

Demokrasi Liberal Vs Demokrasi Indonesia

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Abstract

The democratization process in Indonesia in the last two decades has led our political system to lead to liberal democracy. Whereas as a country resulting from a national revolution, Indonesia has national thoughts and ideologies which are products of state history and practice. Founding father, Dr. Ir. Soekarno said that Indonesian nationalism was built from knowledge, humanity through the synergy between nationalism, Islamism and Marxism. Each nation has its own way of fighting, has its own characteristics. (Soekarno, 1958). The main problem raised in this study is what is the right model of democracy for Indonesia? The method used is a qualitative approach by prioritizing the study of thoughts and analysis of various views, theories and concepts of democracy in modern Indonesia. The theories and concepts used refer to the following theories/concepts: Anthony Smith, Renan, Bill Liddle, Vedi R Farid. Based on this study, it can be concluded that Indonesia is undergoing a transformation from an authoritarian political system and a liberal democratic system to a political system that is the Indonesian model. Therefore, the discussion of parties and democracy that is built will not only give birth to modernization and the party system but at the same time give birth to the substance of democracy, namely justice and welfare

Keywords: demokrasi, ideologi, *founding father*.

“Each nation has its own way of fighting, has its own characteristics. Because in essence the nation as an individual has its own personality. Personality manifested in culture, economy and character and so on” (Dr.Ir.Soekarno, 1958)

In his speech at the United Nations, Bung Karno denied the opinion of a British philosopher, Bertrand Russell, who divided the world into two axes of followers of the Declaration of American Independence and the Communist Manifesto. Bung

Karno who views Pancasila as Weltanschauung and at the same time as Philosophische Grondslag 1

Some of the world revolutions that affect global life today, among others, the industrial revolution in Western Europe, which changed the world to be modern, modern history records that the revolution was first in the French revolution (1776), then followed by the American revolution. The American Revolution was more of a rebellion to achieve national independence from Britain. While the French Revolution had a domestic and international impact. The cases of the Indonesian and Vietnamese revolutions are also part of the effort to achieve national independence. Furthermore, in the 20th century, the world again received references to changes such as the Russian Revolution (October 1917), the Russian revolution was more categorized as a people's revolution (socialism), while the French revolution was seen as a revolution of the bourgeoisie, Russia has different characteristics; Bolshevik, Proletarian or Communist revolution. In early 1998, Indonesia entered an era of democratization. Political reforms developed after the New Order era led to a liberal political system. The leading political scientist, Vedi R Farid, said that the reformist alliances of the post-Soeharto period had proven politically unstable and ideologically incoherent. Scattered among a string of political parties, they are driven by a mix of populist, nationalist, and even social democrat agendas and increasingly divided by the competing political ambitions of different leaders.³ Mochtar Pabottingi calls the failure of our democracy due to the weakening of the Nation. Ideally, democracy should be congruent with the centrality of the nation or the symbiosis of the national democracy.⁴ The concept of the nation for Pabottingi refers to the importance of inclusiveness, nationalism and pluralism. The construction of nationalism must be seen in that paradigm, not like what is happening today, where regional autonomy actually gives birth to localism, primordialism and ethnocentrism. The selection of leaders at the local level negates this conception of the nation. Innovative, man of innovative.

The next problem in the context of our democratic practice is that the people's public participation is still weak. As a voter and source of sovereignty, he should be autonomous and politically educated. The involvement of citizens in the political process still stops at the election process, while the policies of the State and the public at large rarely result from balanced interactions between the State and society. There are several main factors that hinder the implementation of democracy. (1). There is a gap between democratic procedures, and the substance of democracy. The reason is that the socio-cultural, economic, and political prerequisites have not been fully met.

(2). The existence of an understanding and application of democracy that is different or not in accordance with the social environment, culture, and even the aspirations and dreams of the people, this can trigger public distrust of the democratic system. (3). The development of the practice of power politics, which causes the occurrence of micro (personal/group/party) and macro (nation and state interests) interests among the political elite. (how get what, when and how). (4). A sudden and rapid transition and consolidation of democracy.⁶ Indonesia has been practicing liberal democracy in the last two decades, according to British political science professor David Runciman in his latest work, "How Democracy Ends"(2019). He is concerned about the development of democracy in the West, which is re-emerging political instability, distrust and mutual attacks and intolerance. According to David's prediction, the questions for the twenty first century is how long we can persist with institutional arrangements we have grown used to trusting, that we no longer notice when they have ceased to work?

A different view from that, was expressed by UI political expert Burhan Magenda as the final process of consolidating Indonesian nationalism. Various predictions of political experts from abroad that the possibility of a "division", the Balkanization of Indonesia were not proven. According to Indonesianist Terry Karl, Indonesia should have almost all the ingredients needed to become a developed country, such as India and China. The country also has a fairly large educated middle class, well-established cultural roots, a past full of glory stories, and a high sense of nationalism, Indonesia should have stepped into a better life sooner. However, what we have experienced so far is the opposite. Our face is a face with a number of paradoxes. Even though it is rich in natural resources and blessed with fertile land, Indonesia is stuck in the situation that TerryL calls it. Karl as the paradox of plenty (the paradox of plenty): the country is rich, but poor. One of the fundamental problems faced by the state and society in the transitional phase of democracy in Indonesia is looking for the right political model and system to be applied to the Indonesian people. Designing a democratic political system is not as easy as turning the palm of the hand.

In a number of studies that reflect on democratization in Indonesia; first, the transition period requires the design of the rule of law as the actualization of democratic values, a space for negotiation and compromise. This needs to be done by the formal political structure of the election results; second, changes in the economic structure have an influence on its derivative variables, from fiscal management to the distribution of wealth. An economic structure that has a clear ideological footing contributes to constant economic growth. Meanwhile, the economic sector related to

electoral political stability provides prospects for economic resilience and a prerequisite for the success of the democratic consolidation phase. Democracy provides a guarantee of freedom unmatched by any system. In various approaches, the state holds the monopoly, the authority makes the rules of the political game, the government leadership and policy. Meanwhile, the Marxian approach views the social order as being established on class conflict and domination controlled by the executive authority

Contemporary Indonesian political developments are heavily influenced by developments in the global and regional strategic environment. In addition, the determining factor for the development of the political and constitutional system in Indonesia is that our nation is the result of a national revolution. Soekarno's view, "No two nations have the same way of fighting. Each nation has its own way of fighting, has its own characteristics. Because in essence the nation as an individual has its own personality. Personality manifested in various ways, in its culture, in its economy, in its character and so on" (Soekarno, 1958, I: 3). Therefore, the way the Indonesian people formulate their national conceptions and ideals does not just follow the dominant ideologies that exist.

Political parties can maintain straightness, fairness, common interests, and harmonious relations between parties. Democracy for Deliar Noer is a possible means to enforce the function of such political parties. Since 1945, according to Satya Arinanto, "the Indonesian state philosophy of Pancasila has changed emphasis with at present of Democracy based on Pancasila, the anti thesis of Western democracy. Western democracy here refers to a system which voting as the key decision making process, while, Pancasila democracy denies voting as a role of decision political process.

Studies conducted by LIPI prove that in democratic life, the effectiveness and efficiency of political processes are often neglected. This is a typical typology that appears in new democracies. Without adequate effectiveness and efficiency, freedom will not produce public satisfaction because power based on the principle of freedom does not have the ability to solve problems and encourage progress. The consequence is the growing sense of not belonging by the people to the democratic system that is being built. The main role of the people's representatives is how to create a substantial public policy process, namely a combination of capability, authority and social status. The reality shows that it is easy for council members to make promises and political

discourse, but it is difficult to implement their functions and authorities according to the constitutional mandate, namely budget policy, supervision and legislation.

Indonesia started with a democratic political system, free elections, with many political parties; representing political, religious, ideological, and other streams. The people's freedom, rights and political participation are so high that it causes political conflict and high social division. Meanwhile, the Indonesian people are actually used to living in pluralism. According to Suparlan, UI anthropologist, that Indonesia is a plural society, namely a state community consisting of more than 500 ethnic groups that are united by a nation, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, with the motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, "different but still one". anyway." (Suparlan, 2000: 12).

The reality that we face during the current era of democratization is a complicated process of recruitment and political socialization, and high cost politics. One strategy that can be used is to increase the capacity and public accountability of representative institutions and parliamentarians. According to Afan Gaffar, that a democratic system is realized in a country if it is possible for the participation of all adult citizens in the general election (election process), legitimacy is obtained through competition political elections (competition political election), the people vote in secret and between the people and leaders can enjoy freedom of association, choice and political parties.

Simplification of the political system is an important part of our national agenda, as a country that requires the implementation of democracy substantially. However, modernizing the political system requires a long process. Because changing behavior and political awareness within the framework of systemic reform requires a joint commitment from all components of the nation to participate in that. In that context, the role of political parties, especially those with representatives at the national level, is very important, especially in efforts to increase the role of political recruitment, political socialization and interest aggregation. As Ben Reilly and Andrew Reynolds suggest that electoral systems need to be carefully designed to meet the particular historical and social conditions of a country. Each new democracy needs to inherit an electoral system to elect its parliament. The fact is that political actors lack sufficient information and knowledge so that they do not fully understand the various forms and consequences of an electoral system. Political actors use their knowledge of electoral systems to propose

A certain electoral system, which provides an advantage for his party.

Political leadership can be understood in three perspectives: (1) leadership as a pattern of behavior; (2) leadership as a personal quality; (3) leadership as a political value. As a pattern of behavior, leadership is closely related to the ability to influence others in pursuing the desired goals. The keyword is influence. As a personal quality, leadership is related to charisma. Meanwhile, as a political value, leadership is related to the ability to mobilize others with moral authority or ideological views. (Alfian, 2009: 191). The involvement of citizens in the political process still stops at the election process, while the policies of the State and the public at large rarely result from balanced interactions between the State and society.

Nation is a concept related to the same ethnic and cultural identity that certain people have. The state is a political unit based on territory, population and government autonomy. The term nation state is interpreted as the stages of assimilation that may occur between cultural and political boundaries carried out by a central authority in a certain area. Nationalism is defined as the perception of one's identity towards a territorially organized political collectivity such as the United States, the Soviet Union and other countries.

In the context of democracy, Indonesia is indeed a country that has just returned to practicing a democratic system substantially after the New Order since 1998 and for the previous forty years has implemented guided democracy and Pancasila democracy which is classified as an authoritarian bureaucratic system. However, the consolidation of Indonesian nationalism has matured in three and a half centuries under the colonial era. It is through this approach and spirit of nationalism that encourages Indonesia's involvement and strategic roles in the context of the Asia-Africa region and globally. The results of the Asia-Africa conference, for example, have made the Pancasila ideology a source of reference and the spirit of regional nationalism and liberated many countries in the Asia-Africa region.²¹

The effort for Indonesian-style democracy seems to be driven by the view that Indonesia has a different system from other countries because Indonesia adheres to the principles of family, unity and integrity. Soepomo's conception of an integralistic state is sourced from the arguments above. Soepomo said Indonesia is neither a liberal country nor a communal country. Indonesian proclaimer Mohammad Hatta called it an Indonesian-style democracy concept that has the democratic nature of native Indonesians derived from the spirit of togetherness or collectivism that lives in the hearts of every Indonesian people, such as a form of helping in the life of Indonesian

agrarian society. Hatta said, in the collectivism system, the decision-making process is carried out through the mechanism of deliberation and consensus.

With regard to nationalism and democracy, Hatta has reminded us of the importance of nationhood (nation hood) when dealing with other countries. Nationality is something related to the feeling of being tied to a home country, a region. It includes common destinies, historical experiences, but not ethnicity, religion or other elements of primordialism. According to Hatta, the essence of nationalism (nationalism) is love for the homeland. As long as there is still colonialism, as long as there is a need for nationality.

In the context of international relations, Mohammad Hatta revealed that nationality is useful for being an honorable member in relations between nations; enslaved or colonized nations, based on the norms of relations between countries, are not considered as active members in international relations. Conclusion Hatta, nationalism or nationalism is still more important than internationalism. Concretely, Hatta formulated a foreign policy that prioritized the importance of managing one's own destiny, "first saving the Indonesian nationality with one's own strength and then building brotherhood between nations."

The thoughts above show that the consolidation of nationalism is very important compared to others. The state and especially the government elites must take all actions that are oriented towards the people and the nation itself when dealing with foreign interests and policies with other countries. In the case of Indonesia's foreign policy with Malaysia recently in the territorial dispute and the incident of the arrest of our state officers by the Malaysian side, they still have not shown an attitude to defend their own citizens optimally and fairly. Likewise, the ways of handling the problem of TKI in developed countries such as the United States and countries in the Middle East, still show an attitude of defending the interests and policies of local countries. They even tend to blame their own citizens. This shows the low sense of nationalism of Indonesian officials and diplomats serving in various countries around the world.

Model of Democracy and Strengthening the Ideology of Pancasila

During the reformation period of the last two decades, we are facing a crisis of understanding and ideological transformation. The source of the ideological crisis began with a multidimensional crisis that occurred in the early days of regime change

from the New Order era which was considered to be implementing authoritarian rule to a new democratic era known as the reform era. In this change there was an amendment to the 1945 Constitution. Liberalization and the increasingly open access to freedom of the people in the framework of democracy have an impact on the fading of the spirit of nationalism and love for the country, this happens because the old values, institutions and behaviors that have been indoctrinated by the power experience a "crisis of trust", while the new values, institutions and practices have not been sufficiently institutionalized, giving rise to anonymity.

In the process, the community tried to put forward new ideas and ideas liberally so that various ideologies, from the extreme left to the extreme right, experienced discourse in an effort to find national identity after approximately 32 years of feeling shackled by an authoritarian government system. However, the experimentation of democracy during the reformation period was seen as too free, thus requiring a new paradigm, namely the responsible use of freedom. Freedom and the use of political rights need to be built in the state paradigm based on Pancasila and the rule of law and respect for human rights.

Political liberalization is proven by the amendments to the 1945 Constitution, which are now being challenged by the public who criticize that the amendments to the 1945 Constitution are conditional on liberalization, Western-style democracy and negate the principles of popular sovereignty and the ideals of the founding fathers. In a more analytical way, Valina Singka Subekti explained through her doctoral dissertation at the University of Indonesia with the title, "The Process of Amending the 1945 Constitution at the MPR RI 1999-2002 in the Transition of Democracy."

According to Valina Singka, the fall of Suharto in 1998 was a turning point for reforming the 1945 Constitution, and the 1999 democratic elections succeeded in establishing a legitimate DPR/MPR. The focus of Valina Singka's study is the political interaction and power interplay between actors who play a role in the process of changing the 1945 Constitution. The study focused on the basic issues of the state, religion, DPR, DPD, MPR and the direct election system where these issues have significance with political science. Valina's findings include that the first to fourth amendments to the 1945 Constitution have regenerated a balanced distribution of power, both executive, legislative and judicial within the framework of a system of checks and balances.²⁷ The concept of this constitutional amendment is seen as very liberal, resembling the model of liberal democracy that developed in the United States, and negates genuine Indonesian political identity.

During the New Order era, Pancasila was not placed as a source of national values and spirit, but tended to be positioned as a "political spell" in the format of an authoritarian state. Interestingly, in the more than three decades of this country under President Suharto, the democracy model used is called Pancasila democracy. Democracy that actually offers freedom and responsibility for the state and society to bring this nation to face the challenges and threats of globalization and liberal democracy with all its consequences.

But ironically what happened was an act of power that was contrary to the ideology of Pancasila, Pancasila emphasized the importance of unity, humanity, the deliberation system and social justice. The Indonesian nation is a nation state that was born from the peak of the achievement of human nationalism, where Indonesia is an important country in the Asian region that achieved independence through nationalism, unlike Malaysia, Singapore and the countries of the British Commonwealth (commonwealth).) others who are free from the gifts and kindness of the colonizers. Basically, the ideology of Pancasila must be placed as a national ideology that reflects the shared ideals as a nation. In the context of the nation state, Pancasila is a form of ideology which is the answer to modern life and the requirements of high civilization in the midst of a constellation of competing ideologies; capitalism and socialism.

Pancasila can be seen as an alternative ideology or a middle way ideology that offers new ideals, enthusiasm and internationalism that solves the condition of the nation which is facing the stage of independence from Western colonial rule. We can imagine that if the design of the nation's ideology only accommodates mainstream ideology, namely for the majority of certain people, or customs, religions and ethnicities that are embraced by some people, then there can often be clashes between ethnic groups and ethnic groups.

One of the important moments that we need to continue to use as a benchmark in seeing the resilience and values of Pancasila was when the Asia-Africa conference in Bandung succeeded in making Pancasila through the Ten Principles of Bandung to liberate the nations of Asia-Africa, and the world, from the clutches of Western colonialism. . Bung Karno and the founders of this nation want to emphasize to us the next generation, as a filler of independence to build Indonesia based on the nation's personality, and according to the universal values that become the national culture.

The long journey in national consolidation with all the complexity of the problems faced in our respective eras, emphasizes the importance of us, the children of this nation, not being in the position of the ivory tower status quo and comfort zone, but we are diligently producing innovations, democratic traditions and ideals. as a nation of excellence in the future. Pancasila is a great achievement carved out by the nation's founding fathers, now our historical task is to create efforts to build prosperity, justice and humanity.

The democratic system we have chosen is correct, democracy as the only system in the world, but our focus is on the substance of democracy that can solve the problems of poverty, ignorance, arrogance, corruption and abuse of power, as well as self-deprecation. Leading Pancasila expert, Dr. Yudi Latif, Pancasila is an authentic answer to the will (goal) of the nation. Pancasila for Yudi Latif is a historical and future answer to the facts about our Indonesianness, pluralism, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Yudi Latif, 2014). It is a fact that this nation has ethnic groups, customs, religions, patterns of relations between groups, and even has more than 300 types of local languages. Therefore, the assumption is borrowed, Benedict Anderson, as an imaginary nation (imaginary communities) where all the citizens do not know each other, but the Indonesian people are united by nationalism, constitution, and the same language: Indonesia. Although, according to Indonesianist Indonesia, Benedict ROG. Anderson, as an imaginary nation (imaginary communities) where all citizens do not know each other, but the Indonesian people are united by nationalism, constitution, and the same language: Indonesia. Therefore, our task as children of the nation is how to build togetherness, live in harmony and peace, without discrimination on behalf of ethnicity, religion, and between groups. Mutual respect and tolerance are strong adhesive forces for the growth of the nation. Nation is defined as the concept and view of an inclusive, just and plural nation.

Professor Magnis Suseso, an expert on political ethics, said that the agreement of the Indonesian people to build a country, with the position of all citizens being equal, having the same obligations and the same rights and obligations, without the slightest discrimination due to ethnicity, race, class, and social aspects. religion. When referring to the theory of the birth of the state, it is based on a social contract and agreement between all citizens in it, with a set of requirements to become a normal state in the modern era, population, territory, ideology, laws and national recognition. An ideology must be open, and Pancasila has proven its ideological strength in history. Less than a decade after Indonesia's independence, in 1955, Indonesia succeeded in proving Indonesia's struggle on the global stage, where the Asian-African Conference

made Pancasila a concept and alternative to liberate nations that were still colonized in Asia-Africa. Dasasila Bandung is the application of the Pancasila ideology in the life of nations.

Likewise, when President Soekarno delivered a speech at the United Nations, with the title that moved the world, "to build a world a new". The focus of Bung Karno's 1960 lawsuit was to build a middle way (non-aligned) between the two ideological struggles of socialism and capitalism, which represented the USSR (Soviet Union) and the US (United States). History proves

Pancasila in the Era of Globalization

In the context of the actualization of Pancasila as an open and modern ideology, it is interesting to listen to the views of Anthony Smith (2008) which links the development of a nation with the ability of a country to meet the needs and interests of its citizens. The theorization of the nation state will be seen in its entirety if there is comprehensive sovereignty by the people, including the role of the state in guaranteeing the basic rights of a national entity known as the people. Smith saw that a nation was originally formed because of cultural cohesiveness. Paul Hirst and Graham Thomson said, depending on the leaders and citizens, the nation state will survive, forever, as long as its leaders and citizens are responsive to globalization. The process of forming a modern democratic nation like the United States of America is also marked by a number of major transformations of human beings who are looking for a new life, and a new hope (American Dream), a nation built on the values of essential human freedom, equality and the ideals of happiness. The United States also introduced the motto "different but one". A motto that has been very popular in the history of Indonesian civilization centuries before is *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*.

In the village meeting, learning how economic interests cannot be carried out without political participation, and vice versa. Merphin Pandjaitan, author of the book *From Gotong Royong to Pancasila*, said that the process of forming the nation's ideology, Pancasila through the spirit and process of mutual cooperation carried out on the basis of cultural cohesiveness, spontaneity, without pay and profit and loss calculations and based on a high spirit of togetherness among citizens Indonesian society. Every region and sub-ethnicity in Indonesia, such as the Batak, Nias, Acehnese, Sundanese, Banten, Javanese, Bugis, Ternate, Manado, and isolated tribes such as the Toraja and Tengger have a tradition of mutual cooperation which is the main elements of formation and development. pillars of the Pancasila ideology.

When the Republic of Indonesia was founded, the designers were very diverse. In terms of ethnicity, for example, not only ethnic groups such as Minang, Javanese, Sundanese, but also from other important ethnic groups in eastern Indonesia, such as Maluku, Manado. In addition, there were four Chinese, one of Arab descent, and an Indo-Dutch. Pluralism and inclusive attitudes or views have become national designs that are constructed into the frame of Pancasila ideology. In Yudi Latif's view, the issue of humanity or internationalism has been included in the formulation of Pancasila. One of the nation's founders, Muhammad Yamin, called the goal of independence a humanitarian basis. In the draft of the opening of the Constitution compiled by the Committee of Nine, the laying of the principle of internationalism (humanity) as the basis of the State is the same as in Soekarno's speech, namely as the second principle (sila) of Pancasila. Furthermore, the word "humanity" is qualified with the adjectives "fair" and "civilized", so that the full formulation becomes "just and civilized humanity".

The ideology of Pancasila contains the values and characters possessed by the Indonesian nation. First, Indonesia is a religious nation. Regardless of religion and God, Indonesian society is a religious society. To become a great nation, it must have a strong religious foundation. The civilizations that can survive on earth are civilizations that have a religious foundation. Second, the character of this nation is to be part of universal humanity. He explained that local elements in Indonesia always have links with the world's great traditions. According to him, this nation will be strong, if it has one human insight. Third, although Indonesia has diversity, in each of these diversity there are weavings and fabrics that bring each other together. Fourth, throughout the archipelago, this nation has a tradition of deliberation at the village level. Although the electoral tradition is unknown, it does not mean that there are no democratic principles. In some areas, there is land owned by the village, which in its use must go through a process of deliberation. This village meeting is at the heart of our democracy.

Therefore, our task as children of the nation is how to build togetherness, live in harmony and peace, without discrimination on behalf of ethnicity, religion, and between groups. Mutual respect and tolerance are strong adhesive forces for the growth of the nation. Nation is defined as the concept and view of the nation that is inclusive, just and plural. *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* requires the existence of a rule of the law, which places all citizens in an equal position/position, rights and obligations in the eyes of the constitution and democratic system.

Facing the erosion of values and the spirit of practicing Pancasila in Indonesia in the last decade, requires efforts to make Pancasila a "living ideology". Pancasila needs to be actualized into new methods and strategies, through reformulating the main aspects of the Pancasila precepts: divinity, unity, humanity, justice and the people. Its interpretation must be constructed into developing universal values, such as reconciliation, human rights, the welfare state and civilization of the nation. The model of democracy that we want is not a model of liberal democracy in an advanced industrial society in the West but conforms to the basic principles and identity of the Indonesian nation. Indonesia needs to strengthen government institutions and institutions that can encourage efforts to build the “Pancasila spirit as an ideology that is open, democratic and offers a future. This effort does not want to restore the single and rigid format of ideological and indoctrination as in the New Order era, but Pancasila is presented in the form of a modern educational system and nation's intellectual method.