Civil Society Against Anti-Pancasila Movements Among Millenial Generation During The Covid-19 Pandemic

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ABSTRAK

One of the interesting discourses of the decade concerns the discourse against the anti-Pancasila movement. Although the Indonesian government has issued several programs to internalize Pancasila values among the youth generations, citizens are also responsible for protecting the state's ideology. Accordingly, civil society, as an organized citizen, should catalyze anti-Pancasila movements. Covid-19 pandemic does not only threaten the health sector, but also threatens social activities. Regarding the latter, civil society activists are demanded to adjust to conditions to optimize their function as one of the social infrastructures of a community. Applying, descriptive qualitative approach, the present study aims to see the civil society movements against anti-Pancasila movements during the covid-19 pandemic. The study revealed that civil society is still consistent with its organization despite the dynamics of the implementation.

KEYWORDS: Civil Society, Anti-Pancasila Movement, Millennial

I. BACKGROUND

Pancasila is born from a long process involving a myriad of elements of Indonesian society. It serves as a starting point of the state's struggle history. Pancasila is formulated as the state's philosophy, a foundation for independence and freedom from colonialism. Bahaludin Lopa argues that

Indonesia's legal system stems from the country's culture, namely, Pancasila. As an ideology, Pancasila plays a role as a value system and lives in the country's life. Accordingly, it is imperative in nature, meaning that it applies to all Indonesian citizens. Every citizen must adhere to Pancasila. Pancasila constitutes a national consensus containing common values as the nation's unifier.[1]

President Joko Widodo (2017), in his speech during Pancasila day at Pancasila Building, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, asserts that the government acts decisively against organizations and movements that are anti-Pancasila, anti-1945 Constitution, anti-Indonesia, and anti-Bhinneka Tunggal Ika.[2] In the same vein, during a press conference on Survey on the Effectiveness of Local Wisdom in Countering Radicalism on 29 November 2019, Former Chief of National Counter-Terrorism Agency, Suhardi Alius asserts that the millennial generation should gain more serious attention to maintaining the existence of the Republic of Indonesia.

The importance of protecting millennials from anti-Pancasila threats is supported by the fact that the Indonesian population is dominated by the working-age population, as shown by Statistics Indonesia's (BPS) 2017 data. BPS data shows that Indonesia is entering the demographic bonus phase. When the increase in the working-age population is associated with massive

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[1] Al Khanif, SH,MA.LL.M,Ph.D, Pancasila dalam Pusaran Globalisasi
[2] http://seskab.go.id/presiden-jokowi-pemerintah-pasti-tegas-terhadap-organisasi-dan-gerakan-anti-pancasila/

movements against Pancasila value, it would be difficult to predict the state's future direction.

Youth and student organizations also hold responsibility as a part of civil society. Every citizen holds rights and responsibility to maintain the state's condition, including the state's philosophy. Accordingly, as a citizen, civil society is also responsible to protect Pancasila Ideology from anti-Pancasila movements. Youth and student organization is one of the infrastructures developing education among the community, particularly in building the national character and nationalism. Coronavirus disease-19 (Covid-19) emerges as a health issue leading to anxiety and chaos. On 11 March 2020, WHO officially declared Covid-19 as a Pandemic and Indonesia is one of the countries exposed to the virus.[3] Responding to the situation, a number of schemes are issued by central and local governments to minimize the spread of the virus. Among the policies, the Large Scale-Social Distancing (PSBB) policy result in significant social impact.[4] since people's activities and movements are restricted. The policy does not only harm the working sector and formal education sector but also affect the activities of civil society organizations.

While organizations focus on achieving their main goals, changes often obstruct their efforts. Covid-19 pandemic forces these organizations to be dynamic in achieving their goals. Grounded on this pandemic situation, the

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[3] https://www.kompas.com/sains/read/2020/03/12/083129823/who-resmi-sebut-virus-corona-covid-19-sebagai-pandemi-global
[4] Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 21 Tahun 2020 tentang Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar (PSBB) dalam Rangka Percepatan Penanganan Covid-19.

present study attempts to investigate the adaptation done by civil society that concerns with anti-Pancasila movement during the covid-19 pandemic.

II. DISCUSSION

A. Distraction on Pancasila Ideology

The term ideology is originated from the word idea, which means thought, or plan, and the word logos, which means science. Ideology, etymologically, is defined as the science of idea.[5] Indonesian Dictionary defines term ideology as a set of systematic concepts established upon a consensus, which provides direction and purposes for life. It is also defined as an individual's or a group's way of thinking. It could be viewed as a tenet, theory, and purpose that constitutes a social and political program. 517). Following the definitions above, some essential components of an ideology could be noticed, namely system, direction, purpose, way of thinking, program, social, and politics. The concept of ideology was coined by Destrutt de Tracy at the end of the eighteenth century. Tracy called ideology the science of ideas, a program expected to bring institutional changes for French community. However, Napoleon viewed that the term ideology was merely fantasy without practical meanings. Such an idea would not be found in real life.[6]

As a state's philosophy, Pancasila is not merely a result of thought. Instead, it has lived and grown in Indonesian people even before Indonesia was

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[5] Kaelan, 2013, Negara Kebangsaan Pancasila; Kultural, Historis, Filosofis, Yuridis, dan Aktualisasinya
[6] *Ibid*

officially established. This is what so-called causa materialis of Pancasila by notonegoro. During the process of the state establishment, Pancasila values were formulated by Indonesia founding fathers. It was then legally declared as the state philosophy and stated in the 1945 Constitution preamble. Therefore, Pancasila, in this definition, is viewed as a philosophy and ideological foundation of Indonesia's National defense.[7]

During the "Old Order" era, history witnessed two attempts made to change the state's philosophy, namely Darul Islam/ Indonesian Islamic Soldier rebellion in 1949 that attempted to change Pancasila with Islamic sharia and Communist Rebellion in Madiun 1948 that attempted to build a country with communist ideology.

The seed of transnational movement in Indonesia began to be noticed as an underground movement during the 1970s and 1980s as a result of Islamic political repression during the New Order era, in addition to the result of Global Islam rise indicated by Iran revolution in 1979. However, this movement begins to come to the public surface and is free to express its aspiration after the downfall of President Soeharto's New Order regime on 21 May 1998. The downfall of the New Order era opened the tap of democratization and openness for all groups of communities. Political expression and aspirations that were once restricted are now freely voiced and contested.[8]

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[7] *Ibid.*
[8] Peter Mandaville, Global Political Islam, (London dan New York, 2007) at 279

After the downfall of the New Order era in 1998, Indonesia is facing a new issue known as a transnational threat. One of the interesting issues from Indonesian contemporary religious life is the emergence of global movements that work beyond national borders. The term transnational initially refers to immigration and diaspora activities, i.e., international citizen moves. However, this term's definition shifts to a movement crossing national borders that attempt to spread certain ideologies.

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In the Post-reform era, some political factions in the parliament explicitly intend to put Jakarta Charter into the constitution. This movement emerges as a result of pressures from Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI) and Forum Pembela Islam (FPI) to the Islamic political parties to include Jakarta Charter that obliges Indonesian Muslims to adhere to Islamic sharia as

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[9] Pekembangan Paham Keagamaan Transnasional di Indonesia (2011). Jakarta: Puslitbang kehidupan keagamaan Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI

initially proposed in 1945. This attempt ended with failure. However, the Islamic political movement in Indonesia will never end.

Al Khanif argues that amid the increasingly complex world, the transnational ideology (i.e., Islam) attempts to reposition Pancasila as Indonesia's ideology Globalization and all its attributes significantly affect Indonesia as a country with the largest Muslim population and the third largest democratic country in the world. The growth of transnational phenomena in Indonesia is indicated by the emergence of anti-Pancasila movements that attempt to obstruct Indonesia's democracy. One of the anti-Pancasila movements widely discussed recently is Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). This organization was dissolved in 2018. However, it is not a stand-alone organization since it has penetrated the higher education sector.[10]

Minister of Research, Technology, and Higher Education, Mohammad Nasir stated that based on Alvara Research Center's survey on 1800 students from 25 Indonesian universities, 19.6% of them supported Sharia regulation. 25.3% of them support the establishment of an Islamic country, 16.9% of them supported Islamic Ideology, 25.5% of them did not support non-Muslim leader, and 2.5% of them potentially exposed to radicalism.

BNPT claims that the state universities in Java and Sulawesi are exposed to Radicalism and Anti-Pancasila at different levels. This is consistent with the state's intelligent findings released in April 2018, revealing that out of 20 universities from 15 provinces surveyed in 2017, 39% of the university

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[10] Al Khanif, SH,MA.LL.M,Ph.D, Pancasila dalam Pusaran Globalisasi

students were anti-democracy and did not agree with Pancasila as Indonesia state philosophy. Approximately 23% of them agreed with Islamic state.

As a country with plural and open ideology like Pancasila, Indonesia should keep its eye to prevent and counter radicalism that potentially harms the state's safety. In the ideological continuum, radicalism is a critical tie that drives the exposed parties or actors to commit terror and physical-systemic opposition against the state. Accordingly, every structural opportunity (Robert, 2009) and enabling environment (Garzon, 2011) for radicalism and terrorism, including higher education institutions, should obtain adequate attention and serve as an integral measure of handling intolerance, radicalism, and anti-Pancasila movement.

Attempts to change the state ideology are initiated by anti-state philosophy movements. Accordingly, early prevention of anti-Pancasila movements is important. Indonesian intelligence agency findings released in April 2018 revealed that out of 20 universities from 15 provinces surveyed in 2017, 39% of the university students were anti-democracy and did not agree with Pancasila as Indonesia's state philosophy. Approximately 23% of them agreed with the Islamic state.

The issuance of regulation of Minister of Research, Technology, and Higher Education no. 55 of 2018 is a response to the growth of anti-Pancasila movements, considering that the dissolution of HTI does not completely

wipe out this organization.[11] Based on the study conducted by Center for Research and Religion of UIN Syarif Hidayatulloh Jakarta published in 2018, HTI is a highly penetrative organization, in university student-level, one of its wing organizations, GEMA Pembebasan, in 2017 was claimed to have sixty thousand student members.[12]

B. Anti-Pancasila Movement as a Threat for National Defense and Civil Society

National defense is dynamic, thus, economic, technological, social, and environmental changes may serve as a challenge for all parties, including civil society. Ideology constitutes one of the aspects of national defense (Wan Usman, 2017).[13] The state's mindset on development strategy and policy should be consistent with its ideology, considering that it is the state's way of life. Once ideology is obstructed, a state's foundation may change gradually. Pancasila serves as the source of laws, as stated in Law no. 12 of 2011. It also emerges as the basic philosophy of the nation.Therefore, any attempt against Pancasila values obviously damage Indonesia's national defense.

Anti-Pancasila radicalism attempts to ruin the democracy system, a system providing the community with opportunities to participate in the government system, protecting human rights and political participation. A

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[11] Sri Yunanto (2018) Menata Ormas, Memperkuat Bangsa (langkah pemerintah membubarkan Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia)

[12] Chaider Dkk, (2008) Kaum muda muslim milenial " konservatisme, hibridasi identitas, dan tantangan radikalisme"

[13] Wan Usman (2017) Daya Tahan Bangsa

democratic system, according to Agustinus (2006), basically needs three fundamental principles, namely (1) the enforcement of political ethics and morality as the foundation of the political, economic, and social system of a nation; (2) the enforcement of constitutionalism through the implementation of (and adherence to) the supremacy of law; and (3) the implementation of public accountability mechanism, i.e., a mechanism that puts all public officials as a subject to accountability.

The methods used by these anti-Pancasila movements are similar to other civil society. However, these movements are more systematic because its indoctrination process is sectorally accepted in this world's largest Muslim country. Besides, their massive movements are also noticed in social media, campus da'wah institutions, and even in sermons in mosques. These are parts of the movement mobilization and framing.

C. Civil Society to Counter anti-pancasila movement on millennial generation

The rise of civil society in Indonesia is caused by the governments' repressive responses to the community's criticism, among others. Hedi Sahrasad (2005) explained that during Soeharto's era, the authority could not tolerate sensitive differences. This intolerance was proven when it banned media (i.e., Tempo, Detik, and Editor) and act repressively during labor and student demonstration. Civil society during the New Order constituted an auto criticism toward the elites who abuse the power. Besides, the regulations were made to close the community's chance to speak.[14]

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[14] Agustinus, L. (2006). Kilasan Singat Mengenai Demokrasi

Kupperscmidt (2000) called generation Y the millennial generation. This generation is familiar with communication technology such as email, SMS, instant messaging, and others, this generation grows during the internet booming era (Lyons, 2004). Besides, Generation Y has a more open political and economic view, making them reactive to changes around them. If it is associated with today's post-truth era, the highlight should not be put on whether or not news is a hoax but on the extent to which news is discussed by the people. Consequently, it leads to assumptions that opinions with the highest rating are a truth.[15]

It is not a problem when the youth generation is active in social media. It turns into a problem when social media is dominated by hate news. It becomes more dangerous when the youth generation uploads and like hate news, as reported by the Center for Cultural Studies and Social Changes of Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta. The study reports that 87% of the information in Islamic social media were categorized as hate news and were accessed by youth generations. Youth generation's activity on social media is unstoppable since it is their world.[19]

Considering the conditions, Civil society functions to counter the movements and phenomena harmful to national stability, as these movements grow along with that of the democratic process. In other words, wider access that is given to the community to assemble on behalf of democracy unexpectedly increases the growth of radical groups that are deviant from the state's ideology. Indonesia's consensus is to establish a nation that lies in humanity, equality, and equity. All groups, ethnicities, and religions have equal roles in the struggle for independence and the

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[15] AS Hikam, Muhammad (1996), Demokrasi dan Civil Society

establishment of this Republic. Accordingly, no group could feel more meritorious than others.

The effort to counter the anti-Pancasila movements include caderization. This serves as a pathway to enhance individuals' critical, revolutionary, and visionary thinking based on their discipline and specialty. Its implementation lies in the attitude and action against a repressive system, receives and distributes the task within or to the outside of the organization. These thoughts are then implemented into an action by building public discourse on preventions of anti-Pancasila values movement.

During the covid-19 pandemic, the governments' social distancing policy affects the caderization process. This condition has made civil society changes its movement scheme from offline to online methods without losing its essence. The rise of civil society in Indonesia is caused by the governments' repressive responses to the community's criticism, among others. Hedi Sahrasad (2005) explained that during Soeharto's era, the authority could not tolerate sensitive differences. This intolerance was proven when it banned media (i.e., Tempo, Detik, and Editor) and act repressively during labor and student demonstration. Civil society during the New Order constituted an auto criticism toward the elites who abuse the power. Besides, the regulations were made to close the community's chance to speak.[16]

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III. CONCLUSION

Based on the description above, it could be concluded that every citizen holds rights and responsibility to maintain the state's condition, including its philosophy. Accordingly, as a citizen, civil society is also responsible for protecting Pancasila Ideology from anti-Pancasila movements. The role in countering anti-Pancasila movements is implemented in caderization, an effort to build and improve the civil society members' thinking ability. This is followed by action in delivering a political discourse on the urgency of protecting Pancasila Ideology. Health crisis due to the Covid-19 pandemic requires all elements, including civil society, to be responsive and dynamic in carrying out their activities Technical modification was made by turning the traditional scheme into an online scheme to maintain the existence and perform the functions and responsibility.

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