

Pancasila Education

Jargon for its Improvement New Order Government

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Abstract—This study analyses how the beginning period of New Order performed its duties in liner with a vision of development that upheld Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. In his speech in 1969 before the member of Temporary People's Consultative Assembly, Presiden Soeharto declared education development as one of major priority in Indonesia's First Five-Year Development Plan (Repelita I). However, after the representative of People's Consultative Assembly elected in General Election 1971, it was declared that the objective of national development was to shape a true Pancasilaist to change the deep influence of Manipol/Usdek doctrine. To meet this objective in education development, some innovation are made: curriculum of school pilot project (PPSP) and school pamong system. Both policies failed to progress because it were too costly. Malari Incident and Bandung Student protest in 1974 prompted the government to issue policy that emphasis Pancasila Education for all levels of school to encourage nationalism that was assumed low among young generation. In this purpose, the government provide *Pendidikan Sejarah Perjuangan Bangsa (PSPB)* and *Pedoman Penghayatan and Pengamalan Pancasila (P4)* for student in all level of education in Indonesia. this study discusses how pancasila became the slogan for the New Order government. this study uses historical methods with heuristic steps, criticism, interpretation and historiography. The writing of this study uses the structural approach of an Giddens. The results of this study conclude that the New Order government became repressive of the demonstration that was done initially by the Bandung students before the Japanese Prime Minister's arrival to cause Malari incident (January 15, 1974) and continued until early 1986. The government then responded by requiring Pancasila Education which consisting of PMP, P4 and PSPB included in the basic education curriculum up to college.

Keywords—*education of pancasila; impact malari; the new orde*

I. INTRODUCTION

The communication revolution in the global era today provides a strong influence on the lives of the community of Indonesia both as a nation and citizen. Based on research, Afandi and Faridli entitled *The Appropriate Pancasila Education Contents to Implant Lofty Values for Indonesian Students*, explains that the Education of "Pancasila" before the Reformation (1998) widely known by the people of Indonesia, but has experienced the process of marginalization in social life and state. This is one of them caused by of "Pancasila" Education factor that has been made as indoctrination, which

the authority of political needs in develop especially during the New Order government era (1966-1998) [1]. Although the "Pancasila" Education subject has not been released in the Indonesian education curriculum since 2003, but that is necessary to develop awareness of "Pancasila" as a noble value for students who will become future leaders of the nation. The study findings show that respondents agree by re-emphasizing matters relating to: (1) the foundation and objectives of Pancasila Education; (2) Pancasila is in the historical context of Indonesia's struggle; (3) Pancasila as a philosophical system; (4) Pancasila as a political ethics; (5) Pancasila as a national ideology; (6) Pancasila in the administration of the Republic of Indonesia; and (7) Pancasila as the paradigm of social life, national, and state in Indonesia continues to grow until today.

Sanjaya and Divayana's research entitle an Expert System-Based Evaluation of Civics Education as a Means of Character Education Based on Local Culture in the Universities in Buleleng said that Civic Education as a means of character education based on local culture that has a mission to develop values and attitudes [2]. In Civic Education, the character was developed as a result of the educational process that will certainly affect the social life of the community. In classroom education activities, character development is conducted using an integrated approach in all subjects. Especially for Civics Education, in accordance with its curricular mission of developing values and attitudes, character development should be the main focus that can use various character education strategies or methods. Citizenship Education in educational institutions must strengthen its epistemological and even ontological basis.

Yoldaş's article, with the tittle Civic Education and Learning Democracy: their Importance for Political Participation of Young People, explains that the main purpose of civic education is to educate students to become mature and have the good ability of living as a citizen [3]. Ultimately, democratic societies rely depend on Civic Education and political commitment. It is clear that civic education is very important in the modern political culture of democracy. At this stage, educational institutions enter into components responsible for teaching politics to children and young people and empower them to become critical citizens and be aware of their own judgments about political participation. Political discussion through interaction with family, friends or at school can influence political knowledge and involvement in a

positive way. Civic education will remain the subject of future empirical investigation because it is repeatedly confronted with new challenges to manage the main risks of the democratic legal system. Citizenship education 'is not sufficient to convey information about rights and obligations in democracy, but it has to motivate young people to actively engage in politics.

Lee's article, entitled Civic Education as a means of talent dissemination for gifted students, said that in comprehensive, civic education can be instrumental for students in developing academic, psychological and social skills; raising citizenship awareness to be more responsible and committed [4]. The findings of this study also reveal that civic education programs are the right choice in order to raise awareness of social and global issues and their responsibility to create better community and community welfare. This results to inspiring the students to take the initiative to become leaders in society in the future, especially in leading a social community and a global community.

In the article by Neundorf, Niemi, and Smets entitled The Compensation Effect of Civic Education on Political Engagement: How Civics Classes Make Up for Missing Parental Socialization explains that to develop political engagement early in human life, Significantly refers to aspects of knowledge and political participation [5]. Civic education is considered as an important component in shaping the political orientation of young people when they go to school. This research seeks to reveal how the impact of civic education in political involvement. The findings support the linkage information between components of civic education about the attitudes and behavior of adolescent politics, adults, parents. And it is also found that there is a positive influence of early knowledge about the politics that parents give to children against political involvement.

Furthermore, the research conducted by Pospieszna and Aleksandra Galus about Promoting Active Youth: Evidence from the Polish NGO's Civic Education program in Eastern Europe explains that civic education is an activity aimed at teaching citizens to receive values, the country's basic values, knowledge, and skills related to democracy [6]. Citizenship education has become a common form of promoting democracy by NGOs from Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary. This research to find the answers that what a democratic promotion program such as Civic Education, implemented by NGOs from Central and Eastern European Countries on youth influences political involvement and participation. The result reveals that the role of young people in spreading democratic ideas and behaviors in this region depends heavily on the presence or absence of civic education which he accepts first as the basis for political knowledge. The civic education has been directed for young people from these countries certainly have the potential to exert influence and empower participants to become conscious and active citizens and have better prospects for democracy.

The globalization influence can be positive as well as negative. The negative influence needs to be watched out for because it can ruin the life structure of the community that it may not suit the values, morals, and ethic as Indonesian people. The worn off of nationalism, hedonist life style, consumptive,

horizontal conflict, disrespectful, the worn off of mutual collaboration, the growth of drugs cases, are a series of cases that are far from the characters of Indonesian people. When life phenomenon is getting real especially today's youth generation as described earlier, President Jokowi with his Nawacita (priority agenda) stated the needs of strengthening the people's as well as youth generation's understandings on Pancasila Education. Did President Jokowi form an institution of a Pancasila Ideology Consolidation Working Unit what (UKP-PIP) as a form of concerns toward the phenomenon of the Indonesian people today? Is an effort that has been conducted by the government of the New Order through BP7 adequate to make the people and the youth generation of Indonesia to have Pancasila soul?

When we look backward, why did the government of the New Order handled students' critiques and protests by providing Pancasila Education for all students from Kindergarten up to University? Because President Soeharto was concerned with the condition of the Indonesian community, particularly the students of Bandung and Jakarta who started to be critical and protested Soeharto's leadership, especially when there is an indication of maintaining *status quo* as the head of state/government of Republic of Indonesia. Moreover, the government allowed investment for the development funding of Indonesia from Japan and China as well as several cases that were deemed as a form of manipulation of Pancasila and Constitution of 1945.

II. THEORETICAL

New order means restructuring the live of the people as a nation and citizen based on Pancasila and Constitution of 1945. In the theory of structuration of Anthony Giddens, that focuses on the relationship between historical actors (*agent*) and structure (a set of rules or institution) in a form of duality. Duality lies on the fact that a "structure like guidance" that becomes the principles of practices in various places and time as a result the repeat actions of humans. Structure or set of rules in Giddens ideas can hamper the actions of the agent and can also enabling it, so that means can occur, Giddens saw a structure as means [7].

The action of the historical actors (*agent*) in Giddens' approach was conducted consciously even when the consciousness on the actions can be read within the documents and it was deemed that it can change a structure based on the needs of the agent. A structure or a set of rules within this study is a system of values that are applied to all Indonesian's nation, namely Pancasila and Constitution of 1945.

Thus in the assessment of the students when the result of MPR-RI sessions was renominating Soeharto as the President of Republic of Indonesia for the period of 1973-1978, students of Bandung and Jakarta conducted a protest because the government of President Soeharto was considered not to run the government based on Pancasila and Constitution of 1945 as it had a specific term of "New Order". Students' demonstration continued to go on when the Government decided to use foreign funding (China and Japan) to develop Indonesia. In the commemoration ceremony of eight years of Tritura, BKS IKIP Jakarta stated a new *Tritura*, namely 1) Disband private assistances, 2) Decrease prices and 3) Eliminate corruption [8].

Eventually, there were efforts taken by the political group or the vortex power group such as Sumitro and Widjojo Nitisasto who took advantage on the students' anxiety situation. Apparently internal conflict within the officials' level was planned to be solved by piggy backing the students as well as the youth generation's anxiety and unsatisfactory toward the situation in Indonesia at that time [9].

III. METHOD

This study used a history method with a data source that came from contemporary documents obtained in various places in Jakarta namely, UNJ, *Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan*, National Archives, LP3ES, Central for Data and Analysis of Kompas as well as interview of historical witness that could provide information related to this study. This study uses historical methods with heuristic steps, criticism, interpretation and historiography. Data sources are obtained from archives at the Research and Development Board of the Ministry of Education and Culture, National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia, Kompas Data Center and transcription of interviews from several Indonesian figures. The results of the study were written with an analytical descriptive using the theory of structure.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. *Malari Event and Its Impacts toward the Live in Universities*

The event of Malari (Fifteen January) in 1974 was the peak of students' disappointment toward the early policy of New Order government that does not listen to the aspiration of the students both on the entry of the foreign investments as well as other problems such as corruption, the roles of the special operations, private assistants (the president's team of advisors) and Pertamina. The incineration of vehicles made by Japanese either private owned, private sector properties and government property occurred in Jakarta after the students held a ceremony in Trisakti. The incineration subjects stated in the witness column of Tempo that encouraged the community were young men dressed in rags. This had been confirmed to Hariman Siregar (The Executive Assembly of Students of UI) who was confused on who the subjects were.

The direct impact of this Malari event was that a number of young activists were apprehended such as; Fahmi Idris, Dorodjatun Kuntjorojakti, Hariman Siregar, Adnan Buyung Nasution and Marsilam Simanjuntak. In addition, there were seven newspapers with their permit being revoked such as; Nusantara, Abadi, Indonesia Raya and Jakarta Times. President Soeharto also issued the standards of simple life patterns for the officials as well as prohibitions on importing vehicles in a form of ready to use sedan and station wagon [8].

The students' critical attitude toward the situation and condition of the life of the community and nation did not end at Event Malari. Even though Soemitro on the President's order conduct an approach by visiting universities in East and West Java with a purpose of ensuring that the students' demands will be met by trusting Soemitro. However, prior to Election of 1977 the students seemed to get new power especially after the Lieutenant General Kemal Idris attended the commemoration of *Tritura* at University of Indonesia. The function of the press

also provided new information and energy to have another demonstration. The students refused the re-nomination of President Soeharto as the President of Republic of Indonesia. However, the students' demands were not responded by the government. Legislature Body of the House of Representative of Republic of Indonesia even ended their services before new members were even elected.

Furthermore, the government issued a regulation to provide limited movement space for the students so that they would not have practiced politics by issuing Education and Culture Minister Decree (P and K) Number 0156/U/1978 concerning The Normalization of live on Campus (NKK), which goal is to avoid further actions from the students. In addition, a Decree No. 0230/U/J/1980 concerning general guidance on the organization and membership of Students Coordination Body (BKK) was also issued. Based on those two policies, the students quite understood politics in terms of theory instead of practice. The government of the New Order conduct an intervention in the live of universities with a reason of political stability and development.

B. *Government Control Through Education*

Since the government of the New Order reigned on 1st April 1969, the government had launched the first year of A-Five-Year Development (Pelita). In developing the educational sector, the government formulated a strategy and restructure the system of the national education, one of which by formulating the new curriculum. Through a memorandum issued by Minister Mashuri, Indonesia was then introduced with three goals, namely values and attitude, intelligence and knowledge as well as skills. This bloom taxonomy has been a part of the curriculum planning and development of Indonesia since 1972 [10]. The government had also pioneered the compilation of books to change the materials with the new ones. With the publication of those package books, the curriculum of 1968 was gradually left out and the new curriculum of curriculum 1975 was adapted, by first trying it out in the Pioneered Project of School Development (PPSP).

In the application of the Curriculum 1975, the Education and Culture Department inserted the subject of Pancasila Moral Education (PMP) for the students of elementary up to middle school. The government efforts to put PMP in the school curriculum were successful after the initiation of "half a room" meeting, namely between the minister Sjaref Thajeb, Golkar dan ABRI (the Army). PMP eventually stood by itself as a lone subject at schools based on the TAP MPR Number IV/MPR/1978.

On one opportunity prior to the Election 1977, President Soeharto claimed that Indonesia community knew about Pancasila, but they did not know how to apply the values. Thus, the enrichment of Appreciation Orientation and Practice Pancasila (P4) was needed as stated in TAP MPR Number IV/MPR/1978. In MPR decree, it was stated that in order to conduct the national education, some steps should be taken to that made Pancasila appreciation and practice possible to be understood by all levels of community. If we understood how P4 eventually became a mandatory material for the people of Indonesia, this policy was obviously legal and based on the

constitution because it has gone through the phases of discussion and resolution of MPR.

However, to be a citizen who understand and apply Pancasila cannot only be done by providing enrichment of P4 and PMP subject, they also need to understand the history. Since President Soeharto got a report from General M. Yusuf on the lack ability of candidates for cadets of AKABRI (Army Academy) in history, then the President called Nugroho, the Central Head of History of ABRI, to find a solution so that students/cadets of AKABRI will be able to understand history well. The History of Nation's Struggle was the history of struggle since 17th August 1945 [11]. As delivered by President Soeharto to Team Tim 4, namely 1) Nugroho Notosusanto, 2) Murdiono, 3) Darji Darmodiharjo and Basjuni from Central PGRI [12]. Since that day, an effort to insert History Education of Nation's Struggle (PSPB) in the education curriculum since kindergarten to universities was continuously done to have a formal legalization in MPR sessions. Eventually PSPB was also included in the Broad Guidelines of the State Policy, TAP MPR Number IV/MPR/1983.

Actually, the ideas concerning the history of the nation's struggle had been delivered by Nugroho since 16th June 1979 in a Workshop of PMP Curriculum. Nugroho suggested that the Curriculum of Pancasila Education should contain the subject of National History of Indonesia especially the History of Proclamation of 17th August 1945. Then Nugroho promised President of Republic of Indonesia that if the students and youth generation understood the history of their nation then it would be great [13]. In line with that, Soedijarto as the Head of the Center of Curriculum at the time claimed that the students of ITB and students from other various universities that had demonstration and such did not understand the history of their nation. With such argumentation, President Soeharto through Minister of Education and Culture that at the time was Nugroho Notosusanto suggested that History Education of the Nation's Struggle (PSPB) should be mentioned in GBHN, TAP MPR No. II/MPR/1983 concerning the Broad Guidelines of the State Policy and had officially became a mandatory subject at schools since kindergarten to universities [14].

Based on the MPR decree, the President as MPR mandate interpreted that the people through MPR wanted to improve Pancasila Education. Pancasila Education covers three elements:

- Pancasila Moral Education (PMP)
- Pancasila Orientation Appreciation and Practice (P4)
- History Education of Nation's Struggle (PSPB)

By paying attention to the details above, it was obvious that PSPB was not history instead of Pancasila Education that had an interrelation with history but its teaching was focusing on the affective sector of the students by way of imprinting, forwarding as well as developing values that were formed from the journey of history of nation's struggle. Furthermore, it was confirmed by Minister Nugroho, that PSPB was educating and inspiring for the students as well as emotional that suited to nurtured nationalism and love to the homeland [12]. Here there

was an element for mental development that nurtured patriotism that can be applied in daily lives. Thus, it was obvious that Pancasila Education was a jargon, we can even stated that it was a personification of the government of the New Order to save and perpetuate its power by providing understanding about Pancasila education and practice in daily lives.

V. CONCLUSION

Malari event and the demonstration of students in Bandung toward the government of the New Order in 1974 and up to the election in 1977/1978 toward the reinstatement of Soeharto as the President of the Republic of Indonesia, encouraged the government to issue a policy concerning the necessities of Pancasila Education in all levels of education at schools since the young generation nationalism was considered low. "Indoctrination" was conducted through the subjects of PMP, PSPB and the enrichment of P4. Pancasila Education became the jargon to maintain *status quo* and even personalized President Soeharto to his New Order government.

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