



The Relevance Of Trisakti Soekarno Concept With Nawacita In Jokowi-Jk Government

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ABSTRACT

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This research describes the relevance of Trisakti Soekarno concept with Nawacita initiated by the government of Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla (Jokowi-JK). "The General Elections" in 2014 for Jokowi and JK as President and Vice President of Indonesia for 2014 to 2019 period. In the current government, Jokowi-JK uses the concept of Trisakti Sukarno as an ideological way Indonesia, which implemented into 9 priorities agenda of their government called Nawacita. Trisakti as the ideological base for Nawacita is interesting to look further considering the conceptual Trisakti built 50 years ago. What was the relevance and significance of Trisakti with Nawacita in this current government, become for this research. In condition to answer that, the conceptual framework of the Trisakti is used to see the relevance with Nawacita Jokowi-JK. The Conceptual framework is also used to find the significance of the concept of Trisakti with current conditions. The method used in this research is descriptive method with qualitative research. Data collection techniques in this study was conducted using the research library or library study to obtain data through documents. Relevance of Trisakti with Nawacita as a priority program can be seen from the similarity of identifying problems that are rooted in three factors namely political, economic and cultural. However, when analyzed in depth there are fundamental differences between Nawacita with Trisakti such differences rooted in the socio-political and not attached to the anti Nekolim character in Nawacita. The signification of Trisakti concept can be seen as an attempt to reoriented the fields of politics, economy and culture of Indonesia at this stage of the Indonesian revolution is lost. Significance Trisakti ultimately worth taking a look back when it was compared with the era of globalization and the current conditions.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The history of the establishment of the Indonesian nation cannot be separated from the contributions of the nation's best sons and daughters (Endraswara, 2006) (Malino & Ronda, 2014). The generation known as the founding fathers has contributed either in the form of thoughts or through physical struggle, which is very significant to Indonesia's efforts to seize independence (Moesa, 2007) (Latifah, 2013). The founding fathers included well-known figures such as Soekarno, Mohammad Hatta, Sutan Sjahrir, Tan Malaka, Agus Salim, and so on. Among these names, Soekarno emerged as a familiar figure in Indonesian society. Soekarno as an idolized figure in Indonesia remembers that as an individual, he is a complex figure. Apart from being known as the first President of the Republic of Indonesia, Soekarno also received another title, namely as a capable thinker. To this day, in the context of modern Indonesian politics, Soekarno has occupied at least three special statuses that no leader in Indonesia is expected to achieve (Winarno, 2007) (Ramlan, 1992). First, Soekarno became a political institution capable of forming an imaginary ideal institutional system network among the majority of Indonesian society. Second, as a thinker whose ideas remain at the center of debate in various circles. Third, as an ideology and at the same time an ideologue capable of formulating ideas about a good society that Indonesia wants to embrace and how to make it happen (Said, 1998). Regarding the figure of Soekarno as a thinker, This is inseparable from the many thoughts that he expressed in the form of concepts in the Indonesian political, economic and socio-cultural fields. Soekarno's thoughts were motivated by various factors. One of the factors that influenced Soekarno's thinking was colonialism in Indonesia (Suleman, 2010). Colonialism that occurred for hundreds of years in Indonesia became an empirical experience for Soekarno. The depletion of Indonesia's natural resources by the practice of colonialism and the grip of imperialism, has an impact on the destitution of the Indonesian people as victims of colonialism. This played a major role in shaping Soekarno's thinking later on which was anti-colonialism and imperialism.

According to Soekarno, the Indonesian revolution is a continuous process from the initial phase, namely the struggle for independence (physically) to the final phase, namely the realization of the ideals of the nation (Soedarsono, 2013) (Hasibuan, 2008). The times and the dynamics of global politics demanded Soekarno's thinking to be visionary and anticipatory (Ch, 2013). The dynamics of global politics in its development affect the government regime of a country and drag it into the global political flow that Soekarno symbolized in the form of nekolim (neocolonialism and neo-imperialism). Nekolim is a threat and a form of "new colonialism" in the political, economic and social aspects of the country that threatens third world countries. There are two factors that make nekolim more dangerous than the old imperialism-colonialism. First, because the methods and practices are not yet known by the people. Second, because the real colonialism is often not clearly visible, because the nekolim is colonialism, which people say colonization by proxy, colonization by remote control, colonization "from afar" Especially for Indonesia, the nekolim according to Soekarno was a challenge to the Indonesian revolution which had passed its initial phase. revolution that is independence from colonialism. The danger of nekolim domination demands the need for a solid foundation for Indonesia to defend the country's sovereignty. This condition inspired Soekarno to formulate a revolutionary path and ideas that could answer these dynamics. The formulation of Soekarno's thoughts was outlined in his compilation of the Panca Azimat Revolusi or the five pillars of Indonesian independence (Silverman, 1967). Panca Azimat Revolusi means five magic writings which if used will solve all Indonesia's problems from the roots in the shortest possible time towards a just-prosperous society. Panca Azimat are ideas that Soekarno explored and formulated from life with the Indonesian people. Panca Azimat contains the stages of the Indonesian revolution starting from pre-independence to post-independence. The five amulets describe the stages that Indonesia must face in order to be aware of the dangers of each stage of the revolution that will be faced in the future. The main points of this amulet were described by Soekarno in his five writings written from 1926 to 1965 (Abdulah et al., 2012) (Murtadho, 2008). Of the

five amulets formulated by Soekarno, Trisakti was the amulet prepared by Soekarno to face the phase of the Indonesian revolution in facing the threat of nekolim. Trisakti as a concept, ideologically provides an ideal picture of how the attitude and character of the Indonesian people to face the dangers of nekolim. The description of Trisakti was first put forth by Soekarno in his state speech on August 17, 1964, entitled "The Year of Vivere Pericoloso" or abbreviated as TAVIP. TAVIP itself is adapted by Soekarno from Italian, which literally means a year full of distress. Sukarno considered this dangerous condition that after colonialism, third world countries would face a new phase of revolution. The new phase is the nekolim who tries to instill their domination and hegemony in third world countries.

In the Indonesian context, Trisakti, according to Soekarno, is a description of the three problems that the Indonesian nation needs to immediately fix quickly. Soekarno saw that improvements were needed in various aspects of the state within the Indonesian state in order to escape from the nekolim trap (Widjajanto et al., 2006) (Albanik, 2000). Trisakti as a political idea is translated into 3 points, namely (1) political sovereignty, (2) economic independence, and (3) social and cultural character (Prasetyia & Wulandari, 2009) (Darmu'in, 2013). First, politically the Indonesian nation is still unable to demonstrate its existence as a nation because of the strong post-decolonialization of the center-satellite alliance between the colonizer and the colonized countries. This means that the relationship of dependence on the colonizer is still strong, be it in the form of political patronage or economic patronage. This condition shows that Indonesia is not yet fully sovereign politically, because it is still prone to undermining colonial parties. Second, economically the Indonesian nation also experiences dependence on the supply of foreign economic assistance in order to develop its economy independently (Blaut, 1993) (Croissant et al., 2002). But unexpectedly, this dependence made the national economy exploited through the existence of the national bourgeoisie who collaborated with global imperialism in obtaining private profits. Third, culturally, the colonial mentality makes this nation forget about the spirit of mutual cooperation as social capital in strengthening political and economic solidarity (Golding & Harris, 1996) (Westad, 2005). Indonesian culture is increasingly poisoned by the essence of individualism and liberalism implanted in the free fight liberalism scheme. These three problems are forms of threat from the remnants of colonialism, capitalism and imperialism which have found new forms in the form of nekolim. Through these three aspects of state life, nekolim tries to exert influence in Indonesia (Magala, 2003). Indonesian culture is increasingly poisoned by the essence of individualism and liberalism implanted in the free fight liberalism scheme. These three problems are forms of threat from the remnants of colonialism, capitalism and imperialism which have found new forms in the form of nekolim. Through these three aspects of state life, nekolim tries to exert influence in Indonesia (Magala, 2003). Indonesian culture is increasingly poisoned by the essence of individualism and liberalism implanted in the free fight liberalism scheme. These three problems are forms of threat from the remnants of colonialism, capitalism and imperialism which have found new forms in the form of nekolim. Through these three aspects of state life, nekolim tries to exert influence in Indonesia (Magala, 2003).

After the events of the September 30, 1965 Movement, Soekarno's position as the number one person in Indonesia was on the line. The indictment of his involvement in the crawling coup marked the end of his presidency as president of the Indonesian republic (Lev, 2009) (Mortimer, 2006). In 1966 Soekarno's position was replaced by Suharto as President of the Republic of Indonesia. The resignation of Soekarno also affected every concept and work program he had launched (Winarno, 2007) (Simanjuntak, 2008). This includes Trisakti's position as an idea to answer political, economic and socio-cultural problems in Indonesia at that time (Hanafi, 2013) (Zamroni, 2013). As a result, Trisakti as a concept was never really seen as the antithesis of the threat of nekolim at that time. Although it has never really been seen as a continuity, due to the change of power in the government of the Republic of Indonesia, in fact Trisakti as a concept is still considered relevant to answer Indonesia's challenges at this time. This can be seen when in 2014, Trisakti, which was initiated 51 years ago, was again mentioned in one of the political appointments of the candidate for the President of the Republic of Indonesia. Trisakti is trying to be "revived" again in the national development priority program known as Nawacita.

Nawacita or nine priority agendas is an idea that was promoted by the administration of Joko Widodo (Jokowi) and Jusuf Kalla (JK) as an agenda for change. During the political campaign in the 2014 presidential election, Jokowi - JK expressed their admiration for the Trisakti concept initiated by Soekarno. This admiration is based on the unique historical reality between Soekarno's Trisakti concept and the current conditions facing Indonesia. After the resignation of Soekarno as President, the authoritarian New Order regime for 32 years left Indonesia in a heartbreaking condition (Tirtosudarmo, 2007). The grip of neo-imperialism has left the foundation of this nation's life to the market mechanism so that there is commercialization of the fields that control the lives of the people. As a result, this has an impact on various aspects of the life of the Indonesian people (Evetts, 2011). The authoritarian New Order regime for 32 years left Indonesia in a heartbreaking condition (Tirtosudarmo, 2007). The grip of neo-imperialism has left the foundation of this nation's life to the market mechanism so that there is commercialization of the fields that control the lives of the people. As a result, this has an impact on various aspects of the life of the Indonesian people (Evetts, 2011). The authoritarian New Order regime for 32 years left Indonesia in a heartbreaking condition (Tirtosudarmo, 2007). The grip of neo-imperialism has left the foundation of this nation's life to the market mechanism so that there is commercialization of the fields that control the lives of the people. As a result, this has an impact on various aspects of the life of the Indonesian people (Evetts, 2011).

In the political field, democracy is damaged as a result of the practice of authoritarian rule that suppresses people's initiatives, aspirations and sovereignty (Hikam, 2000). The mushrooming of poverty, social inequality, environmental damage due to exploitation on a large scale is a decline in the economic sector as a result of neoimperialism. In the field of culture, there has been a deterioration in the national identity which is marked by a decline in the value of virtues, the fading of solidarity and mutual cooperation, and the elimination of local culture as a result of cultural imperialism (Haufler, 2013). The accumulation of the above marks a form of intolerance which means failure in the cultural field. The above problems are then summed up into three points, namely (1) the decline in state authority, (2) the weakening of the pillars of the national economy and (3) the spread of intolerance and a crisis of the nation's personality (Persson, 2012) (Benhabib, 2013). The three main problems described in Nawacita have the same form as the problems that are tried to be answered in Trisakti. This was coupled with the inclusion of the Trisakti Soekarno concept as an ideological path that became the basis for national struggles and national character development in Nawacita. This resulted in Nawacita being referred to as Trisakti Soekarno's interpretation. There have been various reactions among the public regarding the current Nawacita program of the Jokowi - JK administration. On the one hand, this brings back memories of the unfinished stages of the Indonesian revolution, as expressed by Soekarno (Kahin, 2005) (Damanik et al., 2010) (Benhabib, 2013). The three main problems described in Nawacita have the same form as the problems that are tried to be answered in Trisakti. This was coupled with the inclusion of the Trisakti Soekarno concept as an ideological path that became the basis for national struggles and national character development in Nawacita. This resulted in Nawacita being referred to as Trisakti Soekarno's interpretation. There have been various reactions among the public regarding the current Nawacita program of the Jokowi - JK administration. On the one hand, this brings back memories of the unfinished stages of the Indonesian revolution, as expressed by Soekarno (Kahin, 2005) (Damanik et al., 2010) (Benhabib, 2013). The three main problems described in Nawacita have the same form as the problems that are tried to be answered in Trisakti. This was coupled with the inclusion of the Trisakti Soekarno concept as an ideological path that became the basis for national struggles and national character development in Nawacita. This resulted in Nawacita being referred to as Trisakti Soekarno's interpretation. There have been various reactions among the public regarding the current Nawacita program of the Jokowi - JK administration. On the one hand, this brings back memories of the unfinished stages of the Indonesian revolution, as expressed by Soekarno (Kahin, 2005) (Damanik et al., 2010). The three main problems described in Nawacita have the same form as the problems that are tried to be answered in Trisakti. This was coupled with the inclusion of the Trisakti Soekarno concept as an ideological path that became the basis for national struggles and national character development in Nawacita. This resulted in Nawacita being referred to as Trisakti Soekarno's interpretation. There

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In addition, the revival of the Trisakti concept can be seen as an illustration of the longing of the Indonesian people for an ideal state figure. But on the other hand, Trisakti Soekarno's depiction as an ideological concept that inspired Nawacita has the potential to be merely a political promise to gain public support for the current Jokowi-JK government. Based on the explanation above, it can be seen the similarities between the Trisakti Soekarno concept and the current Jokowi-JK administration's Nawacita, related to his views on the problems faced by the Indonesian nation today.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

The research method used is descriptive (Soendari, 2012) (Nazir, 1988). Descriptive research aims to explain certain problems or objects in detail in an effort to solve the problems being studied (Guru, 2011) (Usman & Akbar, 2008). The type of research used in this research is qualitative research (Gunawan, 2013). Qualitative research is based on a logical procedure that begins with a special proportion as a result of observations and ends at a general hypothesis (new knowledge) conclusion (Nugrahani & Hum, 2014). Qualitative research also serves to capture and provide a deeper picture of a certain phenomenon. The data used in this research is secondary data. Secondary data is data obtained by researchers from second sources or based on existing data. Secondary data can be obtained through various sources, namely books, journals, the internet, or literature related to the research title. Because the data used is secondary data, the data collection technique used in this study is the Library Research. Research library data collection technique or what is called documentation is the collection of data obtained through documents. The data obtained by this method is in the form of excerpts, quotations, or fragments from organizational, clinical, or program records; memorandum-memorandum and correspondence; publications and official reports; personal diary; and open written answers to questionnaires and surveys. The data analysis technique used in this research is qualitative data analysis (Rahardjo, 2010) (Agusta, 2003). Qualitative data analysis is a technique that emphasizes its analysis in a process of inductive conclusion, as well as analysis of the phenomenon being observed using the scientific method (Nugrahani & Hum, 2014) (Endraswara, 2006).

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1. Trisakti and its Relevance to Nawacita Jokowi-JK.

The inclusion of the Trisakti concept as an ideological path that becomes Nawacita's reference can be seen in the 2014 Jokowi-JK vision, mission and action program documents. accommodate the spirit of national struggle which is translated into three aspects of national life, namely political sovereignty, economic independence and cultural personality. The existential aspect of Trisakti Soekarno's idea is his rejection of colonialism, imperialism and feudalism and invites the masses of the people to immediately realize that these three systems still exist even though Indonesia is already independent. Therefore,

a. Relevance in Political Field.

Trisakti Soekarno's concept of "Sovereignty in Politics" was a reaction to the socio-political conditions in the world at that time. The independence of third world countries in Asia and Africa then did not make the threat to the sovereignty of these countries disappear, instead it marked the emergence of new patterns of domination and hegemony which Soekarno called *nekolim*. The influence of Britain and the United States in the formation of the State of Malaysia and the occupation of West Irian by the Dutch are examples of *nekolim* practices that directly disrupt Indonesia's political sovereignty. Therefore, the idea of politics in Trisakti speaks in the context of Indonesia's foreign relations. The ideas can be summed up into 2 points, namely: (1). Managing Government without Intervention from Other Countries. (2).

b. Relevance in the Field of Economics.

The embodiment of Trisakti's idea of "Being independent in the economic field" can be seen from Soekarno's steps to form a national economy called "Guided Economy". Guided Economy is a phase of national economic planning which attempts to solve structural economic problems. The aim of the guided economy was therefore general economic rehabilitation, which Soekarno described as "future direction and orientation". Guided Economy is a national economic system where each element is integrated into a single management and regulation unit. The Guided Economy is the initial phase of the transition of society from a colonial society to a democratic national society, which Soekarno called the 'swift steering wheel.'. During this transitional period, Indonesia was faced with serious problems in the economic sector, such as the burden of a population surge and a decline in production. This then has implications for the price level, inflation and the state budget deficit. Guided Economy is also Soekarno's alternative view in dealing with the development of capitalism, imperialism and colonialism along with feudalism. The orientation of the Indonesian economy calls for the Indonesian economy to be a joint effort based on the principle of kinship; that the production branches which control the life of the Indonesian people are controlled by the state; that the earth, water and natural resources contained therein are used for the prosperity of the people, as outlined in the 1945 Constitution. Several economic strategies implemented during the Guided Economy are: (1). Rejection of *nekolim* in the Indonesian economy. (2). Land reform and enforcement of food sovereignty. (3). Nationalization of foreign companies.

c. Relevance in the Field of Culture.

The third point of Trisakti is to have one's own personality in the cultural field. The personality stated by Soekarno here is the need for a nation building and character building by the Indonesian nation. This cultural point is the main supporter of the upholding of Indonesian political sovereignty. There are 3 cultures that Soekarno wanted to erode in the character of the Indonesian nation, namely the culture of colonialism (Dutch), capitalism and imperialism. The inlander mentality, as a result of the culture of colonialism (the Dutch is what needs to be enlightened or in Soekarno's own language 'leads to a form of self-discovery again'. If it is related to the principle of sovereignty in the political field, this is an attempt to shape the character of the nation which is symbolized in the form of the abolition of the colonial or inferior mentality which has been inherent in the formation of the people of the Netherlands Indies in the Dutch colonialism scheme. The culture of capitalism and imperialism finds its

form in individualism, nihilism and cynicism. This culture, according to Soekarno, killed the national personality of the Indonesian nation based on collectivity and mutual cooperation. Not only that, feudal and imperialistic cultures also instilled a spirit of cowardice, weakness and lack of confidence in the Indonesian people in their actions and actions⁹⁵. The close relationship between the political and economic fields and their impact on the cultural sector then initiated Soekarno to initiate a "Mental Revolution" as an effort to save the nation at the level of nation building. The essence of the Sukarno-style mental revolution was reforming the way of thinking, the way of working / fighting, and the way of life so that it was in line with the spirit of progress and the demands of the national revolution. "It is a movement to galvanize Indonesian people to become new people, white-hearted, steel-willed, passionate about eagle eagles, with the soul of flaming fire. The mental revolution initiated by Soekarno was applied in the form of praxis, namely advocating a "new life movement". The new life movement, according to Soekarno, must have a revolutionary spirit that rejects "yesterday" (reject yesterday). it means that all old lifestyles which are incompatible with the spirit of progress and the demands of the revolution must be discarded. The new life movement is applied to actions such as a simple life, the hygiene / health movement, the literacy movement, the movement for mutual cooperation, the movement to discipline and streamline companies and state services, the movement for spiritual development through religious activities, and strengthening national vigilance. .

3.2. The Significance of Trisakti to Current Conditions

a. The Significance of Trisakti to Current Conditions

According to Trisakti, state sovereignty in politics is a reflection of the country's integrity. The state in the political field must have sovereignty that cannot be negotiated because it risks the dignity of a nation. Therefore, the practice of nekolim which seeks to create conditions of dependence and political domination in world countries is the antithesis of the sovereign view of Trisakti politics. A politically sovereign nation has a share in determining the attitude and objective diplomatic relations in building international relations with an equal position. Indonesia's attitude in this matter can be understood if you look at the opening of the 1945 Constitution in the first and fourth paragraphs which states Indonesia's rejection of colonialism over the sovereignty of other countries and Indonesia's commitment to actively participate in maintaining world order. Nawacita interpreted this form of political sovereignty and formulated it in patterns of cooperation between countries without changing Indonesia's initial commitment to consistently implement a free and active policy. Indonesia's commitment can be seen from several steps taken by the Jokowi-JK administration in international relations, such as the issue of Palestinian sovereignty and the case of the South China Sea dispute. Responding to the issue of Palestinian sovereignty, the Indonesian government initiated support from the international community for Palestinian political sovereignty, one of them is by allowing the establishment of the Palestinian Embassy in Jakarta⁹⁸. In the South China Sea conflict, Indonesia pushed for the achievement of the Code of Conduct (CoC) between ASEAN countries and China. This step as a mediator was taken by Indonesia considering that the South China Sea region, which is known as an energy-rich region, remains stable and ensures that trade flows run smoothly. The pattern of international relations must also be seen from a broader framework, this is because the Trisakti concept is based on the polarization of world politics into the two major blocs at that time. The division of the world into two major blocs is no longer relevant to the current conditions after the victory of post-cold war democratic liberalism. This demands a redefinition or redefinition of the countries that Soekarno previously said were imperialists, as well as capitalists who were enemies of the Indonesian revolution. Changes in the political constellation are also marked by the emergence of globalization in the economic sector which has resulted in dependence and bondage between one country and another as a unit. In the future, Nawacita will be faced with problems that intersect with international

relations actors, namely State and non-State (International Institutions and Multi / Trans National Corporation). Making future government policies can be a reference whether in practice Indonesia prioritizes the national interest or the interests of parties outside the country. For example, such as a contract of work for PT. Freeport Indonesia in Papua and claims of the Natuna region by foreign countries. Contract of work of PT. Freeport, which will expire in 2021, requires a review of forms of cooperation such as divestment policies and extension of work contracts. This is absolutely necessary so that the interests of the Indonesian people in this case become the top priority in decision making. Likewise with the Natuna islands problem, the archipelago at the end of the Karimata Strait has the potential for large oil and gas reserves. As one of the outermost islands in Indonesia, the Natuna Islands are territorially intersected with ASEAN countries such as Malaysia and Vietnam. The potential for conflict and annexation of territory by foreign countries can certainly threaten Indonesia's integrity and constitute a violation of Indonesia's political sovereignty. Apart from changing socio-political conditions and demanding redefinition of Indonesian political policies, Trisakti in principle teaches that the political sovereignty of a country must be respected and respected by every country. As a consequence of this, cooperation built in international relations should ideally put Indonesia's national interests above the interests of other parties.

b. Reorientation of Indonesia's Economic Outlook.

Trisakti as an ideological path is an effort to put Indonesia's development on track. Re-echoing Soekarno's Trisakti idea, as a stage in the Panca Azimat, is imperative to continue the unfinished stages of the Indonesian revolution. This is based on the facts that although supported by abundant natural resources, in fact Indonesia is lagging behind economic factors. Within the scope of ASEAN, Indonesia is still lagging behind Malaysia and Singapore both economically and based on Human Resources (HR). The use of Trisakti as an ideological path is a sign of tracing Indonesia's current economic problems as a result of the political-economic orientation adopted by the ruling regime. The concept of self-reliance in the economic field is therefore assessing that in order to change neoliberalism's political-economy policies, the path taken is a reorientation in political-economic life, not only institutional changes. This also requires that the jargon for economic independence should not only be an operational basis that has not been implemented. The Guided Economy as an economic system that is launched to overcome this condition is carried out by nationalizing foreign companies and land reform to enforce food sovereignty. Likewise with the problem of foreign capital in Indonesia. Soekarno firmly stated the form of „cooperation on conditions not only institutional changes. This also requires that the jargon for economic independence should not only be an operational basis that has not been implemented. The Guided Economy as an economic system that is launched to overcome this condition is carried out by nationalizing foreign companies and land reform to enforce food sovereignty. Likewise with the problem of foreign capital in Indonesia. Soekarno firmly stated the form of „cooperation on conditions not only institutional changes. This also requires that the jargon for economic independence should not only be an operational basis that has not been implemented. The Guided Economy as an economic system that is launched to overcome this condition is carried out by nationalizing foreign companies and land reform to enforce food sovereignty. Likewise with the problem of foreign capital in Indonesia. Soekarno firmly stated the form of „cooperation on conditions The Guided Economy as an economic system that is launched to overcome this condition is carried out by nationalizing foreign companies and land reform to enforce food sovereignty. Likewise with the problem of foreign capital in Indonesia. Soekarno firmly stated the form of „cooperation on conditions The Guided Economy as an economic system that is launched to overcome this condition is carried out by nationalizing foreign companies and land reform to enforce food sovereignty. Likewise with the problem of foreign capital in Indonesia. Soekarno firmly stated the form of „cooperation on conditions“ that is, only using foreign capital "if necessary" and not made a priority in financing economic improvement. The foreign capital that Soekarno wanted was foreign capital that was neither

politically nor militarily binding. This whole activity led to an attitude consistently held by Soekarno, namely anti-nekolim. However, if it is related to the current economic reality of Indonesia, this is certainly troublesome considering the problems of economic orientation and economic structure of world countries are currently intertwined with each other as a unit. This can be seen from the forms of global and regional economic cooperation such as the G-20, the World Trade Organization (WTO), the Asean Economic Community (MEA), even the most recent is the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), which requires the Indonesian economy to be integrated with cooperation- the cooperation. Economic practice in this global order is based on economic liberalization, thereby removing trade barriers and barriers to investment flows within a country. The reality of the global economic order that leads to a free market has an impact on the role of the state, which indirectly minimizes its role. Indonesia's participation in the global economic order when faced with efforts to reorient and restructure the national economy, is in a position that is at odds with one another due to different basic assumptions regarding economic welfare. The discourse regarding the implementation of a guided economic system which is possible if it is supported by guided democracy is also difficult to materialize. This situation is not possible to be applied again, given that the tendency of guided democracy to be close to authoritarianism is incompatible with the development of democracy in Indonesia at this time. The use of Trisakti as an ideological path for future governance confronts Nawacita with contradictions when it is collided with the reality of the global economy. Although it is realized that there is a mistake in the orientation of the national economy at this time, we must find a "peaceful way" with a liberal global economic order, because what should be understood is that the country's economic independence relies on the people as the main driving force for the economy. So that the interests of the people must be the top priority in every practice of the national economy. The use of Trisakti as an ideological path for future governance confronts Nawacita with contradictions when it is collided with the reality of the global economy. Although it is realized that there is a mistake in the orientation of the national economy at this time, we must find a "peaceful way" with a liberal global economic order, because what should be understood is that the country's economic independence relies on the people as the main driving force for the economy. So that the interests of the people, must be the top priority in every practice of the national economy. The use of Trisakti as an ideological path for future governance confronts Nawacita with contradictions when it is collided with the reality of the global economy. Although it is realized that there is a mistake in the orientation of the national economy at this time, we must find a "peaceful way" with a liberal global economic order, because what should be understood is that the country's economic independence relies on the people as the main driving force for the economy. So that the interests of the people must be the top priority in every practice of the national economy. because what should be understood is that the country's economic independence relies on the people as the main driving force for the economy. So that the interests of the people, must be the top priority in every practice of the national economy. because what should be understood is that the country's economic independence relies on the people as the main driving force for the economy. So that the interests of the people, must be the top priority in every practice of the national economy.

c. Strength and Nation Building as well as Character Building.

Trisakti is an effort to build a nation's character that is full of self-respect and respects the sovereignty of other countries. The formation of the character of this nation is necessary considering that the Dutch and Japanese colonial rule resulted in the disappearance of the original character of the Indonesian nation. The conditions of the colonial era, both the Netherlands and Japan, resulted in the cultural domination of the colonial State over Indonesia. The consequence is that the actions of the Indonesian people are forced to conform to the imperialistic interests of the colonial state. This also led to the attachment of the label "coolie

nation" to the Indonesian nation. The cultural influence of capitalism-imperialism and colonialism, which Soekarno said was an object that must be eliminated in the Trisakti conception, has a personality in the cultural field. The elimination of these three cultures will be able to encourage the emergence of culture and display the true personality of the Indonesian people. Having a cultural personality in the Trisakti concept becomes the benchmark for a nation against the influence of the times. Globalization which also touches cultural aspects can be seen from the rampant individualism, pragmatism and excessive consumptive behavior among Indonesian society. The consumptive behavior of the Indonesian people in this case deserves more attention. The increase in the level of consumption per capita in Indonesia after the crisis, on the one hand, has indeed provided a positive signal, this can be seen from the development of consumption levels of the Indonesian people. This high level of consumption does not reflect the equality and welfare of the Indonesian people. This can be seen from the number of Indonesia's Gini coefficient, which at the end of 2014 showed 0.42. The high pattern of consumerism indicates a changing lifestyle of Indonesian society and has been carried away by the flow of free market consumerism. This consumerist culture contradicts the identity and character of the Indonesian people, which prioritizes collectivity and mutual cooperation. Another cultural idea in Trisakti, namely Soekarno's intolerance of Dutch culture and foreign culture, which is considered to be able to make the Indonesian nation not independent and with a copycat mentality, should be redefined at this time. Soekarno's rejection of "imperialist music." The high pattern of consumerism indicates a changing lifestyle of Indonesian society and has been carried away by the flow of free market consumerism. This consumerist culture contradicts the identity and character of the Indonesian people, which prioritizes collectivity and mutual cooperation. Another cultural idea in Trisakti, namely Soekarno's intolerance of Dutch culture and foreign culture, which is considered to be able to make the Indonesian nation not independent and with a copycat mentality, should be redefined at this time. Soekarno's rejection of "imperialist music." The high pattern of consumerism indicates a changing lifestyle of Indonesian society and has been carried away by the flow of free market consumerism. This consumerist culture contradicts the identity and character of the Indonesian people, which prioritizes collectivity and mutual cooperation. Another cultural idea in Trisakti, namely Soekarno's intolerance of Dutch culture and foreign culture, which is considered to be able to make the Indonesian nation not independent and with a copycat mentality, should be redefined at this time. Soekarno's rejection of "imperialist music." namely Soekarno's intolerance of Dutch culture and foreign culture which is considered to make the Indonesian nation not independent and with a copycat mentality should be redefined at this time. Soekarno's rejection of "imperialist music." which he called "goat kebelelet kawin" and Ngak Ngik Ngok and other cultural forms which are judged to be merely pursuing aesthetics are certainly not in accordance with the context of globalization and rapid technological developments at this time. Jokowi-JK's "Mental Revolution" idea, in this case, is no longer rejecting foreign culture and identifying it as colonial, imperialist and feudal culture. Jokowi-JK's "Mental Revolution" idea is directed at improving public morality such as discipline and tolerance which aims to raise the quality and competitiveness of the Indonesian people in the global realm. Globalization and technological developments that allow the entry and exit of culture and information in a short time are now inevitable. Technological advances and the development of various cultural disciplines from developed countries which Indonesia has not been able to produce can be used as examples to develop this country. The differences that exist between the cultures that enter can be addressed by filtering them based on the impact they produce. Therefore, to deal with this condition, having a personality in culture certainly does not close yourself down and reject it outright without seeing the positive impact that can be reaped from globalization.

4. CONCLUSION

Sukarno's thoughts that he expressed in Trisakti were an effort to create an independent Indonesia, based on 3 areas that had to be addressed, namely politics, economy and culture. Nawacita is seen as being relevant to Trisakti as an idea that identifies the same problem, namely the chaotic role of the state as a result of its political, economic and cultural orientation. However, when viewed in a comprehensive discussion, this does not fundamentally address the problems faced, namely the orientation of Indonesia's political economy that leads to *nekolim*.

In the political field there are different emphases on the problems faced by Indonesia. Political sovereignty in Trisakti focuses on the issue of foreign intervention against Indonesian sovereignty, while the enforcement of political sovereignty initiated in Nawacita is to prioritize domestic political development. This difference in emphasis is based on the different socio-political conditions between the concepts of Trisakti and Nawacita. Even though there are differences in problem identification, this is still relevant because Nawacita sticks to the Trisakti Soekarno concept, seen from the defense of the idea of a free-active foreign policy and the affirmation of the position of the people as subjects in running politics that stand on reality based on the unity of the Indonesian republic. In the economic field in line with ideas in the political field, Trisakti wants a national economy that is oriented towards rejecting *nekolim*. Trisakti prioritizes domestic economic strength as the main motor without relying on other nations. The idea of economic independence is also interpreted not as a rejection of foreign assistance but a desire for equal cooperation. Having personality in culture is an attempt to get rid of the domination of incoming foreign cultures while trying to bring out an authentic Indonesian personality. The emergence of an Indonesian personality characterized by collectivity and mutual cooperation was balanced with a fighting spirit to build a new world in accordance with the ideals of Indonesian independence. Trisakti prioritizes domestic economic strength as the main motor without relying on other nations. The idea of economic independence is also interpreted not as a rejection of foreign assistance but a desire for equal cooperation. Having personality in culture is an attempt to get rid of the domination of incoming foreign cultures while trying to bring out an authentic Indonesian personality. The emergence of an Indonesian personality characterized by collectivity and mutual cooperation was balanced with a fighting spirit to build a new world in accordance with the ideals of Indonesian independence. Trisakti prioritizes domestic economic strength as the main motor without relying on other nations. The idea of economic independence is also interpreted not as a rejection of foreign assistance but a desire for equal cooperation. Having personality in culture is an attempt to get rid of the domination of incoming foreign cultures while trying to bring out an authentic Indonesian personality. The emergence of an Indonesian personality characterized by collectivity and mutual cooperation was balanced with a fighting spirit to build a new world in accordance with the ideals of Indonesian independence. Having personality in culture is an attempt to get rid of the domination of incoming foreign cultures while trying to bring out an authentic Indonesian personality. The emergence of an Indonesian personality characterized by collectivity and mutual cooperation was balanced with a fighting spirit to build a new world in accordance with the ideals of Indonesian independence. Having personality in culture is an attempt to get rid of the domination of incoming foreign cultures while trying to bring out an authentic Indonesian personality. The emergence of an Indonesian personality characterized by collectivity and mutual cooperation was balanced with a fighting spirit to build a new world in accordance with the ideals of Indonesian independence.

The significance of Trisakti as a concept for Nawacita can be seen in its enthusiasm to form a country that is capable of being sustainable in the political, economic and cultural fields. Efforts to affirm in the political field, reorient the economy and build the nation's character are necessary to face the current globalization. However, efforts to implement this as a whole will certainly clash with the current socio-political reality, so that an alternative view is needed that is in accordance with current conditions without having to change the character of the nation in accordance with the spirit of Trisakti.

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