

# Pancasila as Indonesia's State Ideology from Javanese Perspective

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Pancasila's role as Indonesia's state ideology started its existence since June 1<sup>st</sup> 1945, when Sukarno delivered his influential speech at the meeting of Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Independence during the final year of Japanese occupation in Indonesia. Sukarno's speech on Pancasila was then put into Indonesia's Constitution preamble, just one day after Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed Indonesia's independence. Since then Pancasila becomes the foundation of Indonesia's unity even though Indonesia has huge cultural diversity. However, Pancasila's values are already in Indonesia's culture long before Sukarno's speech, hence Pancasila is the reflection of Indonesian's way of life, which is known as Adat. While Adat reflects Indonesia's diversity, Pancasila brings all these diversity into unity which ensures Indonesia's existence as an Independent nation. One of the main influential culture in Indonesia's statehood is Javanese, this paper argues that without understanding Javanese culture it is impossible to understand Pancasila as a whole.

Keywords: Pancasila, Indonesia, Law, Javanese, SasangkaJati

## Introduction

Indonesia as a country has the highest bio-cultural diversity, as part of its geography and historical heritage.<sup>1</sup> There are three factors in shaping a nation geopolitical trajectory, which are, its geographical position, its historical experience and its national values.<sup>2</sup> While the first and second factors bring rich diversity, the last factor which is Pancasila, brings its unity. Sukarno in his Pancasila June 1<sup>st</sup>1945 speech highlighted the importance of understanding geopolitics for accepting Pancasila.<sup>3</sup> For more than seventy-five years of its existence, Indonesia is successful in managing its national challenges especially in encountering rebellions and separatism.<sup>4</sup>Indonesia's successful policy in maintaining its unity is because it has robust political system which only allows the existence of national political parties, with the exception in Aceh.<sup>5</sup>This political situation brings all political power into solving national not regional agenda, which was not the case in Soviet Union or Yugoslavia.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, it is important to understand that this political situation is not only the legacy of Orde Baru, which is famous for its iron fist unity policy.<sup>7</sup> As it is the main legacy of Indonesia's process in achieving its independence which was the political inclination for strong central government.

During the Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Independence (BPUPK-Badan Penyelidik Usaha-usahaPersiapanKemerdekaan) from May 29<sup>th</sup> 1945- June 1<sup>st</sup> 1945 and July 10<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> 1945, Indonesian founding fathers understood that geopolitical existencerequired the nation to have national values for uniting the

<sup>1</sup> Luisa Maffi, *Biocultural Diversity at a glance*, in *An Introduction to Biocultural Diversity*, (Salt Spring Island: Terralingua, 2014), 23.

<sup>2</sup>Sophie Chautard, *La Géopolitique*, (Levallois Perret: Studyrama, 2009), backcover.

<sup>3</sup>R. M. A. B. Kusuma, *Lahirnya Undang-Undang Dasar 1945: Memuat Salinan Dokumen Otentik Badan Oentok Menyelidiki Oesaha2 Persiapan Kemerdekaan*, (Depok, Badan Penerbit FHUI, 2009), 158.

<sup>4</sup>Saul Bernard Cohen, *Geopolitics: The Geography of International Relations (Third Edition)*, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013), 328-333.

<sup>5</sup>Edward Aspinall, *How Indonesia Survived: Comparative Perspectives on State Disintegration and Democratic Integration*. Editor: MirjamKunkler dan Alfred Stepan dalam *Democratization and Islam in Indonesia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013)

<sup>6</sup>Ibid

<sup>7</sup>Edward Aspinall, *How Indonesia Survived: Comparative Perspectives on State Disintegration and Democratic Integration*. Editor: MirjamKunkler dan Alfred Stepan dalam *Democratization and Islam in Indonesia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013)

nation so as to prevent external domination as had happened during western imperialism.<sup>8</sup> The national values were discussed and proposed by Soepomo and Soekarno during the debate, were closely connected with Javanese values.<sup>9</sup> During the debate there was no air for Javanese domination, as the Javanese values reflect similar values with other adat local communities in Indonesia.<sup>10</sup> It is because Javanese values already exist across the Indonesian Archipelago, since Majapahit era a Javanese Empire. During Soeharto's tenure as Indonesia's second head of state, he introduced deeply Javanese values into national life through policy-making especially in interpreting the state's ideology Pancasila. In one of Soeharto's explanation about Pancasila he mentioned about Javanese spiritual philosophy taken from Sasangka Jati, a scripture which is considered sacred among particular group in Indonesia.<sup>11</sup> One study about the scripture mentions Sasangka Jati as a complete representative of Javanese way of life.<sup>12</sup> As Soeharto at that time held extraordinary power in navigating Indonesia, the values of Sasangka Jati become an integral part of Indonesia's statehood, hence it is a reasonable effort for understanding Javanese values from the perspective of Sasangka Jati.

The scripture clarifies that the source of its doctrine is from the Eternal Guidance of every human being, who is also the one and only God's Messenger (Suksma Sejati or Sang Guru Sejati).<sup>13</sup> For a spiritual group in Java, which is called Pangestu (Paguyuban Ngesti Tunggal), the scripture is sacred, just as the Holy Bible for the Christians and Holy Qur'an for the Muslims. Sasangka Jati is a Divine Revelation to the Pangestu's central figure, Soenarto Mertowardojo (1899-1965) starting from 1932 to 1933.<sup>14</sup> Because of this central role, Mertowardojo's personal words and deeds became sacred for Pangestu's disciples.<sup>15</sup> Even though the disciples of Pangestu are quite minor in comparison to Indonesia's population, it has an influential role in Indonesia's statehood.<sup>16</sup>

There are four main duties of Sasangka Jati for human kind: (1) showing the right path, the path leading to the Divine Truth; (2) showing the deviated path; (3) showing the eternal law; (4) showing the consequences or results of action.<sup>17</sup> Sasangka Jati also introduces basic concepts about society, it also clearly mentions about the role of state. According to Sasangka Jati, the power of the state which is exercised by head of state or head of government derives from the God Almighty (Suksma Kawekas).<sup>18</sup>

### **Research Methods**

In this paper, the data is obtained from (i) literature sources such as Sasangka Jati, (ii) journal articles that shared related topics and (iii) theoretical books. It uses qualitative, historical, transcendental and inter-disciplinary approach which is critical and constructive.<sup>19</sup> The interdisciplinary approach includes legal, social and history. The paper would explain Pancasila's theory from the perspective of Sasangka Jati, it also criticizes how ignoring Javanese values would not give the legal study of Pancasila the fair picture of Indonesia's reality. As the current legal study of Pancasila pays little attention to the importance of Javanese values especially from Sasangka Jati.

### **Theoretical Concepts**

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<sup>8</sup>Kusuma, *Lahirnya*, 158.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Robert Cribb, "Independence for Java? New National Projects for an Old Empire," in Grayson Lloyd and Shannon L. Smith, eds., *Indonesia Today: Challenges of History*, 298–307 (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2001). dalam Edward Aspinall, *How Indonesia Survived: Comparative Perspectives on State Disintegration and Democratic Integration*. Editor: Mirjam Kunkler dan Alfred Stepan dalam *Democratization and Islam in Indonesia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013)

<sup>11</sup>Ken Ward, 'Soeharto's Javanese Pancasila' dalam Edward Aspinall dan Greg Fealy (Editor), *Soeharto's New Order and Its Legacy: Essay in Honour of Harold Crouch*, (ANU Press, 2010), 27.

<sup>12</sup>Mudji Sutrisno, *The Life Wisdom of 'Sasangka Jati'*. Relations between Religions and Cultures in Southeast Asia: Indonesia Philosophical Studies. Ed. Donny Gahral Adian dan Gadis Arivia, (Washington DC: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2009), 47. the author referred to Y.B. Mangunwijaya, *Burung-Burung Manyar*, (Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan, 1981), 40-47.

<sup>13</sup>Soenarto Mertowardojo, *Sasangka Jati* (Jakarta: Paguyuban Ngesti Tunggal, 2005), 65.

<sup>14</sup>Johannes Indrakusuma, *Pangestu*. Archipel, Vol. 4. 1972, hlm. 31.

<sup>15</sup>Hardjoprakoso's Statement as Pangestu's Chief at Congress IV, *Dwi Windu Pangestu: 1949-1965*, 78.

<sup>16</sup>Lee Khoo Choy, *A Fragile Nation: Indonesian Crisis*, (Singapore: World Scientific, 1999), 118.

<sup>17</sup>Mertowardojo, *Sasangka*, 168.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid, 25.

<sup>19</sup>Agus Brotosusilo, *INTER-DISCIPLINARY LEGAL STUDIES (UPDATED)*, (Depok: FHUI, 2020), 150.

This paper argues to comprehend a constitution, a study shall start from understanding the nation's past. This argument is based on several theories such as Carl von Savigny's theory and Harutyunyan's constitutional culture. Savigny said the law of a nation cannot be superficially imposed or forced upon it, because it should grow within by the process of its history.<sup>20</sup> Savigny's thinking is the reflection of his disapproval against European Napoleon law during 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>21</sup> While Harutyunyan reflected the reality of the 20<sup>th</sup> century movement which mainly against western colonialism and Soviet communism.<sup>22</sup> He said, constitution should reflect a nation's consciousness which grows through its historical process.<sup>23</sup> For him constitutional transplantation, may have risk for bringing contradicting values, which would damage the legal system of the state.<sup>24</sup> Hence any legal study on constitution should not rule out the importance of the nation's culture and history.

To understand Pancasila from Javanese perspective, it is important to start from paying attention to the important ideas Soepomo and Soekarno during the BPUPK, as the two opinions would give a glimpse of Indonesian statecraft from Javanese perspective. Soepomo explored two Javanese essential concepts: Manunggaling Kawulo Gusti and micro-macrocosmos relationship (Jagat Ageng-Jagat Alit).<sup>25</sup> While Soekarno in explaining the practicality of the concept of unity from Pancasila, used the term *gotong royong* working together.<sup>26</sup> The term itself derives from Javanese rural culture, which is about how villagers work together for solving public interests. This paper argues that the two figures paved the way for Javanese culture to be critical part of Indonesia's nationhood.

In his explanation about Indonesia's legal system, Agus Brotosusilo opines that Indonesia's source of law, which is Pancasila, represents Nusantara's or Indonesia's native law which is *adat*, also known as customary law.<sup>27</sup> According to Brotosusilo, Pancasila brings harmonious relationship in society not only among Indonesian people but also with the international community as well as the Creator (God).<sup>28</sup> The relationship can be seen from the harmonious principles among intertwined antinomies values which are in accordance with Indonesia's culture.<sup>29</sup>

He then elaborated each of the Pancasila's principles with his arguments. The first principle, which is Belief in the One and Only God, is about harmonious relationship between the Creator and the Creations. Second principle which is Just and Civilized Humanity is about harmony in interpersonal relationships, inter-group relationships and relationships between the individual and the group. In this particular explanation about humanity harmony, he used Javanese values of logic (*sabeneru*), ethics (*sacukupe*) and aesthetic (*saperlune*). The third principle is about harmony between the existence of diversity and the need for unity. Indonesia's history proves that without unity the nation would become vulnerable to subjugation. The fourth principle, which is democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives, represents the aspect of harmony in a vertical-horizontal relationship or between the rulers and the citizens. He also explains that Indonesia's democracy is not always about the majority controls the country but finding harmonious relationship. The final principle which is the social justice for all of the people of Indonesia, represents the harmonious relationship between physical and spiritual sphere.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, Brotosusilo summarized the three critical values that represent the main values of

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<sup>20</sup>J. E. G. de Montmorency, *Friedrich Carl von Savigny*, Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation, 1910, Vol. 11, No. 1 (1910), Cambridge University Press on behalf of the British Institute of International and Comparative Law, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/752568>, 47.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid*, 43.

<sup>22</sup>Gagik Harutyunyan, *Constitutional Culture: The Lessons of History and The Challenges of Time*, (Yerevan: 2017), 14.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid*, 36.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid*, 35-36.

<sup>25</sup>Herbert Feith dan Lance Castles (Editor), *Indonesian Political Thinking 1945-1965*, (Singapore: Equinox, 2007), 188-192.

<sup>26</sup>R. M. A. B. Kusuma, *Lahirnya*, 165.

<sup>27</sup>Agus Brotosusilo, *Pancasila as Source of Indonesian Law*, (Depok: FHUI, 2010), 9.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid*, 3.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid*, 9.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid*, 4-8.

Nusantara's community as as reflected in Pancasila, that are Indonesia values more spiritualism than materialism, communalism than individualism, and romanticism than rationalism.<sup>31</sup>

Soemarsaid Moertono in his important work, 'State and Statecraft in Old Java', wrote that according to Javanese belief and thought, human must have a harmonious relationship not only between micro-cosmos and macro-cosmos but also with himself.<sup>32</sup> This relationship is based on the Javanese understanding on how the universe is going in order. If the order is broken, it would leave the world in chaos. Therefore, it is important for every person to know his place not only in the universe but also in the society. According to the Javanese belief the state has two important duties, (1) to encourage psychological order (tentrem) and (2) to enforce physical or formal order (tata).<sup>33</sup> Because only by delivering the two duties, the state will maintain a harmonious relationship of the society. In practice, Javanese people believes the importance of policy which includes spiritual as well as physical activity for achieving harmony. In this sense the state represents the image of Great Cosmic Order. Thus, the duty of the power holder is more that of a protector than a developer.<sup>34</sup>

Moertono then explained the concept of manunggaling or djumbuhing kawula Gusti, the unity of servants with the God. As the world order is originated from God, then for human to find his/her harmony in life he/she should maintain a close relationship with the Creator, by performing Semedi. Semedi is seen as means of bridging the gap between the unfathomable depths of God's knowledge and narrowness of human understanding.<sup>35</sup> Because for Javanese there is certain essential qualities which are common between God and human. It doesn't make human and God equal but it allows human to contact God personally and finally merge with Him.<sup>36</sup> This concept is also used to explain the relationship between the ruler and the citizens. While the king must be as close as he can with the people but both have different function in social relationship as predestined by Divine Law.<sup>37</sup>

As mentioned above, Sasangka Jati is a native holy scripture which has Javanese root. It consists of seven books, Hasta Sila, Paliwara, Gumelaring Dumadi, Tunggal Sabda, Jalan Rahayu, Sangkan Paranand Panembah.<sup>38</sup> It explains that all human activities shall be directed into worshiping Suksma Kawekas (The only God).<sup>39</sup> It also says that there is special relationship between Suksma Kawekas and human, because the origin of Roh Suci (human soul) is Suksma Kawekas, thus in order to find eternal peace human must find God in his heart and in his life so in the afterlife he can reach alam sejati or 'heaven'.<sup>40</sup> However, Suksma Kawekas has unlimited and unfathomable power, where human can only in touch with Suksma Kawekas through Suksma Sejati or the eternal messenger of Suksma Kawekas.<sup>41</sup> The relationship between the three is called Tripurusa or the One condition in three personalities.<sup>42</sup> Suksma Sejati has central role in human life as the True Guidance or The True Guru (Sang Guru Sejati).<sup>43</sup> The existence of Tripurusa is indescribable, and it is forbidden to worship something visible whether it is material or spiritual, as Suksma Kawekas the true Lord has no direction, no space, no feature, and no color.<sup>44</sup>

Sasangka Jati says that even though human soul has special relationship with God (Tripurusa), as long as human still lives as material being in the world, he is not the Lord (Suksma Kawekas) nor the Messenger (Suksma Sejati), but he is a servant (hamba).<sup>45</sup> As a servant he must worship the Lord, and follows obediently the direction of Suksma Sejati.<sup>46</sup> To be able to follow Suksma Sejati, human must perform eight kinds of worship of the

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid, 18.

<sup>32</sup>Soemarsaid Moertono, *State and Statecraft in Old Java: A Study of the Later Mataram Period, 16th to 19th Century*, (Singapore: Equinox Publishing, 2009), 13.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid, 14.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid, 31

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid, 26-27.

<sup>38</sup>Mertowardojo, *Sasangka*, vii-xi

<sup>39</sup>Ibid, 7-8 and 68.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid, 131-132.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid, 6.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid, 5.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid, 7.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid, 22.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid, 103.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

heart or known as Hasta Sila. Hasta Sila is divided into Trisila and Pancasila<sup>47</sup>. Trisila consists of Consciousness, Faith (Belief), and Obedience, while Pancasila consists of Un-attachment, Acceptability, Honesty, Patience and High Virtue. Without performing Hasta Sila, it is impossible for human being to be guided by SuksmaSejati to reach AlamSejati for unification (manunggal) with SuksmaKawekas, the Lord, the Source of Eternal Peace.<sup>48</sup>

SasangkaJati explains about the existence of micro-cosmos (jagat alit) which represents human being, while macro-cosmos (jagatageng) represents the universe.<sup>49</sup> SasangkaJati says if human being cannot attain harmonious life, it will bring destruction to the harmony of macro cosmos.<sup>50</sup> As micro-cosmos and macro-cosmos are influencing each other, hence it is important to bring harmony in life.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, SasangkaJati explains about the three kinds of moral responsibility of the society: (1) the moral responsibility of the superiors towards the subordinates, means protecting by applying just rules and regulations; (2) the moral responsibility of the subordinates towards their superiors, they should obey and be loyal to the superiors; (3) The moral responsibility of humanity which means helping each other or mutually taking care of the burdens of life by applying mutual respect.<sup>52</sup>

SasangkaJati's views on statecraft is well documented in the chapter IV, that is the book of prohibition (Paliwara) which says "obey the laws and the regulations of your country," which then is reiterated in the book of The Origin and Destination (SangkanParan). It explains that the authority of the state which is held by the leadership of the country from the highest rank such as the King or Queen to the lowest rank, is mandated by God.<sup>53</sup> Since the leadership of the state represents God on earth, it is important for the citizen to obey the leadership.<sup>54</sup> Even though the leadership might not be aware that he has the mandate from God to rule the state, but spiritually he understands that his mandate attaches responsibility to rule justly.<sup>55</sup> If the leadership does not perform the duty responsibly as mandated by God, it is not the authority of the people to give punishment, instead it is the God himself that would punish the leadership.<sup>56</sup> SasangkaJati reminds humans that either the leadership or the citizens shall not be blinded by passion which would bring them away from performing their essential duties in society.<sup>57</sup> This particular blindness would incur punishment of the Lord that could manifest in the form of a chaotic state.<sup>58</sup> Hence, human shall not forget each of their duties to the Lord and society.<sup>59</sup> In explaining about one's duty to society, SasangkaJati highlights the importance of performing worldly duties as supporting factor for spiritual duties.<sup>60</sup> As SasangkaJati states that if man's knowledge is only limited to material things hence his faith would be astray.<sup>61</sup>

Pangestu as an organization has ten principles which are: (1) devotion to the Lord; (2) devotion to the God's Messenger; (3) being loyal to the nation's leadership, (4) devotion to the country; (5) devotion to the parents, (6) devotion to the elder siblings; (7) devotion to the teachers; (8) devotion to the virtue teaching; (9) being affectionate to every creature and (10) respecting all religions.<sup>62</sup> In one of his teaching, Mertowardojo highlighted that the ninth principle is the most important principle. Mertowardojo' highlight is in line with what is written in SasangkaJati,

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid, 6.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid, 36

<sup>50</sup>Ibid, 206.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid, 36.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid, 145-146.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid, 25.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid, 26.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid

<sup>58</sup>Ibid, 27.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid, 150.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid, 85.

<sup>62</sup>Mertowardojo, *GolonganKesiswaan dan TuntunanBagi Para Siswa Utama: SebuahWejanganPakdeNarto*, (Jakarta: PaguyubanNgesti Tunggal, 1990), 10-11.

about the direction for being affectionate to every creature (ambabarakesihkatresnane marang sapepadhaningtitah and welasasih marang sapepadhaningtitah).<sup>63</sup>

### Analysis

After exploring SasangkaJati's message, this paper would explore, how its values are compatible with the three important features of adat law as being outlined by Brotosusilo. SasangkaJati mentions that the ability of a leadership to perform its duties in society comes as a result of spiritual contract with the Lord even though he does not recognize it, and how the harmonious relationship in society would bring the Lord's blessing for the state's security and welfare.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, SasangkaJati outlines the importance of spiritual duties over the material ones, and how only believing in material world alone without having faith in spiritual realms would bring one's soul into astray.<sup>65</sup> These important values of SasangkaJati affirms its compatibility with the important features of adat law. Even though SasangkaJati acknowledges any individual interests, it highlights the importance of performing duties in society, especially in explaining budidarma and budiluhur.<sup>66</sup> Budi darma is the instruction to help others according to one's ability and the demand of the needed.<sup>67</sup> While budiluhur is even demanding, as one should give his life if the world or society needs such sacrifice for overcoming challenges.<sup>68</sup> This trait reinforces the importance of communalism over individualism. The last trait in which romanticism is more important than rationalism, is well summarized in the final message of SasangkaJati in book Panembah. It is said that the matter of belief is not in the realm of rationalism (angen-angen) but it is in the realm of the soul, and every soul has its own independence whether to accept SasangkaJati's message or reject it, as only God Almighty who decides what is wrong and what is right.<sup>69</sup> SasangkaJati does not reject the importance of rationalism, as it helps human to govern his passions, but it is not enough to bring salvation for human beings.<sup>70</sup>

Brotosusilo also expounds that Pancasila's root is coming from adat law, and he explains that the main message of Pancasila is finding harmonious relationship in society.<sup>71</sup> Therefore, the paper concludes that all the message of SasangkaJati in its relation with society is about seeking harmonious relationship. It is already mentioned previously about SasangkaJati's three kinds of moral responsibility in society, in which every part of society shall play their role harmoniously to ensure Divine's blessing and protection. Hence SasangkaJati is also compatible to Pancasila, as said by Soekarno, which in its totality Pancasila means working together or helping each other (gotong royong).

In relation to adat law and Indonesia's statecraft, the paper has already mentioned how, during the process to attain Indonesia's independence, Soepomo reminded the important concept of Manunggaling Kawulo Gusti or the Unity of the servants with the God and the harmony relationship between micro-cosmos and macro cosmos for designing statecraft in Indonesia.<sup>72</sup> Even though Soepomo's idea was not fully accepted by the committee, but his involvement in formulating the design of Indonesia's early phase constitution would ensure that Javanese statecraft are well preserved in Indonesia's political culture.<sup>73</sup> Moertono had put some light to Soepomo's idea in BPUPK discussion, as he explores how Javanese see power as the extension of God's authority in the world, and the relation between the ruler and the citizens can be understood through this lens of power relations. Human beings as the servants of God, shall maintain the harmonious relationship within nature (tata tentrem).

For the particular concept of Manunggaling Kawulo Gusti, as previously discussed, SasangkaJati mentions about the concept of human relations with God and the Messenger, in which even though human's soul belongs to God's Existence (Tripurusa), as long as he is in this world, he is still servants, who must worship and obey God's

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<sup>63</sup> Soesilo Hardjoprakoso, *Tulisan & Olahraga Bapak Ir. Soesilo Hardjoprakoso*, (Jakarta: 2020), 37.

<sup>64</sup> Mertowardojo, *Sasangka*, 25-26.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*, 85.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*, 104-118.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*, 104.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid*, 115.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*, 213.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*, 108-109.

<sup>71</sup> Brotosusilo, *Pancasila*, 3.

<sup>72</sup> Feith, *Indonesian*, 188-192.

<sup>73</sup> Fernando Manullang, *Korporatisme dalam Undang-Undang Dasar 1945*, (Depok: Kencana, 2017), 172-173.

command through SuksmaSejati.<sup>74</sup> In relation with society, that is the concept of power relations between the state's ruler and citizens, SasangkaJati explains that the ruler brings God's authority, but it does not mean the ruler can be a tyrant.<sup>75</sup> Because if the ruler does not perform his duty justly, Divine Law will punish him for his action.<sup>76</sup> As mentioned earlier in the three kinds of moral responsibility in society, it can be understood that harmonious vertical and horizontal power relationship is essential for the survival of the state. With this understanding, SasangkaJati explains that harmonious power relationship in society will bring Lord's blessing.<sup>77</sup> SasangkaJati's perspective on statecraft embodies the structure of Indonesia's ancient regime, as it uses many terms such as raja, ratu, patih and so forth, hence it shows that its concept is as old as Indonesian civilization itself.<sup>78</sup>

In relation to the second important concept of jagatageng and jagat alit (macro and micro cosmos), SasangkaJati highlights that both are connected and influencing each other.<sup>79</sup> As explained in book SangkanParanand Panembah that each individual and communal spiritual order would bring natural order.<sup>80</sup> Because individual and communal spiritual order would bring the protection of the Lord through the nature in which humanity lives. It is also important to note that SasangkaJati is not only focus on humanity, but also into ecological issues. Because SasangkaJati underlines the importance for preserving life not only for human being but also every creature.<sup>81</sup> The current western-driven human civilization has proved to put the nature and eventually humanity in jeopardy.<sup>82</sup> Hence this is an appropriate opportunity for scholars in particular and society in general to question whether the 'rational' approach to preserve our existence is superior than spiritual approach as being reminded by SasangkaJati.

On September 2019, at the expert testimony hearing of Indonesia's Constitutional Court, SasangkaJati's concept of harmonious relationship was introduced as explanation to Soepomo's Indonesia statecraft idea. The notion was well discussed among the nine constitutional judges, who were representing 270 million of Indonesia citizens.<sup>83</sup> That moment and Suharto's explanation on Pancasila by using particular concept from SasangkaJati on June 1982 have positioned SasangkaJati as an important source for understanding the indigenous concept of Indonesia's statecraft.

## Conclusion

SasangkaJati is the embodiment of Indonesian native law as it has all the essential characteristics of adat law. It also has compatible values with Pancasila for it focuses on finding harmonious relationship in the society not only among human but also with nature. SasangkaJati explains about how humanity should find order and peace (tata tentrem) with himself and the world around him, through spiritual journey which automatically would ensure material sufficiency. It also reminds us that our rational vanity might not be able to preserve our existence as our civilization has brought us into the brink of irreversible natural destruction.

SasangkaJati provides excellent explanation about Javanese concept of power and statecraft, which is the prevalent values in Indonesia's national life, thus it is critically important for further Pancasila legal study for including SasangkaJati's perspective. Pancasila legal study with the inclusion of SasangkaJati's perspective would enhance Indonesian jurists' ability to comprehend the way Indonesia should be governed as it has wisdom which is beneficial for giving different perspectives in the midst of current western-driven global capitalist civilization.

## References

### Books

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<sup>74</sup>Mertowardojo, *Sasangka*, 103.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid, 26.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid, 146.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid, 69-70.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid, 36.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid, 146 and 206.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid, 104 and 113.

<sup>82</sup>Partha Dasgupta, *The Economics of Biodiversity: The Dasgupta Review Abridged Version*, (London: HM Treasury, 2021), 83.

<sup>83</sup>Risalah Sidang Mahkamah Konstitusi, Perkara Nomor 28/PUU-XVII/2019. Pendapat Ahli Universitas Indonesia Kris Wijoyo Soepandji.

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