ENSURING A TURNING POINT WITH POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE TO ACHIEVE THE 2045 VISION

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Abstract

The literature analyzing perspectives on Indonesia's golden years in the 2045 narrative is extensive and optimistic. But achieving 2045 is more challenging amid disruption conditions, especially after a multidimensional crisis because of COVID-19. Cite Sukarno's term about the years of *Vivere Pericoloso*, an Italian phrase that means life is full of danger, making our future toward 2045 uncertain. But the years of *Vivere Pericoloso* are also the right moment to perfectly achieve the ideals, principles, goals, efforts, and logic of the Indonesia 2045 vision. Culture and politics are two important components that can make our turning point toward 2045 come true. Our findings are political ideology based on expansive penetration with internalization and consistency using indoctrination method toward "*Pancasila*" itself via youth's empowerment with the principle of fair and open involvement in the political sphere, and strengthening political literacy plays a critical role in dealing with tech populism and non-integrity that created de-stabilization and incompetence. Cultural knowledge that is based on a sense of belonging with an intercultural bond strategy is also important. In practice, cultural knowledge encourages us to act with positive impacts on multicultural society amidst the post-truth era through: (1) awareness of cultural worldview, (2) good attitude toward cultural differences, (3) knowledge of different cultural practices and worldviews, including having the skill of cultural sensitivity awareness, and (4) cross-cultural skills communication.

Keywords: Cultural Knowledge; Political Ideology; Indonesia Golden Years 2045

A. Introduction

As we approach 100 years of Indonesia's independence in 2045, we should remember the words of President Sukarno in his speech on June 1, 1945, which declared independence as the golden bridge from which we perfected the Indonesian nation.

Indonesia, the land of diversity in Southeast Asia is projected to have the most substantial economic growth in 2045 (Kemendikbud, 2017; Negara & Ramayandi, 2020; Putri, 2021). According to Riyanti et al (2020), in 2045, Indonesia will also enjoy a demographic dividend. The demographic

dividend is the growth potential caused by a large number of young people that comes from a change in how people live. For example, the demographic dividend is the rise in the number of people who are working age (15–64) compared to the number of people who are not working age (14 and younger, and 65 and older) (Singh & Kumar, 2021). According to Adriani & Yustini (2021) and Risandini & Silvi (2022), between 1971 and 2020, the percentage of Indonesians under the age of 15 decreased from 44 percent to 23 percent, but the percentage of Indonesians between the ages of 15 and 64 grew rapidly (from 53 to 71 percent).

Based on a report by UNPFA (Hayes & Setyonaluri, 2015), "Most Western countries began this transition in the nineteenth century and now already have low rates of mortality and fertility. Most developing countries only began their transition after World War II and are currently spread across a range of transitional stages". Previous research written by Yusmarni (2016) predicted From 2015 until 2035, Indonesia has been experiencing demographic dividend conditions (Yusmarni, 2016). Before or after 2045, Indonesia is expected to be able to take advantage of the age structure, especially the portion of the productive age, which has the potential to be the main driver of economic growth (Adriani & Yustini, 2021). At the same time, Indonesia has enrolled in the revolution era of industry 4.0 (Nurmawiya & Kurniawan, 2021). Even currently, Indonesia on progressing to shift into society 5.0 with increasing digital innovation and transformation in every aspect of life (Putri, 2021).

But how Indonesia gains benefits from the demographic dividend and society 5.0 depends on how the current and future government implements critical policies in the short, medium, or long term and how readiness of the mentality of the Indonesian people to prepare for it, especially amid the disruption era. Because, if it is not managed correctly and consistently, it will erode the national spirit. Political Ideology and cultural knowledge play an essential role in maintaining and embracing collective awareness. Both combinations are very important to keep Pancasila still existing amidst transnational ideologies infiltration such as capitalism, radicalism, communism, anarchism, etc. According to Fadilah (2019) and Latif (2018) the idea of Pancasila as an ideology is not just an idea because the values of Pancasila must still be lived out by Indonesian citizens. Our research is concerned with both components as essential variables to achieving Indonesia's 2045 vision amid a multidimensional crisis to analyze how Pancasila, as a national-state ideology, can change political problems and deal with the cultural problem that can be a ticking time bomb that can destroy Indonesian unity. This conceptual paper examines the interplays between cultural knowledge, political ideology, and Indonesia's golden years 2045 vision by looking at the context of the disruption era, which poses challenges and opportunities to the country.

B. Literature review
1. Indonesia's 2045 vision: between turning point or stagnation

There is a strong connection between the idea of vision and the presence of social communities, especially in the country. Ever since the beginning of time, people have been fascinated by the possibilities of leading a happy and successful life based on a progressive vision. According to Martin Sviatko (2020), vision isn't only the glue that holds communities together; it also provides a roadmap for political, economic, and social revolution. In addition, the vision organizes the country's political, economic, and cultural realities to achieve its goals. In practical, vision is a practical way to explain an organization's purpose in this context as a nation. That will help us remember what's important in a crisis (Deazeley, 2009).

President Jokowi revealed Indonesia's 2045 vision in a speech in Jakarta in October 2019, after he won the second

round of presidential elections in 2019 (Editor) et al., 2018; Khairat, 2017; Negara & Ramayandi, 2020; Putri, 2021). Indonesia's 2045 vision, besides commemorating its 100th anniversary, also intends to increase Indonesia's GDP (Riyanti et al., 2020). Previous research by Rokhman et al. (2014), who cited Oberman et al. (2012), found Indonesia's economy is growing to the 16th-largest economy in the world. Indonesia has the potential to be the 7th-biggest by 2030 (Butarbutar, 2013; Malihah, 2015; Putri, 2021; Rassanjani, 2018; Yusmarni, 2016). According to Wisnumurti et al.(2018), the addition of a demographic bonus toward 2045 is a great opportunity to boost productivity and economic growth because the productive age population is very large.

A wave of optimism surrounding the 2045 vision is increasing, which could be a turning point in Indonesia's advancement, but we must remember to be prepared for 2045. If not prepared properly, it can lead Indonesia to stagnation, especially if quantity is not accompanied by quality but also opportunity. In fact, since President Joko Widodo took office in 2019 after winning the national election, one of his top priorities has been to speed up infrastructure and human resources development (Weiss, 2020), In a way, pushing for regulatory reform for businesses, keeping growth rates high, and encouraging more industrialization also foreign investment (Yuliantoro, 2020).

Some experts argue that the massive physical development in Indonesia is not only intended to improve welfare and reduce the development gap between Java and other parts of Indonesia (Delphine et al., 2022; Rassanjani, 2018). But it's also because President Joko Widodo and his cabinet have been working hard to improve cooperation through economic diplomacy (Haryono, 2019). Few researchers such as Fealy &

White, (2016), Haryono (2019), & Killian (2021) also noted the main objective of Indonesia's foreign policy through economic diplomacy is to increase the value of trade and investment, which will eventually increase Indonesia's economic growth. For example, the development of the maritime sector, not only for the connected island to island in Indonesia but also driven by the Global Maritime Fulcrum-Belt and Road Initiatives (GMF-BRI) (Mursitama & Ying, 2021).

The government's planning body for national development, or Bappenas, has redesigned and announced six major medium and long-term strategies to transform Indonesia's economy. Bappenas has been tasked by the President with overseeing the country's economic reform. Human capital development, productivity growth, switching to a green economy, speeding up the digital revolution, helping the domestic economy integrate, and improving small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) are the six main strategies. In general, Vision of Indonesia 2045 is made up of three stages, each of which lasts ten years. From 2015 to 2025, the government will build infrastructure in the first phase to strengthen the foundation. The processing industry will grow in the second phase, which lasts from 2025 to 2035. During the third phase, from 2035 to 2045, the service industry, especially the tourism industry, will be the focus of development (Wisnumurti et al., 2018).

Basically, the goal of Indonesia 2045 is to make the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) a more progressive, equitable, and wealthy place for all Indonesians. By 2045, they foresee Indonesia as one of the top five economic powers in the world, with a strong and authoritative government, improved and more fair living standards for its citizens, a robust national economy, and a highly educated and

skilled workforce. If we look closely, the vision of Indonesia's golden years of 2045 consists of four pillars (1) Human Development and Mastery of Science and Technology; (2) Sustainable Economic Development; (3) Equitable Development; and (4) National Resilience and good governance (Khairat, 2017) is in line with the Trisakti concept from Soekarno, which consists of being politically sovereign, self-sufficient in the economic field, and having a cultural personality. In addition, President Joko Widodo expanded into 12 political programs, 16 financial programs, and three cultural programs in a broad framework called Nawacita (Soleman & Noer, 2017). In practical, Vision 2045 was extended beyond nation policies and became public discourse and filled the content of Indonesia's mainstream or alternative media.

2. Pancasila: Embedded ideology to national identity

Pancasila has two distinct interpretations, both of which may be traced back to their origins in Sanskrit (India). Pancasila means "the five basic" because Panca means "five," and Syila, with a letter I read short, means "base," "stone joints," or "pedestals (Kim, 2022). According to Gunawan & Ratmono (2018) In Indonesia, Pancasila serves as the foundation of statehood. This means that the foundation of every constitutional work in the Republic of Indonesia must be Pancasila. Pancasila is a midway ideology between two influential world ideologies. First, Pancasila isn't communist or capitalist (Akmal, 2020; Arifin, 1990; Danardono, 2021; Fadilah, 2019; Hanum, 2020; Kim, 2022; Latif, 2018a; Morfit, 1981; Purwanta Hieronymus, 2018). Finding from Rofieq et al (2020) emphasize the values in Pancasila could maintain the balance between the two biggest ideologies (capitalism and communism) that always make conflict with one another.

According to Yudi Latif (2018), The five principles reflect the nation's essential beliefs and ideals as imagined by the "trilogy ideology" that consists religious, nationalist, and socialism. Pancasila is a vital legacy conceived by the founding father after much thought and soul-searching as the foundation for an independent Indonesia. Pancasila was derived from the traditional beliefs of the Indonesian people, which incorporate the country's rich cultural heritage and religious beliefs (Arifin, 1990; Purwanta Hieronymus, 2018).

According to Lonto & Pangalila (2019) quoted Notonegoro (1975), The essence of Pancasila ideology consists of (1) Godhead as the first precept; (2) Humanity as the second precept;(3) Unity as the third precept; (4) Democracy as forth precept; and (5) Justice as the Fifth precept. Pancasila encourages the growth of diversity, that's why *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity) has become Indonesia's slogan. For Indonesia, Pancasila is a framework to gain the highest good (Summum Bonum). Consequently, in practical application, Pancasila's role is to provide basic moral principles to economic development, education, research, and technology (Hanum, 2020).

3. Political ideology: Make Pancasila always great and work.

Currently, political practical is more servile to the interests of capital, which is inhumane and tends to reduce people and political life just to gain power. At the community level, politics also causes polarization because the focus at the grassroots level is only on supporting candidates. Several political phenomena that can disrupt the unity of the nation If unchecked, this condition will lead to *'political derealization,'* when political power isn't formed by genuine physical encounters that focus on finishing what should be done. But become manipulative and materialistic. We need

to reverse politics from a technical-pragmatic orientation that is result-oriented or benefit-oriented to ideology-oriented.

But to reversing orientation requires understanding the ideology that underlies politics itself. According to (Heywood, 2017) political ideology is needed to change the political direction, which is very far from its original goal in a way (1) re-structure political understanding and so set goals and inspire activism; (2) shape the nature of political systems; (3) act as a form of social cement. According to Hamzah et al (2020), the goal of achieving the nation's goals must remain in the way of thinking it belongs to the ideology. We also must remember according to Morfit (1981) that Pancasila is not merely a crystallization of experience and an expression of present perceptions. It is also an aspiration for the future. Andrew Heywood then in conclusion states: Over the past two centuries, political ideologies have played a significant role in shaping the course of the human story. Economic, social, and political upheavals helped define the modern world, and ideology has been an integral part of the process of social transformation ever since (Heywood, 1998, 2017).

Pancasila as a political ideology also plays an essential role in the practice as a unifying tool, national personality, and way of life. Amid criticism and the problems that always hit the Indonesian nation, we must admit that Pancasila has been tested as problem-solving to deal with any conflict.(Barlian & Herista, 2021; Hasibuan & Sulistyono, 2018; Situru, 2019) . Pancasila's values are also both horizontal and vertical. Pancasila is Divine and human. Hence it might be called Divine humanity or monotheistic humanity (Akmal, 2020).

4. Cultural Knowledge

Cultural knowledge is a combination between the goals, rules, or sets of knowledge that all citizens of a culture in a multicultural context should follow to maintain, protect, and enhance nation-building (Slavoj Zizek, personal interview, 2020). Cultural knowledge manifested in many forms of society such as beliefs, practices, rituals, literature, moral vocabulary, proverbs, jokes, sense of humor, body language, and organizational methods. According to Syed Farid Alatas, the primary goal of cultural knowledge in practice is to break down barriers to maintain integration (Personal Interview, 2020). Last but not least cultural knowledge has the potential to spark the creative minds of society, as stated by Bhikkhu Parekh (2017) who will (1) draw on the ideas and sensitivities of different cultural traditions, (2) bounce them off one other, (3) break down their borders, and (4) develop something entirely new.

C. Methodology

Our type of research used a qualitative method with a literature review as a way for gather data. The information gleaned comes from secondary sources, such as books and academic publications published on the subject of research. Data are presented by way of description here. Logical reasoning allows one to gain an explanation of the evidence, which in turn allows one to obtain unambiguous answers to the issues that were researched. according to Cooper (1998), Most literature reviews in the scientific literature have two different sets of goals and points of focus. The first type of literature review is called a research review, a research synthesis, and an integrative review. Research syntheses focus on empirical studies and try to summarize past research by drawing overall conclusions from many separate studies that look at similar or the same hypotheses.

D. Result and Discussion

The root of the real problem is an imbalance between *das sollen* (which should be) and *das sein* (which is actually) to achieve Indonesia's golden years 2045 vision. Especially after the multidimensional crisis of COVID-19. Ironically, this situation is continuously allowed to be normalized through justification and neglect. We certainly don't want a golden year's vision just imagination on paper. Because of this, it is vital to hack it out of the process, which Benedict Anderson calls "*fossilization*," through critical study and strategic action. We believe Pancasila is working ideology, so we need to make it a standard-bearer for national growth across the board, including the spiritual, political, economic, social, and cultural spheres, as well as the economic, institutional, and ethical ones.

Finding from Gunawan and Ratmono (2018) stated if Pancasila became unpopular and forgotten during the democracy era. Many believe Indonesian is facing an identity crisis. A similar argument also emphasized by Fadilah (2019) and Latif (2018) in the age of modern transformation, the importance of Pancasila as the nation-state ideology (guiding philosophy) could be lessened if the public authorities, which are in charge of coordinating the state and society, don't work together to understand the Pancasila decision for the future interest and coexistence of all. Several researchers have also diagnosed challenges to Pancasila ideology, both in the political and cultural realms, two elements of discussion in this study such as inconsistencies in its application (Suyadi, 2020), increasing social exclusivism that leads to a stronger tendency for identity politicization and social fragmentation (Agus,2020), The lack of appreciation for Pancasila is considered as part of the cause of uncertainty of identity and national character (Lonto & Pangalila, 2019), and increasing wave of transnational political Islam that wants change Pancasila to Islamic ideology (Suryadinata, 2019).

Let's remember what President Sukarno termed in his speech in "Under Revolution Flags", (1964) about the years of *Vivere Pericoloso* an Italian phrase which means life is full of danger but in the midst of danger there is the right moment to perfectly achieving the ideals, principles, goals, efforts, and even the logic of the vision. In the process as well as seizing this momentum, Soekarno emphasized five ways, such as: having the right attitude against friends and foes; must be carried out from above and from below; destruction and construction must be carried out simultaneously; the first phase must be completed first and then continue to the second phase; and must be loyal to the Revolution Program itself, which in the context of this research is the vision for 2045 (Soekarno,1964).

Critical discourse studies can increase cultural and political understanding and awareness. (Syed Farid Alatas, personal interview,2020). Politics can help the nation figure out how to get there in the first place and how to keep it there once we get there. And Culture can help society to react, responds, grow, and gives a sense of belonging as one nation (Bawden & Robinson, 2009). Based on critical discourse studies both components are very important forces to achieving Indonesia's vision in 2045. But, it is crucial to diagnose the paradoxes in our contemporary time that trap both components (Culture and Politics) amid disruption era because of digitalization (Bronner, 2017). digitalization in addition to opening many conveniences also opening possible threats to our nation. because algorithms of the digital network can contribute to the spread of misinformation and affect the perception of the concepts 'facts' and 'truth'(Schirch, 2021). Gay Becker (2020) reminds us that disruption makes our society experiencing a *period of limbo* before they can begin to restore a sense of order to their lives. He describes:

"They felt trapped in the present. The need to envision a future for themselves became the pivot on which all of life turned. The limbo metaphor enabled women and men to begin the slow and painful process of reestablishing a sense of future and a sense of order" (2020, p35).

Becker (2020a) also warned us to study disruption immediately to look closely at the disparity between cultural notions of how things are supposed to be and how they are. Another research written by Bawden & Robinson, (2009) also argues advanced technology and increasing levels of education instead trap us into paradox and pathologies. This is also in line with the findings of Pournaras (2020) who stated the Internet of Things also leads us to a new form of segregation, polarization, and a wave of hatred. Basically, amid progress at the same time, our society also fueled a surge of misguided, narcissistic, and banality that lead us to a post-truth regime. a condition because overloud information that makes makes us confuse the distinction between true and false (Krasmann, 2019).

Currently, our society feels quite satisfied with the information obtained from the internet without the want to prove the truth and do not want to learn to find out (Fitri, 2019). In the micro level, the identity of the individual in modern times is experiencing a wide exaggeration, caused by two things: 1) unlimited human mobility due to advances in information and transportation and 2) highly developed meanings of symbols due to mass culture and the advancement of the digitalization. The findings of Yoo (2018) also diagnoses our cultural and literary life is full of premature burials of everything, and we must set the alarm to protect our nation from the new kind barbarism that Adorno and Horkheimer recall as a reversal of the expected state of modern times with a wave of enlightenment (Bronner, 2017).

From a political point of view, there are five threats that create instability condition approaching 2045 such as: (1) Identity politics that plays the central issue of "marginality", scapegoating others as the cause. currently religion-based identity politics is increasing in Indonesia (Feridus, 2022) Identity politics in political contestation and maneuvering can divide and even dispute society. But we also need realize, according to Paralihan (2019) In the Indonesian context, Identity Politics occurs because of social, economic, and educational factors such as high social inequality, weak literacy, lack of interaction with different groups, poor political institutions, and uneven political polarization; (2) Money politics as a result of the culture of "*tribute*" politics (transactional politics) both to the people, parties, and the apparatus (Hicken et al., 2022; Nurdin, 2021) but also tendency to normalize the mix of business and politics (Syarif & Faisal, 2019) which then leads to the practice of corruption, collusion, and nepotism (*abuse of power*) after the official has taken power (Aminuddin & Attamimi, 2019; Anggono & Wahanisa, 2022; Hicken et al., 2022; Nurdin, 2021).

About money politics in Indonesia is not only related to the movement of cash to or from political parties or politicians. There is also a form of indirect financing that is also worrying. Some parties reason that indirect forms of financing are more worrying because the size is unknown, the value is difficult to determine, and the source is not easy to determine or identify. (3) Lack of political integrity that leads to abuse of power and dishonorable conduct by government officer or political leader. The integrity issue is closely related to abuse of power, breach of trust, corruption, misappropriation, fraud, and conduct that misleads the public. Political Without integrity just created leader that lost credibility and the right to lead (Hall, 2018).

In simple language, integrity in a political context means trustworthy, transparent, and honest political practices; (4) To many politization that bringing non-political topics into the political realm and aimed at attacking or delegitimizing political opponents for one-sided interests. Another perception of politicization is to look at non-

political issues from a political point of view and then fry them for the sake of unilateral electability as well as to attack or bring down political opponents. the three political problems may be part of the dark side of politics with principles and styles whose "*purpose justifies the means*".

From a Cultural perspective, three threats challenge our nation, such as (1) a wave of hatred amidst information obesity because of digitalization. A wave of hatred increases because we never meet with other groups, and we always hear and see wrong information that triggers our emotions about another group. Playing political identity in this case also play a role in amplifying the waves of hatred, the findings of Ronaldo & Darmaiza (2021) The tug of war between religious symbols utilized in the early phases of the 2019 presidential election produced two bitterly opposed candidates. Choosing a president and vice president now involves a market in Muslim or sons of soils (Pribumi) identification; (2) xenophobia and racism that still existed, two best example that happens in the past five years as racist incident that occurred at the Papuan Student Dormitory on August 16, 2019 in Surabaya that sparked riot in Papua and idea of blackness with hashtag #papuanlivesmatters in social media (Kusumaryati, 2021) that expressed Papuans' frustration with their oppression at the hands of the Indonesian states (chao, 2021). And wave of xenophobia toward Chiness after the Ahok (Basuki Tjahaja Purnama) case in Jakarta (Priyadharma, 2018) and fear of the invasion of workers from China mainland who are considered to be seizing the jobs of Indonesians.; And (3) the existence of continuous marginalization of certain groups due to minority factors (Butt, 2020), peripheral factors (Kopp & Sexton, 2021), and political factors example of this point such as discrimination toward indigenous practices that According to Butt (2020) this makes it difficult for them to access civil registration, education, and employment services also don't forget also intolerance toward religious minority that get label as 'heretic' such as Ahmadiyah and Shia that

make them always becoming target of persecution by non-state actors such as religious.

We need back to our ideology because Ideology in practical terms, according to Andrew Heywood (1998) is to gives people a reason believe in something larger than themselves. Back to nation-state ideology is key to prepare our turning point in 2045. In this case, the term '*return to ideology*' is not limited to literal, temporal, or ceremonial but must involving spirit of consistency with internalization as goal. Basically, Pancasila already have highest penetration to every aspect Indonesian Society, in other side Pancasila an ideology that is open so that it is appropriate in every era because it has realistic and idealistic elements, flexible as well as harmonious (Triyani et al, 2019). In a disrupted era that was giving us multidimensional crises. The need to strengthen consistency to internalize 'Pancasila' with indoctrination that beyond political interest, such as during the old and new orders regime must applied. Author team argue nothing wrong with Indotrination, because the practical itself depends on the purpose and the way to do it (Gatchel, 2010; Hanks, 2008; Wilson, 2010).

Every ideology need indoctrination to keeping existence in every people soul and mind; although there are many criticisms regarding the indoctrination of Pancasila in the new and old order, We still have to admit that the effect of indoctrination in both era has made Pancasila still understood, believed, and embedded to the souls of Indonesian people as it has been final ideology to provide and strengthen the attainment of the greatest good (*Summum bonum*). According Gatchel (2010) Indoctrination is an intentional activity to make mind and habit embedded based on certain belief. Basically, indoctrination as opposed to direct forced or conditioning. According to Wilson (2010) Indoctrination It is required that he should be able to offer some sort of reason, however bad, for his belief: and that the belief should be intelligible. To make Indoctrination without

doctrines, according to Hanks (2008) At the practical level, the indoctrination must avoid instilling beliefs without reason.

Fostering the rational capacity to evaluate reasons must become the main task. The goal is not memorizing each value of Pancasila. But to make Pancasila as knowledge, guidance, and belief in a world full of dialectics can turn Indonesians into disbelief or even against the ideology of Pancasila itself with forbidden groups. In the context of indoctrination of Pancasila, we need to be consistent in fostering morality, compassion, and human development. Transformative education in this context needed to encourage people to reflect on their perceptions, understandings, and interpretations about themselves, others, and the world (Triyani Et al,2019).

But don't forget with Youth as main subject that determine our golden era in 2045, they can influence nation's agenda with bad or good turning point. The large demographic of the young generation in 2045 must be utilized as well as possible to build a politics of integrity. Why do you have to start with politics? Because from there, all aspects of life are improved; as Sukarno said, 'politics is the commander of life.' A key component of political integrity today is for young people to be inspired by political idealism, not pragmatism.

To make political idealism a reality is not difficult task if if knowledge in politics is prioritized, humanity becomes the goal, wisdom becomes the basis, and devotion becomes practice. At the practical level, empowering youth to make them become the next leader with integrity is very important. According to Azhar Ibrahim (2020,p16), Youth empowerment should not only be interpreted as providing them with a series of activities, disbursement of funds, or opening access to power but also strengthen critical knowledge to unravel and unmask the politics of power and ideological distortions, and also we need to mention about developing cultural awareness via education that getting the young generation's attention to subjects that they are not aware of their importance (Constantin et al., 2015).

The principle of fair and open involvement in the political sphere for the younger generation must be prioritized so that they are not antipathetic to politics and understand how the state works. They will have a strong sense of belonging, ownership, and ideology toward the multidimensional process. Besides that, the emphasis on political literacy is equally essential; according to Azhar Ibrahim (2021,p232), there are three manifestations of political literacy, (a). academic discourses by non-state actors and state actors; (b). political utterance in actions or speeches of politicians and political activists or scientists; and (c). the politics of everyday life- from the micro to the macro level. In practice, technology become medium to strengthening populism (Braga, 2021).

Author team found combination between populism and technology that created 'Technopopulism' has become the newest threat to Pancasila ideology. Currently, our political activity toward post-political condition. Citizen can manage politics, not by traditional political means (Strohmayer, 2019). Reading the findings of Populism from Budiman (2021) that prevailed long before the digital world changed, Indonesian society alone has polarized and divided society so strongly. Reduce their awareness of unity and increase the potential for conflict, even after the general election period is over. The combination between populism and technology makes the impact even more powerful and incomparable.

Based on a book about Technopopulism, entitled: Technopopulism: The new logic of democratic politics by Christopher J Bickerton and Carlo Invernizzi Accetti (2019), there are five impacts of technopopulism, which are divided into two internal impacts and three external impacts. Internal impacts include (1) increasing Conflictuality, which makes competition between partisans even more confrontational because they refuse to legitimize one another. Individuals who become partisans are

increasingly attached to their groups and consider being hostile to others a necessity. Ironically, hostilities will continue beyond political moments, such as in the 2019 election; even though the competing political forces have agreed to cooperate, our digital space is still filled with endless confrontations between tadpole (*cebong*) groups that are identical to pro-government groups who are described as moderate, pro-diversity, And nationalists with Microbat (*kampret*) group that now transformed to *Kadrun* (Desert lizard) that are synonymous with radicalism, anti-diversity, and lack of nationalism to this day and are allegedly still exist approaching the next election (Fadly, 2020; Gunawan et al., 2019; Tazri, 2019) and (2) De-substantialization because politics becoming more nasty and adversarial, with less substantive content. What should have been resolved was covered up with superficial or un-important things. Both authors explain:

> *Thus, whilst political life is becoming increasingly ordered around the use of invective and threat, its longterm goals-that is, the representation of specific interests, values, and policy platforms-have lost importance, giving way to a preoccupation with personality, image, and competence* (Bickerton & Accetti, 2021).

Meanwhile, the external Impact of technopopulism consists of (1) Democratic Discontent- declining people's trust in politics because signs of arrogance and lack of empathy with the electorate are visible rather than the goodness they have been campaigning for; (2) The New Authoritarianism- rising rates of punishment, incarceration, monitoring, and police activity in general in the name of keeping stabilization. Charles De Montesquieu reminds us that there is no greater tyranny than which is perpetrated under the shield of the law and in the name of justice. but in the digital age, every new form of control can create another site of rebellion; and (3) Closure of the Revolutionary Horizon and the Rise of Identity Politics- The phrase

revolution is permanently attached to the digital world because the effects of digitization are so fast and comprehensive that it changes our lives. In the world of politics, digitalization provides space for discourse and practice toward the revolutionary horizon. The best example of how digitalization works toward revolutionary desire is Arab Spring. But the meaning of revolution is now trapped with post-truth that prioritizing emotional beliefs rather than rational ones. That is why many political actors, and their partisans play identity cards to make 'fire' in a multicultural society like Indonesia

So, formula to strengthen expansive penetration of Pancasila with Internalization using indoctrination method with consistency via youth empowerment is very important to dealing with tecno-populism or another bad phenomena in politics that can destroyed 2045 vision. Expansive penetration toward national ideology in political context also important to change politics from materialistic political orientation to a humanistic orientation, To reduce conflict between the powerful and the powerless (Laclau, 2005), and too avoid that Herbert Marcuse feared in his book One Dimensional Man (Heins, 2017; Kleinberg, 2021) that far from political discourse. Author team also agreed with Khasri (2019) finding about the construction of "*manusia Pancasila*" in must directed at the formulation and evaluation of policies in the government and educational sectors.

In his book about Intercultural competence, Slawomir Magala viewed culture as practical, useful 'software', which helps generate blueprints for individual and collective action and which patterns our interactions (Magala, 2021). Indonesian society is known for its "cultural diversity" branding. Which epistemologically makes culture become a local knowledge. that ontologically turns it into an inherently social practice into identity. The diversity that is a natural gift in Indonesia must be maintained through strengthening the realm of knowledge because it is from this realm that

efforts to destroy many cultures in Indonesia work, either by silencing, eradicating, or abusing.

At practical level the role of cultural knowledge to encourage us to act and bring positive impacts to multicultural society through: (1) awareness of cultural worldview- currently, culture is experiencing a shallow meaning, trapped in the language of profit or loss or beautiful or not. What forgotten right now is that Indonesian culture also contains a worldview that regulates, maintains, and strengthens Indonesians' intellectual and spiritual capacities. Only awareness can lead to an understanding of making or restoring culture a way of life; (2) Good Attitude toward cultural differences- good attitude is great connector to still sane amid wave of hatred to other communities. With knowledge about cultural difference can fostering good attitude toward other culture; (3) Knowledge of different cultural practices and worldviews including sensitivity awareness- willingness to engage and openness to experience with other communities its goal of cultural knowledge. If we look at the existence of post-truth and identity politics due to a lack of sensitivity to other groups, the existence of knowledge of culture including involving practice and discourse will cause one to rediscover awareness of sensitivity; (4) Cross-cultural skills communication that involves respecting and understanding another culture. At practical level, it needs cultural awareness, listening skill, and humility. Cross-cultural skill important to avoid assumption that you know more than other.

Finally, need to strengthen a sense of belonging to deal with the five cultural threats we talked about earlier. This is because, historically speaking, almost all diverse societies have stayed together despite differences in race, religion, ethnicity, or culture because of a sense of belonging. therefore according to Bhikku Parekh (Preiss, 2011) to created sense of belonging we need build up intercultural bonds at the grassroot level via neighborhood associations, integrated schools and colleges, sports clubs, trade unions, local branches of national political parties, and charitable associations (P25, 2020).

E. Conclusion

Preparation as early as possible is vital, and the contribution of all parties is needed to achieving Indonesia golden years in 2045. But an atmosphere of joy and sorrow surrounding Indonesia toward 2045; the existence of a series of problems that continue to arise in addition to its progress makes us have to reflect for a moment to fight the challenges created by artificial or naturally present themselves. Indonesia's government also must be inclusive, active, creative, and collaborative. But on the other hand, Indonesian society also needs to implement sensitivity and readiness. In macro-micro level Cooperation between the state and society is vital. and in Middle-level between intelectual forces including activist and Bureaucratic forces also needed work together as a buffer between macro and micro levels.

In the end, political ideology based on expansive penetration with internalization and consistency using indoctrination method toward "*Pancasila*" itself via youth's empowerment with the principle of fair and open involvement in the political sphere and fostering political literacy play a critical role. Cultural knowledge that is based on a sense of belonging with an intercultural bond strategy is also important to dealing with wave of 'post-truth'. In practice, cultural knowledge encourages us to act with positive impacts on multicultural society amidst post-truth era through: (1) Awareness of cultural worldview, (2) Good attitude toward cultural differences, (3) Knowledge of different cultural practices and worldviews, including having the skill of cultural sensitivity awareness, and (4) Cross-cultural skills communication.

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