



Pancasila Village: A New Order Strategy for Village Prosperity in Blitar, East Java, 1968–1985

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Abstract. Pancasila Village is a program launched by President Soeharto which aims to improve the welfare of the community from the village level in accordance with the Pancasila soul philosophy. The purpose of this research is to comprehend the Pancasila village project in the beginning of the New Order, the policies implemented in Pancasila village project, and few sectors that became the aim of this project. Focusing in Blitar regency, East Java, this research shows that Pancasila village project aims at improving village economy, enhancing village security by eliminating communist values, increasing village farming, developing infrastructure for education and public facilities, and also other social cultural aspects including birth control, tackling illiteracy, improper behavior, and guidance for people with social problems.

Keywords: Pancasila village · New order · President Soeharto · Development · Pancasila philosophy

1 Introduction

The existence of Pancasila as Indonesia's national ideology is a national pride. Because apart from its function as a national ideology, Pancasila is a doctrine that has been believed as the true result of our founding father's thoughts, which are in line with Indonesia's characters and norms [1]. However, in Indonesia's history, the application of Pancasila is dynamic and its meaning transforms over time. In early independence, the concrete application of Pancasila was only on its third principles, which is Indonesian Unity. This can be seen in the physical and diplomatic struggle at that time. In the liberal democracy period, the application of the fourth principle of Pancasila is also not optimal. This is because decision making was still based on votes and not through deliberation. Moreover, rapid cabinet transformation and the president's authorization in the Guided Democracy period led Indonesia into a political turmoil. Indonesia's unstable political condition led to various national uprisings, including the 30 September Movement in 1965 which ended with Sukarno's downfall in 1966 [2].

Apart from the political instability after the 30 September Movement, a significant effect of national turmoils is also instability in other sectors such as social, economy and

security. Therefore, one of the attempts of the New Order government after the regime change from Sukarno, is to return Pancasila's existence as the state and national ideology. The basic reason for this policy is because Pancasila is considered as a [3] strategy to create prosperity in society. Furthermore, it was also an attempt by the New Order government to 'tackle' the political deviation from the Old Order by recovering political order based on Pancasila. Therefore, one of the programmes established by the New Order was the Pancasila village, where this program was proven to be effective in overcoming Indonesia's economy and ideology crisis as the effect of pre-New Order political upheaval (Bahan seminar desa Pancasila, 1969. Komando Daerah Militer V/Brawijaya archives, Inventory 316-a. Brawijaya Museum, Malang, Indonesia).

Previous research has discussed the history of New Order. For example, the research by Sandra Dewi dan Andrew Shandy [4] about Pancasila from time to time, including the problems and policies implemented by the government. Furthermore, Abdul Hamid [5] in his article, discusses the guidance of Pancasila at village level at the present. Meanwhile, Dwi Wahyono and Gayung Kasuma [6] describes the New Order propaganda, its political system and policies. But these articles do not describe in details the Pancasila village program in its first establishment, which is in the early New Order period. Therefore, in this article, we will specifically describe one of New Order's program, which is Pancasila Village. We will focus on the following points: the meaning of Pancasila village, policies and projects on Pancasila village, and the success of this project, particularly in its pilot project location, Blitar regency, East Java.

This article is important because it describes how the New Order government deviates from the implementation of the core values of Pancasila. At the beginning of its establishment, the New Order government transforms Indonesia's political system to an extreme point of authoritarianism and liberal democracy [3] In this article, we will examine these questions: (1) what was the background of Pancasila village? (2) what are the policies related to Pancasila Village project? (3) how was the implementation of these policies? To answer these questions, we use archival sources from the Brawijaya military archives in East Java. These are the archives about Desa Pancasila programme, produced between 1968 and 1970s by the Regional Military Command of East Java, Kodam V Brawijaya.

2 Methods

The research method used for this article is the historical method, consisting of choosing a research topic, heuristic or data collection, verification or source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. In choosing a topic, we focus on Blitar area because it was one of the last defence area of the Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia/PKI) during the last years of Sukarno era. The area was also an underdeveloped area, and therefore became the first pilot project area for the Pancasila Village program. In the heuristic phase, our data mostly rely on archival material from the Brawijaya military archives. We verified and corroborated these sources with other archives and existing literatures. After the verification, we interpret and analyze the sources to extract facts. After this phase, we arrange the facts into a historiographical writing.

3 Results and Discussion

3.1 The Start of Pancasila Village Program

Reflecting on Indonesia's history, Pancasila is the national ideology that often diverged from its original formation. During Sukarno period, Pancasila was used as a tool to preserve his power. This can be seen by his self-appointment as president for life which was basically a violation of Indonesia's Basic Law. After the 30 September Movement, the New Order government also used Pancasila to remove negative perception upon the government. All efforts to criticize the New Order is perceived as a resistance of Pancasila. In other words, Pancasila became a defensive tool for the New Order in facing their political opponents [5]. However, Pancasila in Sukarno's period is identical to the character of communal help (*gotong royong*), but during Suharto era, Pancasila is identical to the interpretation 36 points of Pancasila and the Pancasila/anti-Pancasila binary jargon. Implementing Pancasila as Indonesian identity is basically important, keeping in mind that it is the foundation for Indonesia's identity and nationalism [7].

One of the programs implemented by the New Order after the 30 September Movement is the Pancasila village. This program, released by President Soeharto, was aimed at increasing village prosperity based on Pancasila philosophy and the Basic Law 1945, including the Law's derivative instruments. The fundamental reason for this program is the agrarian characteristic of Indonesia. Moreover, the irrational thoughts amongst villagers impede them to develop fully (*Bahan seminar desa Pancasila, 1969*).

The purpose of Pancasila village is to translate the values of Pancasila that is considered to be valuable in transforming village societies to development. Specifically, *Desa Pancasila* is used for 1) monitoring the election at that time by ensuring the success of New Order election, 2) ensuring the form of New Order's power, 3) national, political, and economy stability as the foundation for further development, 4) to clean people from the influence of the 30 September Movement and PKI or the Old Order (*Desa Pancasila, 20 March 1969*).

In the New Order, the election for president and vice president was not based on the real democratic values of Pancasila. The reason being is that the political system used in the election was the representative system. Therefore, the people only elect members of parliament and then those members will elect the president and vice president. Composition of the parliament and assembly depends on the number of votes gained by each organisations who participate in the election. When Suharto's ruling party, *Golongan Karya* or *Golkar*, achieved the highest number of votes, then the number of its representative dominates the assembly and parliament. This became a specific mechanism to endure Suharto's presidential position. Furthermore, Suharto's leadership was also sustained through the doctrine *Tri Ubaya Cakti* which manifested in the dual role of the army (defense and social participation). Therefore, the army does not only exist in the Indonesian military, but also in the sectors of ideology, politic, social, economy and religion [8].

Pancasila village is a manifestation of the army's dedication to the society in implementing the five-year development plan (*Pembangunan Lima Tahun/PELITA*), initiated by president Suharto. In the Pancasila village project, all aspects of village life, including

regulation, economy, religion, education and culture, society, government, and livelihood, are controlled and regulated. In the social economy sector, for example, the Pancasila village program stated the need of cultural infiltration, economy exploitation, and national investor to ensure the success of Pancasila village. The economy program of Desa Pancasila also includes the initiation of cooperatives as a solution for the success of the five-year development plan and also to tackle the Chinese merchants that dominates village economy life (Surat Perintah no. PRIN-376/12/1968). The guideline of Pancasila village formation also regulates the eradication of all forms of corruption in village government and the need to improve tax. The guideline also stated the need to conduct village head elections through voting.

The Pancasila village program also enters religious domains. Their guideline explicitly stated that each society in Pancasila village has to believe in God, and societies are forbidden to talk about other ideologies in a religious forum or meetings. Society is recommended to talk more about the Jakarta charter. Furthermore, the guideline also stated that there is no coercion to believe certain religion, but Pancasila village society is obliged to have a religion in order to avoid conflict. Moreover, in relation to religion, the New Order government obliged religious education starting from the level of elementary education to university, which was appointed in the parliament meeting on 1966. As a concrete example, the New Order government released the Tap MPRS no. XXVII on 1966, chapter 1, clause 1 which stated that Islamic education as the main subject from elementary to university [9].

In the field of education and culture, the government will provide facilities for education, sports, arts, and other learning facilities. Education is one of the central focus because of the high number of dropouts. However, in this case, the New Order government uses existing education system to execute doctrines to society that all policies of the New Order are fair and just policies and should not be violated [10]. Related to social relations, the Pancasila village guide also regulate people's awareness on health and sanitation. During the Pancasila village project, the government conduct briefings for society so that they understand the importance of sanitation. During the New Order, the development of mass organisations were highly monitored. Therefore, the government released a regulation on government administration which instructed the annihilation of PKI elements, the Old Order, Left and Right extremes, and also the regulation to monitor the admission of ex members and sympathizers of PKI and other leftist organizations under CGMI, PERHIMI, PEMUDA RAKJAT, BAPERKI into the area of Pancasila village. In other words, these people are also prohibited to enter the village government system. On livelihood, the guide also formulates regulations for Pancasila Village projects in order to bring them into prosperity. For agrarian intervention, Pancasila village instructed the establishment of village barn so that during famine, Pancasila village will not fall into starvation. Moreover, Pancasila village project also prohibit gambling, drinking, drugs, and so on.

3.2 The Impact of Pancasila Village

The New Order perceives Pancasila not only as the foundation of citizenship life in Indonesia, but also as an instrumental doctrine of New Order policy, used to support the power and implement the government [11]. In one of the seminars of Pancasila village,

the military projected that economy, political, and social cultural sectors in the village will experience improvement. Through Pancasila Village project, an area will endure its stability and reduce the risk to be infiltrated by irresponsible parties or groups that are against the Pancasila ideology. This project became one of the army's strategies to gain people's support as an asset to win the New Order in the political arena (Bahan seminar desa Pancasila, 1969).

In practice, the implementation of Pancasila Village obliged every military precinct command (Koramil), the lowest level of military chain command, to form minimum one Pancasila Village by organizing the army, civilians, military wife's organization Kartika Candra Kirana to build Pancasila Village. Those parties are also recommended to assist the battle command in the search and choosing villages that fits the potential for Pancasila Village. After a minimum of one month of the instruction decree, Pancasila Village should have been implemented with evidence. Furthermore, the time used to build Pancasila Village should be decided by the military commander unit themselves, and that no financial support will be specifically allocated for this program. However, the government allocate Rp. 100.000 for every village, every three months, to secure the capital power of village cooperatives. Each village should be indicated by a sign to signified that the location is a Pancasila Village (Bahan seminar desa Pancasila, 1969).

From those documents, we can see the domination of military in most of Suharto's New Order policy. It seems possible that President Suharto is representing himself through symbols. If Pancasila Village project can be considered as a 'symbol', then this symbol emphasizes the self-figure of Suharto. This is similar with the development project of an international sport stadium in Jakarta during Sukarno era, in preparation of the 1963 Asian Games. The difference is that while President Sukarno uses architecture and buildings to legitimize himself, President Suharto utilized military forces to achieve his goals [12].

During the New Order, a political practice that was quite successful to regulate citizenship life was the bureaucratic works in residential administration, by using the socialization of Pancasila through the Pancasila Village program. In the pilot project of Pancasila Village, several sectors were affected. In the economy sector, the focus is on distributing staple food, intervention in influential economic factors, improving the people's economy, tackling money lenders, optimizing bank, irrigation and industries. In the cultural and health sector, Pancasila Village aims to improve family planning, eradicate illiteracy, tackle deviant behavior, and guiding people with social problems. Within security and defence, Pancasila Village project include the annihilation of remaining communists by guiding civilian guards. The intervention in village building involves instilling citizenship awareness in society, agriculture intensification, and the development of village infrastructure. Provision of facilities, although still limited, are aimed to prevent the villages into their traditional nature (Desa Pancasila dalam rangka Pelita, 1969). Analysing the policies released by Suharto, we can assume that policies at that time was a practice to construct society into a Pancasila society by understanding, living, and implementing Pancasila values through citizenship and religion [11].

Villages at that time were highly influenced by political parties and mass organizations which disrupt many professions in the village, such as fisherman, farmers, labors, and also caused conflict in societies. The background of Pancasila Village is

the intense influence of the communist amongst villagers after the attempted coup of 30 September Movement. Some of the requirements to form Pancasila village are: (1) all village apparatus should be free of communist influence; (2) village administration should consist of data of villaers, size of land, occupation, record of crops/cattles, village assets, and record of mass organisations and political parties; (3) village infrastructure such as village office, procedure, announcement board, and village road; (4) economy development project, cooperatives, remove the influence of Chinese merchant, improve seed quality for farming; (5) emphasize education, eradication of illiteration, building supporting infrastructure for education; (6) forming civilian guard for village security, multipurpose troops, and youth development; (7) village harmony should provide solution; (8) education, social culture, to infiltrate teachers who are free from Marxism/Leninism/Communism with Pancasila. Processes and impacts of Pancasila Village are mostly geared towards empowerment and village modernization with the support of government program (Pelita), and controlled by the army, whose role was to disseminate the program and pilot project of Pancasila Village (Pilot project desa Pancasila, 1969).

3.3 Implementation of Pancasila Village

Many efforts were conducted to return Pancasila as the state ideology, including the Pancasila Village project. The responsibility of this project lies in the hands of the commander of military resort command. On 30 January 1970 in Madiun, the military deliver the leadership of Pancasila Village development to the regent, mayor, and other district leaders. This act was based on the decision of the regional parliaments around Madiun and Kediri, which was conducted in Blitar. Each district leaders are obliged to send their report to the commander of military resort command 081 (Bahan seminar desa Pancasila, 1969).

After the release of the Pancasila Village instruction, every military commander should decide the village which will be the location of the pilot project. Every military precinct command is obliged to build at least one village within one month after the release of instruction letter. A total of seventeen military precincts were assigned with the duty to established the Pancasila Village. These precincts are in Talun, Sanankulon, Udanawu, Wates, Doko, Suruhwadang, Garum, Srengat, Nglegok, Kanigoro, Kesamben, Pangungrejo, Sutojayan, Bakung, Ponggok, Wlingi, and Blitar city (Siaran Pers 25 Agustus 1969). The Pancasila Village development was intended to transform the traditional and irrational character of villagers to rational one. In other words, towards village modernization (Bahan seminar desa Pancasila, 1969). The implementation of Pancasila Village lies in the hands of village apparatuses and village developer appointed directly by the district military command. Under the apparatuses are the local leaders and the village head who also functions as the commander of civil guard.

The instruction of Pancasila Village even regulates further the arrangement of spaces, houses, and board signs. For example, a family yard should be marked by a traditional gate at the entrance, a surrounding fence planted with sweet potato, and outside of the fence should be planted with castor tree. Every house should erect a flag pole and lamp pole with uniform material. Every yard should be planted with vegetables, fruits, herbs, flowers, and other crops so that there is no empty land. Meanwhile, houses are also arranged through the Pancasila Village project. Each house should be modernized,

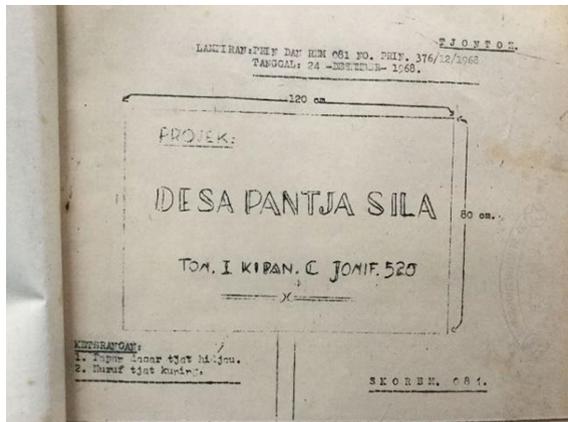


Fig. 1. Village signboard

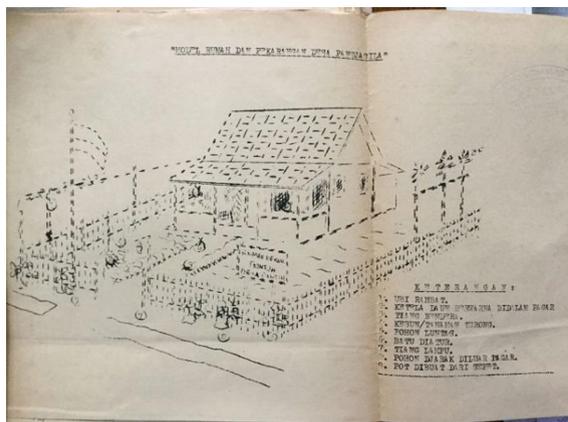


Fig. 2. House yard

using tile roof so that no houses are still using hemp roof, there should be windows and enough ventilation, with enough room and sufficient furnitures, bed, wall decoration, sign board of the house owner, kitchen, toilet, and cattle pen that should be build far from the house so that it would not cause air pollution. There should be a space in between houses to prevent fire (Petunjuk pembentukan desa Pancasila, 1969) (Figs. 1, 2 and 3).

4 Conclusion

Pancasila Village is one of the New Order program to increase the quality of life of villagers. This project is inseparable with the effects of the 30 September Movement where the Indonesian Communist Party was accused as responsible for the attempted coup. The strategies taken within Pancasila Village is geared towards enhancing ideology, security,

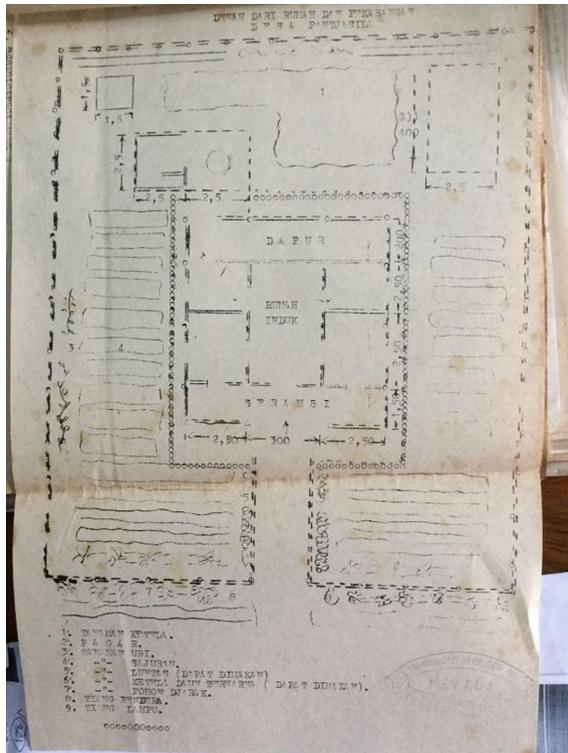


Fig. 3. House plan

and prosperity at the village level implemented by the armed forces as part of their double roles in society. The Pancasila village project aims at strengthening the village economy, increase village security by eliminating communist ideology, improvement of farming, building education and public infrastructure, and other social cultural domain such as population control, combating illiteracy, overcoming improper behavior, and guide people with social problems. The theoretical implication of this research is to enhance the knowledge in society, particularly academics in social science like history, citizenship, and sociology. The practical implication of this research is to provide considerations for policy makers at local and national levels to strengthen Pancasila values and village level development.

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