

REINVENTING ETHICAL SUBSTANCE OF PANCASILA IN ARTICLE 33 OF THE 1945 CONSTITUTION: A STUDY OF INDONESIA'S ACTUAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM BASED ON HONNETH'S YOUNG HEGELIAN CONCEPT OF SOCIAL RECOGNITION**Alexander Seran**

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Abstract

We observe social conflicts arise for a myriad of reasons such as politics, economics, and differing cultural and religious identities. This essay is elaborated through a critical interpretation of Indonesian political economy as it is written in Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia. It reflects Indonesia's commitment to ensuring that economic benefits are distributed equitably among citizens. Using Axel Honneth's young Hegelian concept of recognition by love, respect, and solidarity, Pancasila as a system of ethics can be used to meet Honneth's theory of moral grammar for social and economic conflicts resolution.

Keywords: recognition, social conflict, Pancasila, moral grammar**INTRODUCTION**

Cooperatives are cooperation or cooperation. Based on Law no. 25/1992, a cooperative is a business entity consisting of a group of people whose activities are based on the principle of cooperation/cooperation to drive a people's economy based on family. The definition of cooperatives in Law no. 25/ 1992 reflects the views of one of the founding figures of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) Dr. (h.c.) Drs. Mohammad Hatta, that cooperatives as business entities are a milestone in economic development and development as joint ventures that use the principles of kinship and cooperation (Wulansari, 2017). Thus, the conditions for achieving the goals of a business entity based on family and cooperation are as follows (Ganie & SE, 2023):

1. Membership is open.
2. Democratic supervision.
3. Limited interest on capital from fellow members.
4. The remaining business results are divided based on the amount of contribution to the cooperative.
5. Sales of goods are adjusted to the prevailing market price and payment must be in cash.
6. There is no discrimination in terms of ethnicity, race, religion and political sect.
7. The goods being traded are genuine goods, not damaged, fake or KW goods.
8. Members receive education on an ongoing basis.

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The above conditions reflect the legal basis for cooperatives in Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution and its manifestation in Law 25 of 1992 concerning cooperatives as business entities, Government Regulation Number 17 of 1994 concerning the Dissolution of cooperatives by the government, Government Regulation Number 9 of 1995 concerning the Implementation of business activities savings and loans by cooperatives, Government Regulation Number 33 of 1998 concerning Capital participation in cooperatives, Minister of Cooperatives and SMEs Decree Number 98 of 2004 concerning Notaries making cooperative deeds, Minister of Cooperatives and SMEs Regulation Number 10 of 2015 concerning Cooperative Institutions, Minister of Cooperatives and SMEs Regulation Number 15 of 2015 concerning savings and loan businesses by cooperatives, Minister of Cooperatives and SMEs Regulation Number 9 of 2018 concerning the Implementation and Development of Cooperatives, and Ministerial Decree Number 22 of 2020 concerning Procedures for submitting data on cooperative debtors in the context of providing interest subsidies/margin subsidies for credit/financing for micro businesses, small and medium enterprises in order to support the national economic recovery program.

The legal basis regarding the implementation of cooperatives as business entities implies ethical reasoning regarding equality according to human dignity in cooperative activities, including:

1. Membership is not forced. Therefore it must be voluntary and open.
2. In its management, cooperatives must be democratic.
3. Distribution of business results is given fairly according to the portion of each member's contribution to the cooperative.
4. Providing compensation to capital providers according to the amount of capital provided.
5. Prioritize independence.

The embodiment of cooperatives as business entities in the form of primary or secondary cooperatives. Based on Law no. 25/1992, Article 15 states that primary cooperatives are cooperatives that are founded by individuals and have more than 20 members. Secondary cooperatives are cooperatives founded by cooperatives whose members are also cooperatives. Based on the type of business, primary cooperatives and/or secondary cooperatives can carry out the following types of business entity activities:

1. Producer cooperatives are cooperatives that provide facilities to producers to carry out production. Products come from members and are offered at relatively higher prices and then sold to members and non-members.
2. Consumer cooperatives are cooperatives that provide business activities in the form of goods for the needs of members and non-members.
3. Service cooperatives are cooperatives that provide services (except savings and loans) for the needs of members and non-members.
4. Savings and loan cooperatives are cooperatives that serve members and non-members by providing savings and loan services as the institution's sole business activity. s.

Service cooperatives are cooperatives that provide services (except savings and loans) for the needs of members and non-members. Savings and loan cooperatives are cooperatives that serve members and non-members by providing savings and loan services as the institution's sole business activity. The benefits of being a member of a cooperative are still limited apart from the rights of cooperative members to share the remaining business profits (SHU) based on the amount of capital invested and the amount of profit obtained by the cooperative. Members can buy goods and services at more affordable prices than buying outside the cooperative. Members can borrow funds from the cooperative using either a conventional interest-bearing system or a sharia profit sharing system. Members can get

entrepreneur training and expand their business network. In this way, you can develop into a better person. The ethical foundation regarding cooperatives as business entities lies in efforts to improve the quality of human life as both individual and social. The title “Reinventing Ethical Substance of Pancasila in Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution: A Study of Indonesia’s Actual Economic System Based on Honneth’s Young Hegelian Concept of Social Recognition” is both intriguing and thought-provoking (Seran, 2017). It combines elements of ethics, constitutional law, economics, and philosophical concepts, making it a rich and multidisciplinary topic. Hannah Arendt's works (1972; 1990; and 2006) can be used to sharpen understanding of citizens' rights and the state's obligation to protect and comfort every citizen. Thus, recognition of the interrelationship between the state and citizens is strengthened to prevent social conflicts or find solutions to the relationship between the state and citizens as an inseparable whole.

Exploring the ethical substance within the context of Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution suggests a critical examination of how these principles manifest in economic policies. Honneth’s Young Hegelian Concept of Social Recognition focuses on the importance of social recognition for individual self-worth and societal cohesion. Applying this lens to Indonesia's economic system could shed light on issues related to dignity, equality, and social bonds. This title invites readers to delve into complex intersections between ethics, law, economics, and philosophy. It promises a stimulating exploration of Indonesia's economic landscape through a fresh perspective. Axel Honneth *Kampf um Anerkennung : zur moralischen Grammatik sozialer Konflikte* (1994). Translated into English by Joel, A., entitled *The Struggle for Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts*, 199. Honneth’s exploration delves into the intricate dynamics of how recognizing shapes of our interactions, identities, and societal structures greatly reflects the character of modern society in stark economic differences: discriminatory, exploitative, and unfair. The unified world of life is abandoned by economic competition for power in political leadership which strengthens and perpetuates class differences. Emancipation is therefore a character of togetherness in a multicultural world of life. Reinventing the ethical substance of togetherness in the world of life is a condition and way to save democracy in practice rather than just talking about it as lip service.

Like Habermas (1981, 1991, and 1996), Honneth (1994), Honneth investigates the basic values of the life world in the view of Young Hegelianism as the ethical substance underlying unity in pluralism and pluralism in unity. The basic values are love, respect, and solidarity. Fulfillment of requirements is the principle of achieving goals. Therefore, reinventing the ethical substance of Pancasila as contained in Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution is a requirement for practicing economic democracy to achieve national goals as written in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution.

The problem in this study is that social conflicts emerge from a complex interplay of values, interests, and identities. Whether rooted in politics, economics, or cultural differences, these conflicts demand thoughtful resolution. The conflict related to Article 33; 1945 Constitution raises the following research questions. What is the content, understanding and implementation of Article 33, Paragraphs (1-5) of the 1945 Constitution. How to restore political and economic praxis in accordance with the values of a multicultural world of life.

The aim of the study is to maintain life together in the unity of the nation state and her sustainability in the future. Developing politics and economics by ignoring the conditions of life world values will plunge the unity of the nation state into chaos and disintegration and finally fail in sustainability.

RESEARCH METHOD

The choice of paradigm, approach, and method depends on the research question, context, and researcher's preferences. Researchers often combine elements from different paradigms and approaches to create a holistic understanding of complex phenomena. The research methodology used in this research is constructivism paradigm to understand the cases of the contents and weaknesses in the implementation of Article 33, Paragraphs (1-5) of the 1945 Constitution. (Panjwani, 2017) in their respective works on the methodology of science emphasize the same thing, namely, the importance of paradigms, approaches, and research methods. The paradigm of this research is interpretivism. The approach used is qualitative with a case study method for the implementation of article 33 of the 1945 Constitution. Findings in analysis and discussion of the problem of this study may help in formulating the conclusion as reinventing ethical substance of Pancasila practicing Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution.

The values of Pancasila which emphasize kinship in the implementation of Article 33, Paragraphs (1-5) in the 1945 Constitution emphasize economic and political democracy to prevent the arbitrariness of individuals, groups, or the state unilaterally controlling the economy as stated in the table below.

Table 1. Ethical Substance of Pancasila in Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution

Pancasila (Five Principles of the Indonesian State)		Article 33 in the 1945 Constitution
1.	<i>Belief in one (the Almighty) God</i> (1)	The economy is structured as a joint venture based on the principle of kinship.
2.	<i>Just and civilized humanity</i> (2)	Branches of production which are important for the state and which affect the lives of many people are controlled by the state
3.	<i>Indonesian Unity</i> (3)	Earth, water and natural resources contained therein are controlled by the state and used for the greatest prosperity of the people
4.	<i>Democracy led by wisdom in deliberation/representation</i> (4)	The national economy is organized based on economic democracy with the principles of togetherness, fair efficiency, sustainability, environmental awareness, independence, and by maintaining a balance of progress and national economic unity
5.	<i>Social justice for all Indonesian people</i> (5)	Further provisions regarding the implementation of this article are regulated in law

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Kinship as the Principle of Social Recognition and Solidarity

Bahar (1995) and Dhakidae (2016) in their respective works show similar things about what was done in preparation for the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. The Investigation Agency for Preparatory Efforts for Indonesian Independence (BPUPKI), better known as the Investigation Agency for Preparatory Efforts for Independence (abbreviated as BPUPKI), is a body formed by the Japanese military occupation government in Java. The Japanese military government, represented by the 16th and 25th Army command, approved the formation of BPUPKI on March 1, 1945. This body was formed as an effort to gain support from the Indonesian people by promising that Japan would help the process of Indonesian independence. BPUPKI has 67 members, chaired by Dr. Kanjeng Raden Tumenggung (K.R.T.) Radjiman Wedyodiningrat. The task of BPUPKI is to study and investigate matters relating to aspects of politics, economics, governance, and matters necessary in efforts to establish an independent Indonesian state. Pancasila was formulated by Sukarno on 1 June 1945 in the first BPUPKI Session which took place from 29 May to 1 June 1945. The 1945 Constitution was formulated in the Second BPUPKI Session from 10 to 16

July 1945. On 7 August 1945, Japan dissolved the BPUPKI and then formed a Committee Preparation for Indonesian Independence (PPKI) with 21 members. PPKI reflects representatives of various ethnicities in the Dutch East Indies region and played an important role in the history of Indonesia's struggle for independence. Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution were accepted and established as the State Foundation and State Constitution on August 18, 1945, the day after the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence on August 17, 1945.

Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution holds significant importance in shaping Indonesia's economic ideology. It serves as a guiding principle for the country's economic policies and practices. As the ethical substance of the 1945 Constitution, Pancasila is the crystallization of historical experiences that are woven into a single region called Indonesia. The brief description of Indonesia and her history are pertinent and relevant to understanding and appraising what is happening as her present's difficulties or problems.

Officially known as the Republic of Indonesia, Indonesia is an archipelago country in Southeast Asia. Indonesia's territory covers land area 1,916,906.77 square kilometers and water area around 3,110,000 square kilometers with a coastline of 108 thousand kilometers. Number of Islands is about 17,504 and often called the Indonesian archipelago or Nusantara (Kompas (2020)). According to Worldometer (2024), the current population of Indonesia is 279,798,049 people. Of the total population, 138,303,472 people are men (50.5 percent), while the other 135,576,278 people are women (49.5 percent). Indonesia has a population of around 3.45% of the total world population and her population growth is currently at a rate of 0.82% per year. With a land area of around 1,811,570 kms, the population density is around 153 people per km.

The capital city of Indonesia is Jakarta. Form of her Government is republic with the head of government is president. State philosophy is Pancasila means five principles that serve as ethical substances of the 1945 Constitution. National flag is red and white while her national anthem is Indonesia Raya (means Great Indonesia). The currency of Indonesia is Rupiah. The climate is tropical with the temperature 19-34C. Indonesia has 3 time zones. Western Indonesia standard time is GMT plus 7 hours covers islands of Sumatera, Java, and Madura. Central Indonesia standard time is GMT plus 8 hours, covers islands of Kalimantan, Sulawesi, West and East Nusa Tenggara, and Bali. East Indonesia standard time is GMT plus 9 hours, covers the provinces of Maluku and Papua. Principles of Economic Democracy and Political Democracy in Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution

In Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution, there are basic values as moral principles contained in the Indonesian economy. First, Family Values in Article 33 paragraph (1), namely, "The economy is structured as a joint effort based on the principle of kinship. This shows the importance of cooperation and togetherness in managing the country's economy.

Second, the value of social justice for the state and which affect the lives of many people are controlled by the state. Thus, the earth, water and natural resources contained therein are controlled by the state and used for the greatest prosperity of the people. The value of Justice emphasizes that the use of natural resources is for the welfare of all people.

Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution states the important role of Pancasila in Indonesia's national economic system (Kompas Com (2021) as follows:

- a. The principle of kinship in Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution rejects economic activities that prioritize competition and individualism, so the entire economic structure, from the national level to various regions in Indonesia, is based on the principle of kinship.
- b. The principle of social justice in Article 33 Paragraph (2) and Paragraph (3) prioritizes equality and rejects economic activities that are individualistic in nature. Therefore, the

State has the authority to control important branches of production with the aim that all economic components contained in Indonesian nature are processed and used for the benefit of the wider community and the prosperity of the people.

- c. The principle of economic democracy in Paragraph (4) requires that the Indonesian economy runs in accordance with democratic principles which emphasize togetherness, efficiency, justice, sustainability, environmental awareness, independence, and maintaining a balance of progress and unity. national economy. In accordance with democratic principles, the Indonesian economy must be regulated and obeyed as a law in accordance with the words of Article 33 Paragraph (5), namely, "Further provisions regarding the implementation of this article are regulated in law" so that it must be obeyed by all citizens.

The data in the Fourth Amendment to the 1945 Constitution is interesting to discuss regarding the ethical content of Pancasila in Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution.

- a. Change in the title of Chapter XIV in the 1945 Constitution
- b. Changes/additions to Article 33, Paragraphs (1-3) become Article 33, Paragraphs (1-5).
- c. Explanation of Chapter XIV in the original text of the 1945 Constitution

Sukarno talked about Pancasila as five basic values that live in multiculturalist Indonesian society, namely five principles named in Sanskrit Pancasila. As moral principles, Pancasila values animate the 1945 Constitution and all legal products under the 1945 Constitution as the State Constitution.

Social Welfare is the title of Chapter XIV regarding Article 33, Paragraphs (1-3) of the original text of the 1945 Constitution (before the fourth Amendment of the 1945 Constitution in 2002). Social welfare is the goal of economic activities and Article 33 (1-3) is "condition" of the possibility to attain the goal. Requirements in Article 33 (1-3) are antecedents which must be fulfilled so that the objectives stated in the title "Social Welfare" can be achieved. The determination of conditions for economic activities in accordance with Pancasila values is emphasized in the Explanation of the 1945 Constitution as follows.

Article 33 states the basis of democracy, that economic production is carried out by all, for all under the leadership or supervision of members of society. It is the prosperity of society that takes priority, not the prosperity of individuals. For this reason, the economy is structured as a joint venture based on the principle of kinship. Build a company that is in line with that, namely a cooperative. An economy based on economic democracy, prosperity for everyone! Therefore, branches of production which are important for the state, and which control the lives of many people must be controlled by the state. Otherwise, the reins of production will fall into the hands of someone in power and the people who are oppressed by them. Only companies that do not control the lives of many people can be in the hands of one person. Earth and water and the natural wealth contained in the earth are the basic principles of people's prosperity. Therefore, it must be controlled by the state and used for the greatest prosperity of the people (Stated in the Explanation of the 1945 Constitution) as follows:

- a. The formulation of the title of Chapter "Social Welfare"
- b. Building a company that is in accordance with the mandate of Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution is a cooperative.
- c. Branches of production that are important for the state and that control the lives of many people must be controlled by the state. Otherwise, the reins of production will fall into the hands of someone in power and the people who are oppressed by them.
- d. Companies that do not control the lives of many people may be in the hands of one person.

Through the Explanation of Article 33, Paragraphs (1-3) in the original version of the 1945 Constitution before the Fourth Amendment in 2002, the meaning of the requirements for

achieving national economic goals, namely social welfare, is made clearer by prioritizing Cooperatives as partners of State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN). Cooperatives as companies created by the people are owners of BUMN as state business actors who are obliged to empower cooperatives as partners to achieve national goals through the practice of political democracy and economic democracy.

The Fourth Amendment to the 1945 Constitution regarding Article 33 with the change of title in Chapter XIV to "National Economy and Social Welfare" the addition of Paragraphs (4-5) without an official explanation as the original version of the 1945 Constitution has caused pro and con opinions in the community. Here are some aspects that are often debated:

- a. Ownership and Management of Natural Resources in the name of the state can hinder innovation and efficiency. This assumption stems from their opinion that the private sector may be more efficient in managing these resources. However, there are also supporters of Article 33 who argue that state ownership ensures the use of natural resources for the benefit of the masses wider community and avoid detrimental exploitation.
- b. The role of State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN) is often the subject of debate. There is a view that says that BUMN are often inefficient and too bureaucratic. However, there are also those who argue that BUMN has a strategic role in ensuring public services and economic sustainability.
- c. State ownership of vital sectors can influence foreign investment. There are investors who may be hesitant to invest in sectors controlled by the state. However, there are also those who believe that foreign investment must be in line with national interests and people's welfare as mandated by Article 33.
- d. The Balance Between Public and Private Interests is an ongoing debate. There are those who argue that Article 33 limits the role of the private sector too much, while there are also other groups who argue that the state must ensure social justice and the welfare of the people.
- e. Some groups argue that Article 33 needs to be reformed to accommodate global economic and technological changes. On the other hand, supporters of Article 33 argue that constitutional values must remain relevant and protect the interests of the people.

The debate regarding the implementation of Article 33 reflects the complexity of the challenges in managing the economy and natural resources in Indonesia. Therefore, a wise and inclusive approach is needed to achieve prosperity for the entire community. Initially, Article 33 in the 1945 Constitution was intended by the framers as Indonesia's economic ideology regarding economic (democracy) sovereignty to complement Indonesia's political (democracy) Independence.

The amendment to Article 33 in the 1945 Constitution is intended to strengthen Indonesia's political and economic policies in accordance with national and international economic dynamics. Thus, the interpretation of the Amendment of Article 33 in the 1945 Constitution into five paragraphs (1-5) must be changed along with the development of history and economic thought in Indonesia. It means, ownership and management of natural resources must be regulated in the interests of the wider community and avoid detrimental exploitation. State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN) must play a strategic role in ensuring public services and economic sustainability according to the principles of kinship, social justice, and sustainability. Foreign investment must therefore be in line with national interests and people's welfare in a balanced collaboration between public and private interests to ensure social justice and people's welfare.

The amendment to Article 33 in the 1945 Constitution opens opportunities for economic reform (from economic practices that are not in accordance with the mandate of

Pancasila to economic practices that are in accordance with Pancasila values) by involving the people in extractive economic sectors related to natural resources such as fishing businesses, salt manufacturing businesses, businesses in forestry, mining, plantation, and animal husbandry sectors. Extractive businesses have an important role in utilizing natural resources, opening jobs, and increasing economic profits. Extractive economic activities that involve the people will increase people's awareness of economic democracy and political democracy in environmental security-oriented economic activities and community welfare-oriented economic activities (Sutrisna, Kurnia, Siagian, Ismadji, & Wenten, 2022). This is important to consider morally and decide politically, including:

First, how to use natural resources efficiently and sustainably by involving the community in managing natural resources such as mines, forests, and plantations together with the state or state-owned enterprises as the implementation of Article 33, (1-5) in the 1945 Constitution.

Second, how to implement economic democracy, which means the economy must be based on the principles of togetherness, efficiency, justice, and people's welfare. In practice, this leads to policies of income redistribution, protection of workers' rights, and more equitable access to economic opportunities.

Third, how state ownership of strategic sectors can influence foreign investment so that the involvement of foreign investors in state ownership can provide legal certainty for people's welfare and sufficient stability for investment.

Fourth, how State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN) are responsible for managing vital sectors such as energy, transportation and telecommunications can affect the efficiency, quality of service and resilience of the country's economy.

Fifth, what is the balance between public and private interests in managing natural resources? The private sector also plays a role in creating jobs, innovation, and economic growth.

Amendment of Article 33 (1-5) in the 1945 Constitution is a manifestation of the noble values or morality of Pancasila that in economic practice, Pancasila values underlie and legitimize economic development to bring justice to all Indonesians. Article 33 contains the economic foundations and management of natural resources to be conducted as follows.

Article 33, Paragraph (1) The economy is structured as a joint venture based on the principle of kinship. The meaning of Article 33, Paragraph (1) is that the economic system used and developed should not use competitive and individualistic principles. This verse can be interpreted if the economy is structured from the national level to various regions in Indonesia. According to Vlieks, (2022) the entire economic structure is based on the principle of kinship.

Article 33, Paragraph (2) Branches of production which are important for the state and which affect the lives of many people are controlled by the state. Article 33 Paragraph (3) Earth and water and the natural resources contained therein are controlled by the state and used for the greatest prosperity of the people. The meaning of Article 33, Paragraphs (2 and 3) is that all branches of production from the earth and water which affect the lives of many people can be processed and used by the state for the benefit of the wider community and for the prosperity of the people. Control by the state means that the economy is not only controlled by individuals or groups of people but must be used for the benefit of the wider community and for the prosperity of all people. Therefore, control of economic resources that concern the public interest is controlled by the state.

Article 33, Paragraph (4) The national economy is organized based on economic democracy with the principles of togetherness, fair efficiency, sustainability, environmental

awareness, independence, and by maintaining a balance of progress and national economic unity. The meaning of Article 33 paragraph (4) states that the national economy is organized based on economic democracy and other principles, such as togetherness, fair efficiency, sustainability, environmental awareness, independence, and maintaining balanced progress and national economic unity. This means that the economic system cannot be directly controlled by the people, but can be represented by people's representatives, such as the Assembly of People's Representatives (MPR), House of Representatives (DPR), Regional Representative Council (DPD), and president.

From Article 33, Paragraphs (1-4) it can be concluded that the national economic system is run through the principle of kinship, giving authority to the state to manage the Indonesian economic system, by making economic democracy the basis, which is also followed by the principles of togetherness, efficiency, justice, sustainability, environmentally friendly, independent, and maintaining balanced progress and national economic unity.

Article 33, Paragraph (5) Further provisions regarding the implementation of this article are regulated in law. The meaning of Article 33, Paragraph (5) is the establishment of basic principles in managing natural resources and the country's economy, as well as directing alignment with the welfare of the people. Further regulations regarding the implementation of Article 33, Paragraphs (1-4) are outlined in the relevant law.

Pancasila Revives Hegelian Concept of Social Recognition

Honneth's study of Hegel's social and political philosophy is focused on the division and development of the idea of reason and freedom as the guiding force of history. Honneth shows that Hegel thinks of reason and freedom in two phases during his lifetime.

First, the young Hegelianism is Hegel's early concepts about reason and freedom as politically and religiously left. Second, the old Hegelianism is about Hegel's mature concepts of reason and freedom as dialectically fulfilled at the end of history as one and only conception of truth about morality in the form of the State.

Hegel was influenced by both the empiricist theory of social contract and the Kantian subjective theory of morality. However, Hegel offered a new understanding of history and morality as the realization of moral choices in accordance with the law of the state. To this extent, the use of Pancasila as the basis of natural ethical life fits Hegel's initial theory of moral substance, in which primary relations such as love, respect, and esteem in the family are well thought-out (Seran, 2017). Therefore, understanding historical events cannot be found in what historians collect in their writings about historical facts. The truth about history is the Spirit itself being conscious of what is as it is.

Historians display the thing itself without dragging it before their tribunal and judging it. Yet things are different in the history of philosophy. Pancasila is about the history of philosophy regarding the foundation of a nation-State. The question about Pancasila is therefore the question about what is the deed in the event of the emergence of Pancasila? As a history of philosophy, Pancasila necessitates how it is to be understood? (Poespowardojo & Seran, 2021). As a history of philosophy, Pancasila is not just the first sight as a matter of fact but the insight.

Hegel explained in the *Phenomenology of Spirit* (Hegel, Miller, & Findlay, 1977) that the historical development of civitas from its natural stage of ethical life to the state as the objective and full realization of a society into a constitutional state (the universal and absolute ethical life). Like Hegel, Sukarno spoke of Pancasila as five basic values that live in a multiculturalist Indonesian society. The five principles in Pancasila can be accepted as the basis of the Indonesian state which is being prepared for independence in BPUPKI. Sukarno

believed that Pancasila was a philosophy that united and bound the entire Indonesian nation. With Pancasila, the Indonesian people can unite on a solid and lasting foundation.

Hegel elaborates the historical development of the Spirit into four world-historical epochs. Each epoch manifests a principle of Spirit and is expressed in a dominant culture as shown in the following (Seran, 2017).

First, in the stage of childhood Spirit, the relation between subjectivity and substantiality is unmediated. In other words, consciousness is in its immediacy. Hence individuals have no self-consciousness of personality. They are still in external nature. The typical governments of these cultures are theocratic and more particularly despotism, aristocracy, and monarchy respectively. Second, in the stage of adolescent Spirit, the relation between subjectivity and substantiality is mixed. Individuals have freedom and status. But the relation of the individual to the state is not being self-conscious. This relation is unreflective and based on obedience to custom and tradition. Hence, the immediate union of subjectivity with the substantial mind is unstable and leads to fragmentation. Third, in the stage of manhood Spirit, individual personality is recognized as in formal rights, thus including a level of reflection. Here freedom is difficult because the universal subjugates individuals, i.e., the state becomes an abstraction over its citizens who must be sacrificed to the severe demands of a state in which individuals form a homogeneous mass. A tension between the two principles of individuality and universality ensues, manifesting itself in the formation of political despotism and insurgency against it. Fourth, in the stage of mature Spirit, the principle of subjective freedom comes to the fore in such a way as to be made explicit in the life of Spirit and mediated with substantiality. This involves a gradual development that begins with reconciliation of inner and outer life and culminates in the appearance of the modern nation-state (reflection of the philosophy of the state as it was taught by (Devereux, 2011; Gerson, 2017) in their books.

After previous development of abstract right and morality, society as the ethical life develops into the family, civil society, and the state. As the synthesis of previous development from abstract right to morality, the ethical life becomes Hegel's main project of setting up a philosophy of legal system to ground the existence of a constitutional state. Hegel tends to over emphasize the existence of the state as the actuality of universal reason and freedom and thus acts and speaks for the whole and the whole in their respective conditions manifest universal reason and freedom. Only in the realm of state, the development of ethical life reflects the logic of self-determination which is most clearly applied to the state as one in diversity and diversity in one. This is the philosophy of the state.

Negative Dialectics and the Need for Moral Grammar

Dialectics in the state philosophy of old Hegelianism culminated in a strong legal state that objectively determined politics and economics in the realization of general welfare. Marx refused to use Hegel's dialectic in reverse and showed that the state is a false consciousness that creates social conflict by perpetuating class differences between workers and those holding political power and capital. Thus, the achievement of state life is not the result of a positive dialectical process but a negative one because the state perpetuates social conflict and must be destroyed. Honneth understands the difference between Hegel and Marx in critical discourse as an effort to go beyond the Hegelian dialectic culminating in the recognition of the state and the Marxian dialectic which aims to eliminate the state. According to Honneth, recognition is a key element in the formation of individual identity and the constitution of society. This theory identifies three essential forms of recognition: love, rights, and achievement. Honneth expands Marx's thinking about social conflict and inequality to meet

Hegel's thinking about recognition in creating a better modern society based on justice. For Honneth, justice is the fulfillment of three elements in both Hegel's recognition theory and Marx's social conflict theory. The three elements are love, law, and solidarity. His thinking leads to a better understanding of how to create a more just society.

Honneth tries to revive the primitive stage of ethical life and makes it Hegel's initial attempt to bring mutual recognition as the ground of moral grammar in seeking social conflict resolutions. This requires a methodology of reconstructive science with the power of interpretation to capture what has been lost in both Hegel's philosophy of right and Marx's theory of social conflict. For Honneth, recognition and respect underlie the life of a multicultural society which can be used as a starting point for achieving a better life together based on love, rights, and solidarity. In contrast, social conflicts are expressions of unwillingness to accept views, beliefs, and behavior that differ from one's own. Disrespect and intolerance take form in hate speech, blasphemy, stereotyping, typecasting, etc. We experience all of these in political and economic affairs that reflect the unwillingness of the ruler who in some way dislikes criticism from public opinion. When violence is used to condemn, justice becomes the only way to test what is right or wrong, then a system of ethics after all be the foundation a system of law. Without a system of ethics, morality becomes an abstract universality of the subjective reason in which basic values and social norms are reduced into a category of dominant power whether it is economic, political, or cultural.

Living in a society needs an order which is the power of the ruler to make such an order works for unity of all under his/her sovereignty. Once a society is in order, it works through a system of norms that guides what is right to do and prohibits or avoids what is wrong. After all, social conflict resolutions must be based on a legitimate power to enforce social norms by granting rewards or penalties to the doers. However, mutual recognition is an ideal moral principle to ground a system of ethics in which conflicting parties make themselves open to respect the rule of law to gain by procedure what is equally good for all in resolving social conflicts.

According to Honneth, Hegel offered a new understanding of history from the philosophical perspective as the insight of a historical event rather than what historians dealt with in writing history as a matter of fact (Buchwalter, 2013). Hence the philosophy of history is concerned with pure thinking and so itself as science, i.e., not an aggregate of orders in social and political history, but the development of thought, a development which is necessary. Based on Honneth's interpretation of Hegel's philosophy of history, ethical substance of Pancasila in practicing Article 33 in the 1945 Constitution will take a reconstructive approach to Indonesian historical epoch. It demands an interpretation of the deed of Pancasila can be equally developed along with that of the young Hegelian concept of the struggle for recognition. Using Axel Honneth's frame of a moral grammar, Pancasila can be refreshed in interpretation to serve as the foundation of a system of ethics to work for Indonesia as a modern constitutional state.

Honneth develops a methodology of intersubjective relations due to social and political problems that frequently emerged in modern societies. For him, the laments of modern societies on the problem of economic poverty take root in the absence of recognition and intersubjective relations. This is why we need dynamic interpretation of Pancasila in the context of Indonesian state administration and its relationship with the young Hegelian concept of the struggle for recognition. According to (Yunadi, Faizal, & Septiyaningsih, 2020), Pancasila holds immense significance because Pancasila serves as the nation's *weltanschauung*, encompassing constitutional and cultural meanings. Pancasila's dynamic interpretation remains crucial for Indonesia's present state of life. It bridges tradition and

progress, embodying both continuity and adaptation. This is important to notice that the struggle for recognition shapes individual lives, but the dynamic interpretation of Pancasila shapes a nation's identity in line with Honneth's book entitled "*The Struggle for Recognition: Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts* (1992). In this book Honneth develops young Hegelian concept of recognition in connection with GH Mead's theory of the generalized other in social psychology (Parkovnick, 2015). It is in line with what has been developed by Habermas in his two volumes of the theory of communicative action (1984&1987) as well as Winnicott's theory of social relation (DeRobertis, 2010). Honneth's recent publication is the entitled *Reification* written as a critique on instrumental reason by calling on restoring of intersubjective relation based on mutual recognition (Schmitz, Schmitz, & Chen, 2019). Honneth's focal point is that reification is rooted in social pathology as the consequence of the decomposition of intersubjective relations, not only because of the structure of capitalist economy as usually exposed by Karl Marx and G. Lukacs.

CONCLUSION

Honneth tries to compose of historical deeds of world history to build a system of ethics based on recognition, intersubjective relation, affection, and feeling of respect from which social norms can be understood as moral grammar in acting and speaking about social conflict resolution. For Honneth, understanding social norms in the modern constitutional state presupposes what has been already in the family and developed into a public domain of civil society. Affection can enrich intersubjective relations and hence develop self-esteem. Respect too needs development from being natural in the family and civil society into formal conception of the rule of law. Finally, solidarity concludes the power of affection and respect for one to be able to place himself/herself as part of society, specifically when society needs to struggle for the interests of all. It means that reconstructive theory of morality must be placed into critical interpretation to make presence of those who have disappeared by recognizing (Erkennen) them not only to be physically appeared but also morally existing as autonomous persons who are able to act and speak as what has been always-already experienced in the family. In short, Honneth's constructive science of morality is possible by critical interpretation about our current global education system. When the global education system is failing to address alarming challenges to help us shape peaceful, just, and sustainable societies, we need to stand firmly on lifeworld to make use of Pancasila as the moral grammar for social conflict resolutions. Therefore, reinventing educational substance in Pancasila may transform education by empowering learners not only with knowledge and skills but with values and attitudes to be resilient, adaptable, and prepared for the human and planetary well-being and sustainable development.

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