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PANCASILA AS INDONESIAN NATIONAL IDEOLOGY

SUMMARY

The academic objective undertaken in the dissertation is to define and analyze the Indonesian national ideology of Pancasila - from its inception in 1945, through the periods of the Old and New Order governments, to the condition of Pancasila ideology in modern democratic Indonesia at the present time, under the presidency of Joko "Jokowi" Widodo. I analyze the role of Pancasila ideology in Indonesian socio-political life and the changes in its interpretation depending on the period of government.

The dissertation presented here can make a major contribution to the understanding of both Pancasila ideology and the evolution of Indonesian politics in Poland. This is because it presents threads that are absent from the domestic scholarly discourse, and derives conclusions from numerous research stays and contacts with other scholars from various centers (including the University of Copenhagen, Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh, Universitas Airlangga, Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang). From a broader perspective, the analysis conducted in the dissertation also refers to geopolitical issues, as well as security matters (the issue of securitization).

Pancasila as an ideology is declaratively responsible for the harmonious functioning of a multicultural and multi-religious Indonesian society and is based on five principles: belief in one God, humanity, national unity, democracy, and social justice.

As a national philosophy, Pancasila is enshrined in the preamble of the Indonesian Constitution (*Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945* – UUD 1945).

Since the emergence of Pancasila in 1945, through the periods of the Old Order (*Orde Lama* - Sukarno's period of power - 1945-1966) and the New Order (*Orde Baru* - Suharto's period of power, 1967-1998), the ideology has been promoted by the government as a national ideology. Over the years, its interpretation has changed according to changing social circumstances and the needs of the government.

The accepted choice of constructivism as the adopted research method in this dissertation is justified by the multiplicity of discourses – both scientific and social representations – entangled in the functioning of Pancasila's ideology. The research method used in the dissertation makes it possible to address the issues addressed, such as the struggle for power,

competition between political parties, the importance of ideology and religion. In addition, I relied on the analysis of historical sources and scholarly works on Indonesian political history.

The structure of the work is the result of answering the questions posed, which should be helped by the adopted structure of the work.

Chapter I introduces the concept of national ideology as a theoretical category and phenomenon.

Chapter II discusses the origins of Pancasila ideology. A consideration of the ideological background of the founding fathers of independent Indonesia indicates that the introduction of the idea of a Pancasila state was essentially a political exercise to legitimize the actions of the ruling camp.

Chapter III presents the functioning of Pancasila during the period of the Old Order – *Orde Lama*.

Chapter IV captures the development of the ideology during the New Order period – *Orde Baru*

Chapter V discusses the relationship between Pancasila and Islam during the Old and New Order periods.

Chapter VI presents the contemporary condition of Pancasila as a national ideology – the function of Pancasila ideology in the democratic era.

The final part of the paper presents the conclusions drawn from the considerations in the previous chapters, providing answers on the condition of Indonesian national ideology in the democratic system of the Indonesian state, the potential influence of Islamic parties on the further course of Indonesian politics – and thus the functioning of Pancasila ideology – and pointing out possible opportunities and threats in the further functioning of Pancasila in Indonesia.

KEYWORDS: Pancasila, Indonesia, national ideology