth principle of independent Indonesia is to be devoted to the One and Only God. The principle of belief in God!... My heart will rejoice if you agree that independent Indonesia is based on the belief in the One and Only God!” At first, Bung Karno used the term “takwa,” which is a part of Islamic faith, to find common ground between Islam and Pancasila, making it acceptable to Islamic groups. However, at the same time, Bung Karno placed fear of God within a context of tolerant, inclusive, and respectful religious beliefs among different religious communities. He referred to this as a cultured belief in God, a civilized belief in God, a virtuous and mutually respectful belief in God. This concept later became known in contemporary times as ‘moderate harmony’ among and between religious communities and their belief in the One and Only God (YME).

The cultural principle of divinity was proposed by Sukarno as a way of practicing faith in the Almighty God. This led him to emphasize that he would celebrate joyously if the members of the BPUPKI assembly accepted an independent Indonesia based on the belief in the Almighty God. Thus, the theological principle conveyed by Sukarno in the Description of Pancasila on June 1, 1945, is not a culturally oriented divinity but rather the belief in the Almighty God. As for the culturally oriented divinity, which Bung Karno meant as a method of practicing faith in the Almighty God, it is where Soekarno worships based on the Islamic religion.

These five principles were later named by Soekarno as Pancasila after careful consideration, including input from his language expert friend.

“Panca” means five, while “Sila” means principles. Pancasila is the name of the foundation of the state formed by the unity of these five principles of national and state life. Soekarno’s idea of Pancasila on June 1, 1945, can be referred to as the idea of nationalism with a belief in God. According to Bung Hatta, in this context, Soekarno placed the political dimension above the moral dimension. The political dimension comprises national values, namely nationality, humanity, democracy, and social welfare, while the moral dimension encompasses divinity. However, in the official formulation of Pancasila on August 18, 1945, the position of the moral dimension of divinity was placed above the political dimension of nationalism. Nevertheless, Bung Hatta emphasized that the ideology of Pancasila remained unchanged, encompassing both the original ideas of Bung Karno in the Description of Pancasila on June 1, 1945, and the formulation and systematic principles of the official state foundation on August 18, 1945, from the First PPKI Plenary Session (Hatta, 1977).

Bung Karno’s Pancasila thoughts on the Explanation of Pancasila on June 1, 1945, not only became the idealistic thoughts of an Indonesian nationalist thinker but also represented ideas that could address the impasse related to the process of formulating the country’s foundation. This impasse occurred during the First Plenary Session of BPUPKI from May 29 to June 1, 1945, where discussions were deadlocked between the Islamic group and the nationalist group. The Islamic group, represented by Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, proposed on May 30, 1945, that Islam should be the basis of the state because it was considered a religion that could promote national unity. In Ki Bagus’s view, when the founding fathers wanted to establish a nation, Islam would be the appropriate foundation for a national state (Koesoema, 2016: 136). However, the Islamic group failed to convince the nationalist group to accept Islam as the basis of the state, one of whom was Mr. Soepomo, who asserted in his speech on May 31, 1945, that he rejected Islam as the basis of the state. This was because basing the state on a single religion would create gaps and alienate other religions that exist. According to Soepomo, there are majority and minority religions, and such differences should not exist in the principles of a national state. To persuade the Islamic group to accept the nationalist perspective, Soepomo stated that even though the national state was not an Islamic state, it was a state founded on noble values cherished by Islam (Setneg, 1995: 325).

The nationalist group’s ideas were still not accepted by the Islamic group because they were not based on Islamic values. This was similar to the nationalist group’s inability to accept Islam as

the foundation of the state, despite a significant number of nationalist group members being Muslim. This clash of ideas and ideologies only came to an end when Bung Karno proposed Pancasila as the foundation of the state, uniting nationalism and Islam through several means: As a national figure, Bung Karno proposed the concept of nationalism as the first principle of Pancasila. This nationalism is internationalist (not imperialist) in international relations and is democratic and socially just in its relations with the people.

The characteristic of Pancasila that makes it an “ideological bridge” between nationalism and Islamism is what led to its acceptance by acclamation during the First Plenary Session of BPUPK from May 29 to June 1, 1945. Pancasila, as Bung Karno’s idea, was designated as the main material for formulating the country’s foundation during the recess of BPUPK from June 2 to July 9, 1945, and the Second Plenary Session of BPUPK from July 10 to 17, 1945. At the end of the First Plenary Session of BPUPK, a Small Committee was formed with the task of reformulating Pancasila as the basis of the state based on Bung Karno’s speech on June 1, 1945. By BPUPK’s instruction, the Five Principles of Pancasila proposed by Bung Karno were to be included in the Preamble of the Constitution of the Indonesian state (Panitia Lima, 1977).

The formulation of Pancasila in the Jakarta Charter became a compromise between the Islamic group and the nationalist group. This is what led Bung Karno to accept the formulation of Pancasila in the Jakarta Charter. In the Second Plenary Session of BPUPK from July 10 to 17, 1945, Bung Karno, as the Chairman of the Committee of Nine, presented the Jakarta Charter and defended it. Consequently, the Jakarta Charter passed the Second Plenary Session of BPUPK, despite receiving much criticism from members A.A. Maramis and J. Latuharhary. However, thanks to Bung Karno’s capacity and capability as the Chairman of the Committee of Nine, the concept ultimately passed and was accepted during the session. The formulation and systematization of Pancasila in the Jakarta Charter became the Draft for the Preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and its main body, which was then brought and discussed in the First Plenary Session of PPKI on August 18, 1945.

It can be concluded that Bung Karno’s Political Thoughts in Pancasila, especially from what was analyzed from the speech on 1<sup>st</sup> June, was located in political independent as golden bridge as a solution for every problem the country has in the beginning of the independence. The *weltanschauung* of Indonesia is Pancasila that was based on consensus and deliberation as it inspired by the Ernest Renan

and Otto Bauer about “*le desir d’être ensemble*” or the will to unite.

Based on the concept of deconstruction, the 1<sup>st</sup> June speech was not only the speech that conveyed the notions of five basis principal Pancasila, but also to emphasized the urgency of the bravery of the nation to act towards independency and to urge the urgency of the deliberation as the basic of the nations.

### **The Ideas of Bung Karno on Pancasila in the Pancasila Course of President Soekarno/ Bung Karno in 1958-1959: An Additional Explanation to Bung Karno’s Elaboration on Pancasila on June 1, 1945**

Bung Karno’s thoughts on Pancasila not only developed within the scope of the June 1, 1945, speech but also during the post-independence period of the Republic of Indonesia. This is reflected in the Pancasila Course directly conducted by President Sukarno at the State Palace. The course was organized by the Pancasila League in 1958. In his presentations, Bung Karno explained each of the principles within Pancasila, such as the principle of Belief in the One Supreme God, the principle of nationalism, the principle of humanity, the principle of sovereignty, and the principle of social justice. In these presentations, held in 1958, Pancasila was explained in a “more profound and extensive” manner than in the Birth of Pancasila Speech on June 1, 1945. This means that aspects that were not thoroughly explained on June 1, 1945, were delved into deeply during the Pancasila Course, which was, of course, conducted by the President of the Republic of Indonesia.

#### **I. Beliefe in One Supreme God**

The Pancasila Course on the principle of Belief in the One Supreme God (Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa) was held at the Presidential Palace on May 26, 1958. It can be stated that what President Soekarno conveyed in this session was a further explanation of his brief elaboration on the principle of Belief in the One Supreme God on June 1, 1945. As known, on June 1, 1945, Bung Karno made the principle of belief in the one supreme God as the “root” of the other principles, which is why he placed it as the fifth principle. The writer uses the terms “fundamental” and “key.” If we examine it, there are several principles within the concept of belief in the one supreme God proposed on June 1, 1945, namely:

1. The principle of piety (takwa) to the One Almighty God. This principle of piety represents Soekarno’s faith as a Muslim who is pious to the One Almighty God. From this, it can be understood that the concept proposed as the fifth principle of Pancasila represents the principle

of piety to God, which is commonly believed in religious traditions, especially in Islam.

2. The concept of Godhood presented by Soekarno is not limited to Islamic Godhood but encompasses the Godhood of all religions. This is what led to the terms “Godhood with culture, Godhood with good manners and noble character, and mutual respect.” Thus, the belief in God proposed by Bung Karno is inclusive. For each individual, belief in God is practiced through their respective religious traditions. However, at the same time, this faith must be practiced with tolerance, respecting the faith of others with different concepts of Godhood as part of implementing one’s own faith. The strong belief in the heart and tolerance towards other religions’ beliefs is what he refers to as a cultured belief in God.
3. The principle of belief in God is not only held by individuals but also by the state. This is why Bung Karno stated that the state should be a “God-believing state.” This emphasizes that the nature of our state is a “state with belief in God,” not a secular state. This godly nature also forms the fundamental character of Pancasila proposed by Bung Karno.

From the Sukarno’s Course in 1958, it can be understood that Bung Karno emphasized that the main character of Indonesian society is a society that believes in God. This is what led Soekarno to consider belief in God as one of the values that “bind” within Pancasila, which is the “static table” and dynamic “leitstar.” Bung Karno stated that if belief in God is eliminated as a binding element, Pancasila will lose its meaning. This underlying meaning emphasizes the importance of the principle of Belief in the One Supreme God according to Soekarno. The significance of belief in God as an essential element in Pancasila is emphasized to emphasize belief in God as the main leitstar of Pancasila. This is because, in Bung Karno’s view, the position of belief in God can unify the soul of the nation.

According to Bung Karno, the concept and imagination of God follow the cultural phases of human civilization. In the pre-agrarian phase, the imagination of God is animistic and dynamic. God is found in everything visible in nature. The imagination of God in this phase is not yet rational as in the concepts of major religions. In the agrarian phase, according to Bung Karno, the imagination of God evolves and gives birth to the concept of gods and goddesses. That is why in early agricultural societies, the symbol of Dewi Sri, representing agricultural fertility, emerged. Human hope for bountiful harvests gave rise to the supra-human symbol of Dewi Sri, expected to aid their hopes for

abundant crops. When major religions arrived in the archipelago (Nusantara), the monotheistic tradition was then perfected by the theologies of these major religions, including Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, and Confucianism. Through the theologies of these major religions, the concept of monotheism in the archipelago became more organized doctrinally.

## II. Nationality Principle

In Bung Karno's thinking tradition, nationality occupies the second principle of Pancasila, while humanity is placed as the third principle. This is because Bung Karno wanted to be consistent with his initial idea of Pancasila as the ideology of nationalism. Therefore, after the Belief in the One Supreme God principle, which is the main character of Indonesian civilization, Bung Karno placed nationality as the main character of nationhood and statehood. In other words, if belief in God becomes the main character in the field of cultural anthropology, then nationality is the main character in the field of nationhood and statehood. (Sukarno, 1960)

From the beginning, Bung Karno emphasized that humanity underlies the value of nationality. This is the reason why on June 1, 1945, he placed humanity as the second principle after the first principle, which is nationality. This is in line with the view that Indonesian nationality must reflect a life that values humanitarian values, through international relations that are not colonialist and imperialistic. Therefore, in the 1958 Pancasila Course and on every other occasion, Bung Karno always placed nationality as the second principle and humanity as the third principle. This approach follows the idea that true nationality is rooted in the spirit of humanity, not humanity limited by specific national boundaries.

In the 1958 Pancasila Course, Bung Karno explained the definition of a modern state. In short, Soekarno stated that the state is an organization of power (*machts-organisatie*). The state is an instrument of struggle organized over a territory. In this context, Bung Karno explained four elements of the state: First, independent territory; Second, the people; Third, the government; Fourth, the state's goal, which he referred to as Pancasila. After explaining the definition of the state and asserting that Pancasila is the state's goal and foundation, Bung Karno elaborated on his concept of a nation. As previously explained in his speech on June 1, 1945, Bung Karno quoted two great thinkers on nations, namely Ernest Renan and Otto Bauer. In the 1958 course, Bung Karno reiterated the concepts of a nation from these two figures and added one element about the nation, which is "the existence of geo-politics". Bung Karno referred to Ernest Renan's

concept, stating that Renan, the Grand Master of Sorbonne University in Paris, expressed that a nation is a soul: "une nation est un ame." This meant that a nation is like a soul. Additionally, Renan mentioned that a nation is a great solidarity: "une nation est un grand solidarite." According to Renan, what unites humans into one soul is the will to live together: "Le deir d'etre ensemble" (Sukarno, 1960)

Inspired by the views taken from Renan's words, Sukarno's view of the nation then expanded and consisted of (1) one soul, (2) great solidarity, and (3) the will to live together. Thus, a nation is the unity of various societies in one soul, built on great solidarity and the desire to live together. This means that a nation is a collection of societies that have the will to live together in one soul, or one nation. Otto Bauer's perspective complements Renan's concept of the nation by emphasizing the dimension of character unity formed by a common destiny. Thus, when Renan stated that a nation is formed by the will to live together, Bauer reinforced this definition by emphasizing the role of a shared destiny in forming character unity. The will to live together is driven by character unity formed by a common destiny, such as the experience of being colonized. Based on the views of Ernest Renan and Otto Bauer, Bung Karno then added one more element, namely a united geo-political territory.

From these various perspectives, it can be concluded that the meaning of a nation, as understood by Bung Karno, is a society that unites in various differences. This unity occurs due to a shared character formed by a shared destiny. The people who have the will to live together as one society live in a geo-political territory that is bound by this unity. This is what then becomes a nation within a nation-state framework.

## III. Principle of Humanity

Bung Karno placed humanity or internationalism as a positive aspect of nationalism, one that is not chauvinistic in nature. Through the experience of colonization, some members of Indonesian society were concerned about the possibility of a chauvinistic form of nationalism, as seen in Europe that led to imperialism towards Asian and African countries. Bung Karno emphasized that Indonesian nationalism was different because it was not aggressive nationalism but rather a nationalism that embraced the spirit of brotherhood among nations. This sense of brotherhood prioritizes human dignity, and Bung Karno referred to it as internationalism. In the Pancasila course of 1958, Bung Karno further elaborated on the meaning of humanity as a foundation for humane international relations.



In other words, Bung Karno explained that humanity is a part of the discourse of humanity itself. In his presentation, Bung Karno stated that humanity is the realm of humans, known as “*de mensheid*.” He further elaborated that humanity is like a soul that recognizes the significance of the relationship between one human and another, and it aspires to elevate and differentiate the human soul from that of an animal. Bung Karno clarified that when using foreign terms, humanity is referred to as “*mensheid*,” and humanity’s soul is called “*menselijkheid*.” He emphasized that humanity is the realm of humans, and thus, the world comprises 2.7 billion souls of humanity. Bung Karno distinguished that humanity’s soul is unique. Moreover, he pointed out that whenever actions are carried out in a demeaning manner, causing harm to other humans, it is said to violate humanity’s soul, violating the law of “*menselijkheid*” (Sukarno, 1960).

Building on the idea of awareness of globalization, Bung Karno rooted it in what he called the paradox of history. He pointed out that “The historical paradox of the century we are experiencing is politics: we witness the formation of nations, the establishment of national states, and the delineation of borders surrounding nations and national states. However, paradoxically, technological development has led to the elimination step by step of these national boundaries. On one hand, there are national states and nations, while on the other hand, there are increasingly closer relationships between humans and humans, and between nations and nations” (Sukarno, 1960).

The affirmation that Indonesia must not only realize itself as a just and prosperous nation but also work diligently for the happiness of all humanity signifies the human nature of nationalism. Therefore, Bung Karno’s explanation of the principle of humanity during the Pancasila course in 1958 is a further elaboration of his presentation on June 1, 1945.

#### IV. The Principle of People’s Sovereignty

On July 22, 1958, Bung Karno presented the principle of people’s sovereignty during the Pancasila course at the State Palace. Similar to previous courses, this course on the principle of people’s sovereignty provided a more in-depth explanation compared to the brief presentation on June 1, 1945. On June 1, 1945, Bung Karno only briefly explained the meaning of the principle of people’s sovereignty. This explanation encompassed several principles:

1. People’s sovereignty or democracy is implemented through the mechanism of deliberation (*musyawarah*). This means that democracy in Pancasila does not rely solely on the majority vote as a

representation of truth, but rather on achieving consensus through deliberation. This is what makes Indonesian democracy unique, known as “*permusyawaratan*.”

2. The democracy proposed by Bung Karno on June 1, 1945, is a representative democracy. Through representative politics, all groups in the republic have equal opportunities to voice their aspirations in parliament. This equality includes religious groups such as Muslims, Christians, and others. Bung Karno ensured that this equality of opportunity in representative democracy, especially for the Islamic group, allowed them to voice their aspirations through parliament. However, these aspirations would be tested through the mechanism of deliberation. The same applies to all other political, ideological, and religious groups.
3. The democracy proposed by Bung Karno on June 1, 1945, is a social democracy. This means it is a model of democracy that not only fulfills political rights but also social and economic rights. This social democracy, or as Bung Karno referred to it, “*politiek-economische democratie*” (political-economic democracy), provides an alternative model to the parliamentary democracy in Europe that only focuses on political rights. Ultimately, parliamentary democracy perpetuates capitalism since the policies born from it are not oriented towards fulfilling the social and economic rights of the common people.

In the Pancasila course of 1958, Bung Karno provided a deeper explanation of the Pancasila concept of democracy that he introduced on June 1, 1945. However, in this 1958 course, he elaborated more on the cultural dimension within our democracy. By cultural dimension, Bung Karno meant placing democracy as a reflection of the nation’s identity, which differs from the model of democracy in other countries. He emphasized that understanding democracy is not merely technical but also spiritual, psychological, and a reflection of national unity.

Emphasizing that democracy is not just a tool but a belief in the ideals of the society to be formed led to the need to build a unique Indonesian democracy. By “unique Indonesian democracy,” it refers to a social democracy that differs from the parliamentary democracy in Europe.

Democracy that has a national characteristic and aligns with the nation’s identity is referred to as “guided democracy.” The meaning of “guided democracy” does not imply the personal leadership of Bung Karno as the President but rather conceptual and programmatic leadership through a holistic development system called “Pembangunan Nasional

Semesta Berencana” (PNSB) or Planned Universal National Development. It is this conceptual and programmatic leadership that guides democracy, preventing the practice of democracy from falling into the relativism of ideologies of political parties in the parliament.

Regarding Bung Karno’s criticism of parliamentary democracy, he emphasized through the statement: “Once in a speech, when I attended the celebration of the 30th anniversary of PNI in Bandung, I said, ‘Parlementaire democratie is the political ideology of rising capitalism,’ from ‘Kapitalismus im aufstieg.’ Then I drew the conclusion: therefore, we do not desire capitalism, but we aspire to, in accordance with the fifth principle of Pancasila, a society of social justice...” (Sukarno, 1960)

With this assertion, it is understood that democracy within Pancasila is not the parliamentary democracy that solely fulfills political rights but also a social democracy that fulfills social and economic rights. This model of social democracy demonstrates the completeness of the principle of people’s sovereignty within Pancasila, leading to the principle of Social Justice for All Indonesian People.

## V. The Principle of Social Justice

Social welfare was “attached” to democracy, which not only fulfilled political rights but also social and economic rights. However, Bung Karno provided less explanation about the concept of social justice as an economic system or ideology. In the Pancasila course of 1958, Bung Karno explained in detail the concept of social justice applied as an economic system, known as Indonesian Socialism. This means that social justice can be achieved through a unique model of socialism that fits Indonesia’s conditions. Bung Karno delivered a complete and structured explanation of how Indonesian Socialism works. From that source, it can be understood that Bung Karno perceived socialism as the ultimate outcome of the evolution of human life. In other words, socialism is no longer just a construct of socialist ideologies but is a fundamental characteristic of human life itself. This belief is based on the principle that every person naturally desires a just and prosperous life, and thus, each phase of human civilization aims toward that aspiration. However, due to various sociological factors, the achievements in each phase of civilization lead to different qualities of life. In this context, socialism, which encompasses a socially just society, becomes the pinnacle of the evolution of human civilization.

In the Pancasila course of 1958, Bung Karno explained socialism within the framework of evolutionary socialism. However, implicitly, Bung Karno did not fully agree with the concept of

evolutionary socialism. He then mentioned another concept, namely the theory of phase leaps, where an agrarian society can leap directly to socialism, bypassing capitalism. However, Bung Karno also did not fully agree with this theory of phase leaps. Therefore, Bung Karno chose an approach that focused on the existence of dynamic forces as indicators of the development of these phases. Thus, Bung Karno proposed planning in realizing Indonesian socialism. In this context, planning referred to development planning, which in Bung Karno’s presidency was known as “Pembangunan Nasional Semesta Berencana” (PNSB) or Planned Universal National Development. Moreover, the principle of Social Justice embark by the notion of independences and self-empowerment. The prerequisites of power is a justice that will bring the wellbeing for the citizen on its own. (Aminuddin, 2020)

## Sukarno’s Political Thought on Pancasila and How It was Manifested

Sukarno’s Political Thought emanates from the conditions of social and political nature in Indonesia, which are highly diverse and consist of numerous ethnicities, cultures, languages, and local wisdom inherited from the forefathers. This diversity, seen as a shared destiny and history, is spiritually integrated as a value that led Sukarno to formulate five principles known as “Pancasila,” guiding principles in the life of the nation. Sukarno utilized Pancasila as his political manifestation to manage diversity and prevent the catastrophes caused by polarization resulting from the failure to manage differences among Indonesian citizens. Pancasila has also become an irreplaceable concept due to its resilience across different regimes. It contributed in the first phase with substantial, moral, and socio-political dimensions, as articulated in his speech on June 1st. In the second phase, Pancasila was systematized and ingrained in the comprehension of Indonesian citizens, as elucidated in the Sukarno Courses.

As mentioned above, Sukarno prioritized the first principle, “Believe in One Supreme God,” to encompass and safeguard the remaining principles. He envisioned the first principle as a guardian for the others, the foundation of Pancasila, unifying all principles into a cohesive entity. His Political Thought within Pancasila is manifested through various political dimensions such as Nationalism, Internationalism or Humanity, Consensus or Democracy, and Social Welfare.

Sukarno’s political thought originated from Indonesia’s historical past of over 350 years of colonization. He vehemently opposed colonization and ardently advocated for Indonesia’s

independence and non-aligned positions. This gave rise to Nationalism and Humanity as key aspects of his political thought within Pancasila. Furthermore, nationalism and religion, particularly Islam as the majority religion in Indonesia, were intended to be connected through Pancasila. Pancasila was envisioned as the “ideological bridge” between them, leading to revisions of the first principle, “believe in one supreme God,” to accommodate the interests of nationalism and Islamism. This eventually solidified as the Jakarta Charter.

Conversely, Sukarno’s Political Thoughts were materialized during the Manipol-USdek and Guided Democracy regimes as efforts towards realizing Democracy and Social Welfare. Morfit (1981) asserted that one of Pancasila’s defining features is its temporal orientation and evaluation of the past. Pancasila, rather than a doctrine, is an interpretation of traditional Indonesian philosophy. As such, Pancasila legitimizes all political activities in the life of the nation. The Guided Democracy regime reflects one of Sukarno’s political thought manifestos, aiming to embody all five principles of Pancasila in the commitment termed “Indonesian-style socialism; guided democracy; guided economy; and Indonesian national identity.” These values aspire to create a humane society, envisioned by Pancasila.

Additionally, Morfit (1981) affirmed that Sukarno’s political thought, evident in Manipol-USDEK, transcended into the P-4 era under the Soeharto regime. Its scope extended from the civil service to primary and secondary schools, as well as university students. Manipol-USDEK embodies a strong sense of historical and social change value. In Sukarno’s 1959 and 1960 speeches, he emphasized the spirit of the “Romanticism of Revolution” and the necessity of fundamental change, aimed at combating the notions and forces of colonialism and imperialism.

According to the reconstruction theory of Deridda, the text of Pancasila has always been rooted from the primer value which are embedded in the process of reconstructing something according to its original conditions. The political thought of Pancasila emanated from the social-politics Indonesian in independence era, which emphasized non-colonization and imperialism, that’s why Pancasila has always stressed about nationalism that has been shown from the revised of first principle in Pancasila from ““Belief in the One Almighty God with the obligation to practice Islamic law for its followers” to “Belief in the One Supreme God” as the “ideological bridge” to prove that Pancasila is one of the proponent of multiculturalism in Indonesia.

## CONCLUSION

Pancasila, the foundational philosophy of Indonesia, is comprised of five principles that have evolved through distinct phases: its inception during Sukarno’s declaration on June 1, 1945, and its further refinement through initiatives like the Pancasila Courses in the post-independence period. Rooted in the country’s socio-political context, Pancasila emerged as a response against colonization and imperialism, highlighting nationalism and the belief in one supreme god. Sukarno’s political thought embedded within Pancasila, endorsed through constitutions and ideologies such as Manipol-USdek and guided democracy, underscores the consistent emphasis on human values, social justice, and democracy. This enduring continuity is evident in the comparison between the original formulation and subsequent developments, affirming Pancasila as an unchanging foundation guiding Indonesia towards a progressive future.

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