

## **THE EXISTENCE OF PANCASILA IN POST-TRUTH ERA**

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### ***Abstract***

*The existence of Pancasila must be maintained. The post-truth era that is already in sight can certainly have a negative impact on national identity. Pancasila as the identity of the Indonesian nation must be maintained and become a bulwark against the negative impacts of the post-truth era. The writing of this article is very important in providing an understanding to the Indonesian people that the post-truth era cannot be avoided. As a nation that has an identity called Pancasila, Pancasila should be implemented in the life of the nation and state, especially in the face of the post-truth era. This is where the importance of this article in reminding about the negative impact of the post-truth era on national identity. This article discusses three important issues related to Pancasila and post-truth. These three things are (1) various kinds of negative impacts that can or even have been caused by the post-truth era; (2) finding the relevance of the post-truth era with Pancasila; and (3) describes how to maintain the existence of Pancasila in the vortex of the post-truth era. There are at least three negative impacts of the post-truth era, namely (a) the existence of lies; (b) the existence of slander; and (c) the presence of hate speech. The relevance of the post-truth era with Pancasila lies in the identity of the nation. The post-truth era can have a negative impact on national identity. Pancasila is the identity of the Indonesian nation. The existence of Pancasila in the post-truth era must of course be maintained so that it is not negated by the negative impacts of the post-truth era. The way to maintain the existence of Pancasila in the post-truth era is to apply Pancasila in the life of the nation and state and to strengthen literacy. The conclusion of this article is to answer the problem formulation and find the purpose of this article.*

**Keywords:** *Pancasila; Post-Truth; Existence; National Identity.*

### **A. Introduction**

The existence of Pancasila has recently begun to be questioned by various groups. If you look at history, a critical attitude towards Pancasila has not only occurred recently, but has been shown in various eras of government in Indonesia. However, that a different escalation occurred after the collapse of the New Order regime. Many parties claim that Pancasila is currently only used as a slogan or jargon. Pancasila is even suspected to be interpreted unilaterally by the owner of power. Even

harder, Pancasila was allegedly used as an instrument to attack certain people or groups. Pancasila in the framework of its current existence, faces a problem that it has not been fully implemented by all levels of society. Practically, there will not be any single ideology that is fully implemented by all groups of a society. This condition causes Pancasila to become a mere symbol (Asmaroini, 2017; Azhar, 2017; Bo'a, 2018; Burhanuddin, 2020; Pramono, 2018; Winarni, 2020).

Yudi Latif in his writing entitled "*Wawasan Pancasila: Bintang Penuntun*

*untuk Pembudayaan*" stated that there were at least five factors that caused the weakening of Pancasila or the decline in the existence of Pancasila. The five causes are (1) the Indonesian people are careless, disobedient, and deviate from the values of Pancasila; (2) because of the mental shift from collectivity mentality to individuality mentality; (3) there is a current of globalization which continuously penetrates and weakens national security; (4) attacks on the mental nature of the Indonesian nation by war by proxy; and (5) unable to compete with other ideologies because Pancasila is only used as a symbol (Latif, 2020, pp. 4–7).

If you look closely at these five weaknesses, in today's digital era, the weakness that must be watched out for is primarily related to the attack on the Indonesian nation's psyche by means of war by proxy. As stated by Yudi Latif, the mental attack was an attack that was not carried out physically or without the use of physical weapons. The attacks carried out are non-conventional attacks by utilizing soft power with the ultimate goal of influencing state policy makers and the general public. This condition can actually be said to be almost the same as post-truth (Latif, 2020).

Post-truth is a condition of society that prioritizes the emotional over the rational. People will prioritize emotions or beliefs over rational or common sense in order to receive and provide information, make choices, and take action. Existing facts are often put aside by prioritizing their belief rather than what they believe. Not surprisingly, post-truth makes people based on beliefs not facts (Dictionaries, 2022; Gunawan & Ratmono, 2021).

The definition of post-truth is in line with the threat of weakening Pancasila due to invisible attacks. Society will no longer be rational towards Pancasila as the unifying glue of the nation. Pancasila can be negated which in the end the community takes actions that are not morally and legally

justified. Post-truth can threaten and make this happen.

The United States has become proof that post-truth is very real and an institutionalized democracy in the United States can be easily shaken and humiliated before the world. We can see this in the riots that occurred at the Capitol Building on January 6, 2021. Starting from President Donald Trump's speech or narrative which indirectly stated that his supporters must come to the Capitol Building with a mission to take the victory that has been won by other parties. Donald Trump supporters then believed the narrative and flocked to the Capitol Building. There they did the unexpected, which was to make a riot. Riots that may be difficult to describe by the United States public. The democracy in the United States that had been glorified was rapidly collapsing. Even the democracy of the United States during the administration of President Donald Trump was considered a flawed democracy. Indeed, President Donald Trump on various occasions often carries out narratives that are then believed and acted upon by his supporters (Gunawan & Ratmono, 2021; Levitsky & Ziblatt, 2018; Norman, 2021; Oliver, 2020; Rose, 2017; Williams, 2021).

The conditions that occurred in the United States after the 2020 Presidential Election (Election) certainly indicate that the public, in this case the supporters of President Donald Trump, really only prioritizes emotions or beliefs, without prioritizing existing facts and rationality. They even carry out emotional actions that lead to criminal acts. There were also fatalities in this incident. This example is an example related to democratic values. In the United States, democratic values are part of the ideology (Indonesia, 2021; Marshall, 2022; Winahyu, 2021).

The riots that occurred at the Capitol Building in early 2021 have illustrated that the post-truth era has a negative impact on the life of the nation and state. Democracy that became the identity and face of the

United States then became a question for the world community.

Then what about in Indonesia? Indonesia certainly deserves to be aware of the negative impacts of the post-truth era. The post-truth era, which has existed since 2016, to be exact, during the 2016 US Presidential Election, managed to find its momentum to rise again in the 2020 US Presidential Election. Indonesia will soon hold a General Election (Pemilu) in 2024. The event is certainly a fertile field for post-truth. The post-truth era in Indonesia seems to be reaching its peak in the 2024 election. This means that the 2024 election will be a challenge and a test stone for the Indonesian nation in facing the post-truth era (Gunawan & Ratmono, 2021).

How about Pancasila in facing these challenges? Eras may just keep changing and changing. But Pancasila as an ideology and identity must remain eternal as long as Indonesia stands tall. The immortality of Pancasila can be seen from its existence. Without an ongoing and sustainable existence, Pancasila will only be stories and memories. In the post-truth era that will come or maybe already in Indonesia. The existence of Pancasila must certainly be confirmed in order to strengthen the glue of Indonesian unity.

Pancasila must be a bulwark for the Indonesian nation so that what happened in the riots at the United States Capitol Building does not happen in Indonesia. Pancasila must be strengthened its existence in order to provide understanding to the Indonesian people about rationality and emotionality. The Indonesian people must prioritize rationality rather than mere emotionality. Don't let post-truth threaten Pancasila values. Existing facts and rational thinking must of course be the foundation of the Indonesian nation in facing the future and facing the challenges of the times. Moreover, Pancasila as the meeting point of the rationality of the Indonesian nation, can certainly be the main capital in facing the post-truth era.

This article discusses the problems that have been mentioned previously, namely those related to the existence of Pancasila in the post-truth era. The formulation of the problem in this article is (1) what are the negative impacts of the post-truth era? (2) what is the relevance of the post-truth era with Pancasila? (3) how to maintain the existence of Pancasila in the midst of the vortex of the post-truth era? The aims of this study are (1) to find the negative impact of the post-truth era; (2) finding the relevance of the post-truth era with Pancasila; and (3) describes how to maintain the existence of Pancasila in the vortex of the post-truth era.

## **B. Discussion**

The post-truth era cannot be known with certainty whether it has entered the territory of Indonesia or not. Remembering post-truth itself is invisible. In developed countries such as the United States, post-truth has occurred since 2016. Even the post-truth era in the United States has lasted until now. Of course there are positive impacts as well as negative impacts from the post-truth era. However, what must be watched out for is the negative impact of the post-truth era. In particular, the negative impacts that can be caused if post-truth exists in Indonesia, and how does Pancasila as an ideology and national identity deal with the negative impacts of post-truth.

### **1. The Negative Effect of Post-Truth Era**

As previously mentioned, the negative impact of post-truth is the negation of national identity. Even tear down the building foundations of a country. We can see this in the phenomenon that occurred in the United States regarding the riots at the Capitol Building in early 2021. This incident concluded that the public, especially Donald Trump supporters who rioted at the Capitol Building, prioritized emotional beliefs rather

than digesting them based on facts and rationality.

The events at the Capitol Building have marked the post-truth era in the United States. There are at least three conclusions that can be drawn from the riots in the Capitol Building in the vortex of the post-truth era. First, there is a lie. Post-truth is a condition in which the emotional is more trusted and acknowledged than the rational. Emotional that is done without facts and data is a lie. In the post-truth era, lies that are done or produced continuously, will become the truth. Although there is no real validity of the truth. Because the validity that is done also uses other lies.

But the party who commits the lie from another point of view claims it is not a lie. For example, the statements made by President Donald Trump are considered by some as a lie because they are not based on empirical facts. But others who are in line with Donald Trump, statements that are considered a lie are not a lie but as an alternative fact. The term alternative facts then becomes a discussion in the public sphere. Is it true that the alternative fact is a truth or a lie. Alternative facts emerge as new facts. People who do not believe in a fact. It is appropriate to be given alternative facts, so that people have options that are not singular. Because as someone close to Donald Trump has also stated that truth or facts are relative (Atolagbe, 2017; Bufacchi, 2021, p. 355; E. Castellón, Reyna Rivarola, & López, 2017; Hendricks & Vestergaard, 2019; Spicer, 2018).

This condition clearly creates complexity in the public sphere. Reality or truth seems to be blurred. There is no single owner of truth, what exists is who is able to narrate the truth and is believed by the public. The more narratives that are believed by the public, the stronger the existence of the narrative becomes truth. Here clearly causes the existence of a lie to remain standing. The Dutch proverb that says "Al is de leugen nog zo snel, de waarheid achterhaalt haar wel" (no matter how fast the

lie, the truth will catch up) in the post-truth era seems to be put aside.

How can there be truth if no one is fighting for the truth. Moreover, the truth in the post-truth era is not singular, but there are options and alternatives. It could be that what is considered the truth is actually a lie. But if the lie has been validated as the truth by the community, it will still be considered as the truth.

Second, there is slander. The post-truth era can not be said to be separated from the existence of slander. Even accusations that attack a person's character are often made. Slander arises because it is preceded by a lie. Without lies, there is no possibility of slander. This is because slander often overrides facts and lies are not based on facts. This relevance creates a link between slander and lies.

The impact of slander is certainly different from lying. Slander has an impact on destroying the value of objects, people or things. There is an act of attack (attack) carried out by a person who slanders the person or object that is being slandered. The lie does not necessarily have an impact on the destruction. That's because lying doesn't have to be done with assault. It is clear here that slander can be dangerous. Plus, slander can thrive in the post-truth era because slander is based on emotion.

Third, it is about hate speech and treatment. Recognized or not recognized. The post-truth era also fosters hate speech and treatment. The growth of hate speech in the post-truth era is due to an emotional basis. Without rationality, people are more easily provoked and then make hate speech against other groups. The provocations made to the public are actually not based on facts but on emotions. This is relevant to society in the post-truth era which emphasizes emotion, so hate speech occurs easily. For example, when President Donald Trump made an anti-immigrant policy. This policy was issued in order to prevent radicalism that threatens the country from immigrant groups. The policy immediately created pros

and cons. People who are pro then believe in this policy and ultimately hate immigrants. The opposing party certainly questioned the policy, whether based on facts or mere emotions (Nurasih, 2019, p. 221; Syarif, Mughni, & Hannan, 2020, p. 206).

Of course, from a political point of view, this policy is understandable. That the policy apart from political policy can also be suspected of being a campaign event to attract voters. Admittedly or not, at the moment of the general election or elections at the regional level, hate speech will find media to thrive. Many parties use emotion-based narratives at election moments. Finally, the public is provoked and believes in a narrative that does not necessarily have facts and truth (Genta & Wihartono, 2018, p. 51; Hyvönen, 2018; Latief, 2019, p. 278; Rubaidi, 2020, p. 279).

In addition to hate speech in the post-truth era, there is also hate treatment. Hate treatment is more extreme than hate speech. This is because hate treatment has been carried out with physical or non-physical actions that can directly injure the hated person or group. The hate speech is still in the realm of narrative which is usually done on social media. The treatment of hate towards certain groups is also no less exciting than hate speech. The response of the public to the treatment of hatred has even reached various corners of the world.

The phenomenon of the occurrence of Black Lives Matter (BLM) is a response to the treatment of hatred towards certain ethnicities/religions/races/groups. BLM originated from discriminatory acts committed by several individuals against certain groups. The act of discrimination is then perceived as an act of hatred. This is because acts of discrimination are carried out almost repeatedly and even take lives. In the United States discrimination often occurs in black groups. Even the discrimination carried out leads to acts of hatred. The case of George Floyd that occurred recently provides evidence that there is discriminatory treatment carried out

by state elements to certain groups which in this case are black groups or races. The George Floyd case is a case where a white police officer then takes action that causes a black man, George Floyd, to die. The incident then gave a very broad response from the United States to the world. Society condemns acts of discrimination and acts of hatred against certain groups. This response has led to protests or demonstrations in various parts of the world (Chen, Fellow, & Policy, 2021; Gürcan & Donduran, 2021; Leyh, 2020; McCoy, 2020; Mir & Zaroni, 2021; Oktoviana Banda, 2020; Yonita & Darmawan, 2021).

BLM did not actually appear during the events that happened to George Floyd. Long before that, there had been the exact same event. In 2013, for example, the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter was traded on a social media platform. The trending is part of the wider community's response. The wider community responds because of discrimination or hatred against one particular race (Clayton, 2018; Gallagher, Reagan, Danforth, & Dodds, 2018; Jr, 2019).

Hate speech and treatment that have occurred recently can occur because of certain issues as previously mentioned, namely issues related to immigrants, race, and others. Initially the issue was in the form of hate speech, but it can become hate treatment. The phenomenon of hate speech and treatment has a very extreme impact, namely the occurrence of divisions in society. Worse, the impact is the occurrence of divisions within a nation.

This impact must be prevented so as not to threaten the integrity and unity of the nation. The post-truth era has at least three negative impacts, namely a. lies; b. slander; and c. hate speech and treatment can threaten the integrity and unity of the nation. Therefore, every nation that has an identity such as the basis of the state, ideology, and others must use this identity to maintain the integrity and unity of the nation.

## **2. The Relevance of Pancasila in Post-Truth Era**

The world is growing. Civilization is increasingly leading to what is called universalism. Digital has made no space in this world. Unification in one universalism is something that is necessary. However, when the onslaught of universalism through globalization, liberalism, and human individualism. It is impossible for universalism to be singular. The world order will look for a plural form, namely multiversalism. This is because the world basically has diversity, ethnicity, nation, and race, as well as moral values. This is where the identity of a nation will be tested, whether it is able to be part of the plural form of multiversalism, or merge with universalism (Asshiddiqie, 2020).

Pancasila as the nation's identity must certainly answer these challenges. Can Pancasila survive the pressure of universalism to keep the world diverse? The answer is of course it can. This is because Pancasila is a national identity that arises from the existence of a diversity. So diversity has been embedded in Pancasila so that it is still able to make the world a multiversalism (Diniyanto, 2021, p. 3; Muhtada & Diniyanto, 2021).

If Pancasila will be able to survive and continue to exist with the onslaught of universalism. What about the existence of Pancasila in the post-truth era? Pancasila itself comes from the Sanskrit language, namely Panca and Sila. Panca means five. Sila means principle or basis. This means that Pancasila are five basic principles. The meaning of Pancasila in the context of the life of the nation and state is as a basic principle of the state which has five principles and is used as the basis of the state, ideology or ideals, and also as a guide for life for all Indonesian people. Pancasila is also a national identity (Soekarnoputri, 2021).

Seeing Pancasila which means the basis of the state, ideology, ideals, and guiding the nation. More specifically,

Pancasila can be said as a nation's identity which is certainly related to the post-truth era. As happened in the United States. The post-truth era has had an impact on democracy in the United States. The impact in question is the decline in quality and the occurrence of democratic defects in the United States in the 2016-2020 period. In fact, we all know that democracy is the identity of the United States of America. So far, the world has confirmed that democracy in the United States is the best and most institutionalized democracy. But in fact, lately many have argued that American democracy is flawed and will even die if it is not saved (Diniyanto, 2016, 2019, 2018, pp. 423-425, 2017, p.248; Gunawan & Ratmono, 2021; Levitsky & Ziblatt, 2018; Muhtada & Diniyanto, 2018, pp. 71-75; Norman, 2021; Oliver, 2020; Rose, 2017; Williams, 2021).

This means that it is clear that post-truth can have a negative impact on national identity. This is where the relevance of post-truth with Pancasila. Post-truth can have a negative impact on national identity. Pancasila is the identity of the Indonesian nation. Therefore, Pancasila must be able to control post-truth so that what happens in the United States occurs in Indonesia. Do not let the identity of the Indonesian nation be deformed or decreased because of the negative impact of post-truth. Furthermore, post-truth can lead to the final ideology. The existence of post-truth can make people distrust ideology. The end of ideology can occur in the post-truth era. This of course can threaten the existence of ideology, including the existence of Pancasila as an ideology. Therefore, Pancasila as the ideology of the Indonesian nation must survive and exist in the midst of the post-truth era.

## **3. How to Defend Pancasila in Post-Truth Era**

The 5th President of the Republic of Indonesia Megawati Soekarnoputri stated that Pancasila could be used as a shield or

fortress in the face of post-truth. Megawati put forward more concretely that the second principle of Pancasila, namely Just and Civilized Humanity, can be a guide in finding valid truth (Komara, 2020; Putra, 2020).

A similar statement was also conveyed by Constitutional Justice Arief Hidayat who said that post-truth occurs because there are continuous lies and then the lies are considered as the truth. Arief Hidayat provides a solution, namely by maintaining and developing the principles of Pancasila. Because only by developing Pancasila as the nation's identity, will it be able to find a rational truth (NL, 2021). The strengthening of the Pancasila at the implementation level can be done by preventing the spread of lies. One of the ways to prevent lies is by strengthening digital and non-digital literacy.

The statements and solutions put forward by Megawati Soekarnoputri and Arief Hidayat related to Pancasila as a defense in the face of the post-truth era certainly deserve to be interpreted, absorbed, and followed up in depth in a concrete form. The question is how to make Pancasila a fortress to face the post-truth era, especially the negative impacts of the post-truth era?

This question can certainly be answered theoretically. However, the theoretical answer will not be able to make Pancasila a bulwark against the negative impacts of the post-truth era. The theoretical answer will also not be able to prevent the negative impact of the post-truth era. The concrete answer is to implement or apply the five precepts contained in Pancasila. The five precepts in Pancasila are a very important basis in maintaining the existence of Pancasila in the vortex of the post-truth era. Without the implementation of the five precepts of Pancasila, it is difficult to maintain the existence of Pancasila. Because the existence of Pancasila lies in the application of the five precepts by all Indonesian people.

The next question is, how is the implementation of the five precepts of Pancasila by the Indonesian people in facing the post-truth era? Before answering the question. First, it is mentioned that the five precepts contained in Pancasila are (1) Belief in One Supreme God; (2) Just and Civilized Humanity; (3) the Indonesian Union; (4) Democracy Led by Wisdom in Deliberation/Representation; and (5) Social Justice for All Indonesian People. The five precepts are the solid building of the Indonesian state that cannot be changed. Therefore, these five precepts must be a guide for all Indonesian people in facing the post-truth era.

For example, the post-truth era allows for alternative facts or two different perspectives. The existence of alternative facts and two different perspectives makes there is no single truth. This condition can certainly occur in public spaces. But the Indonesian people must still hold and apply the precepts of the Unity of Indonesia. This means that even though there are differences in belief in facts or there are differences in perspective among the Indonesian people, the Unity of Indonesia must still be used as the basis for these differences. This means that the Indonesian people still prioritize unity even though there are differences of opinion. This condition is referred to as one way to maintain the existence of Pancasila in the vortex of the post-truth era.

The application of the precepts of Pancasila in facing the post-truth era is not only in the application of the third principle. Instead, all or the five precepts that exist in Pancasila must be applied in the face of the post-truth era. In addition to implementing the five precepts of Pancasila, it is also necessary to strengthen digital and non-digital literacy for the people of Indonesia. This is important so that the Indonesian people have strong capital in filtering various things in the post-truth era. Strengthening literacy can be done both bottom-up and top-down. Literacy strengthening in a bottom-up manner means

that it is carried out directly from the community together through mutual cooperation. Strengthening top-down literacy is carried out by the state through the government with programs based on the five principles of Pancasila. This literacy strengthening is not only capable of being a filter amplifier but also a supporter in the application of the five precepts of Pancasila in the post-truth era.

### C. Conclusion

The post-truth era can be said to be difficult to avoid because it can easily occur in the presence of digital developments and social media. There are negative impacts from the post-truth era, namely (1) there is a lie; (2) the existence of slander; and (3) can give rise to hate speech and actions. The negative impact of the post-truth era can certainly threaten the unity and integrity of the nation. Worse, the negative impact of the post-truth era can directly and indirectly threaten the existence of Pancasila. This is because unity is one of the precepts in Pancasila. Therefore, a way is needed to maintain the existence of Pancasila in the vortex of the post-truth era. The trick is to apply the principles of Pancasila in the life of the nation and state by all Indonesian people. Pancasila must be applied and strengthened in everyday life. One of these applications and strengthening can be done by increasing digital and non-digital literacy. Increasing digital and non-digital literacy for all Indonesian people by using a bottom-up or top-down approach. Increasing digital and non-digital literacy as part of strengthening Pancasila.

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