

Political Ethics In Franz Magnis Suseno View And Relevance With The Indonesian Context

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Abstract

This research aims to investigate the central role of political ethics in the views of Franz Magnis Suseno in shaping the identity and welfare of Indonesian society. Political ethics is considered a vital code of behavior to direct the attitudes and behavior of state administrators and political elites so that they are in line with the vision, mission and goals of state power. Without the presence of political ethics, justice, prosperity and the highest happiness of society are difficult to realize. This research uses a contextual-interpretative approach to describe and interpret data as text, linking real situations with theoretical meaning. The method used is literature study with a focus on the work of Franz Magnis Suseno as a primary source. Data sources involve books. The research results show that political ethics plays a crucial role in shaping the identity and welfare of Indonesian society. The concept of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika is the basis for uniting people in diversity, with the hope that they will be able to respect differences and build unity. Mutual respect in diversity is considered a basic ethical basis for Indonesian citizens. The main focus is to achieve community welfare by encouraging political participation to improve living conditions together. Political ethics, as a moral guideline, is recognized as crucial in facing political challenges and corruption in Indonesia. Pancasila values are considered the main guide to achieving the goals of social justice and prosperity. Franz Magnis Suseno's ideas about political ethics and the importance of Pancasila Moral Education (PMP) are a strong foundation for building a just, democratic and socially just society, in line with the principles of Pancasila as Indonesia's national identity.

Keywords: *franz magnis suseno, pancasila, political ethics*

INTRODUCTION

Political ethics is very important because it is a code of *conduct*, where it is feared that the attitudes and behavior of state administrators and political elites could be at odds with the vision, mission and goals of (state) power. Likewise, without the presence of political ethics, justice, prosperity and the highest happiness of society cannot be realized, because guidelines as political moral values of a person are not enforced or do not exist.

According to Haryatmoko, political ethics has three dimensions, including: *First*, goals based on freedom and justice, In this case, freedom is defined as an individual's right and ability to pursue a meaningful life without unlawful interference from other parties. Meanwhile, justice refers to the fair distribution of resources and benefits in society. *both* means make it possible to achieve a goal, The process of achieving goals must pay attention to moral and ethical principles, so as not to justify the use of methods or actions that violate moral norms. and *the three* dimensions of political action play a role in determining political rationality. Political rationality here refers to the extent to which a political action or policy can be justified logically and morally. Rational political action must be able to explain and account for every step or decision taken, taking into account the underlying ethical values (Hadyono, 2021).

Political ethics has become a political practice value in moral assessment of a person's behavior in politics, and has become an important study regarding its application. In political ethics, the fundamental question is whether the government can commit deviations in its power, or whether it can take wrong actions? not guilty, and prioritizes the benefit of many people with

moralistic considerations. According to Ayi Sofyan (2012) in the book "*Islamic Political Ethics*" explains that political ethics directs humans to better life practices, together with other people in order to create a just institution. Of course what is expected here is that justice is obtained from all groups, not just limited to elites who have money, political ethics creates a life with moral values as the main preference. He explained that there are three basic concepts of political ethics for him, namely *first* , seeking a good life together. , *secondly* , expanding free life, and *thirdly* encouraging the emergence of justice (Thompson Dennis. 2018).

In essence, those who become government officials should carry out their duties as best as possible, be trustworthy, honest, firm, charismatic and capable so that they are able to guide their people according to what they want with noble goals. The importance of political ethics does not just reach the ears, but is also implemented by the government and citizens to realize justice and shared prosperity. In political ethics, a person or group can act practically in politics by making the wisest decisions, of course the main goal is to benefit many people (Rohmadhan Prihatin. 2014).

As explained previously regarding ethical and political thought from the Greek classical era to the contemporary era in the West and Islam. There are two views which argue, *firstly* , the importance of ethics in politics is very important, and *secondly* , ethics is not needed in politics because ethical reasons interfere with the work of politics. It is at this first point that researchers are interested in studying the existence of an ethic in the implementation of the political process which is important or is referred to as the concept of political ethics. This concept is very important, it requires moral principles which political ethics offers knowledge in, as well as a form of application. How does this concept question and examine human obligations as humans which should humanize humans, pay attention to *the rule of law*, democratic principles, guarantees of human rights (HAM), as well as cultural structures and social conditions (Miriam Budihardjo, 2008).

Discussions regarding issues of political ethics have become very urgent in various parts of the world today. This is because political ethics is closely related to how individuals involved in the world of politics, whether as leaders, political actors, or public officials, must have an attitude of ethical responsibility for the policies they make. The importance of political ethics lies in its impact on society and the country as a whole. When leaders and public officials act with integrity and morality, this can create policies that support the well-being of society and strengthen the foundations of the country. On the other hand, if political ethics are ignored, policies can emerge that are detrimental to society and injustice (Ridi Siatun, 2014).

One of the political ethics problems that is still entrenched today is political corruption, this concept refers to corrupt practices involving political actors or government officials abusing power and public trust to obtain personal or group benefits. This phenomenon includes a variety of unethical acts, from accepting bribes and nepotism to embezzlement of public funds. Political corruption not only harms state finances, but also damages the integrity of democratic institutions, reduces public trust in the government, and influences public policy to benefit certain groups. The debate around political corruption is inevitable from problems both in institutions and individual behavior. Corruption has changed the character of political parties, where corrupt behavior has been mixed with elements of political parties, causing a negative impact on the integrity and existence of political institutions. In fact, corruption has become a kind of culture that has penetrated the political structure, increasing public distrust of the government's performance in eradicating corruption. This phenomenon is not only financially detrimental, but also threatens the foundations of democracy, creating doubts about the

government's commitment to addressing the increasingly worsening problem of corruption (Pandu alfa. et al., 2022).

In the Indonesian context, the morals of society are clearly reflected in Pancasila, which is the moral basis of national and state life. Pancasila is not only a state ideology, but also a guideline for political ethics that must be upheld by every political actor. The five principles in Pancasila, namely belief in one God, just and civilized humanity, Indonesian unity, democracy led by wisdom in deliberation/representation, and social justice for all people, provide a strong moral foundation for politics. Political actors in Indonesia should use Pancasila as the main guide in decision making and policy implementation. An attitude of ethical responsibility must be reflected in transparency, accountability and alignment with the interests of society (Ardhani Della. Dkl, 2022).

In an effort to realize the ideals of forming the Indonesian nation and state through a healthy political process, honesty in politics is considered an ethical basis that must be put forward by everyone. However, it is unfortunate that honesty is often a political myth that is considered old-fashioned and too traditional by some politicians today. Honesty seems to be almost always lost at every stage of democracy, such as elections, regional elections and other political events. Initially, dishonesty had a serious impact on the quality of work in serving the people, which should be done seriously and concretely. In recent years, public attention has been focused on the figure of the people's representative due to poor performance and various ethical problems. For example, several cases that occurred in Indonesia today include the corruption case of DPR leaders, including the case of Aziz Syamsuddin being declared a suspect in the Central Lampung Regency Special Allocation Fund (DAK) corruption bribery case, the case of Setya Novanto being sentenced to 15 years in prison and a fine of IDR 500 million being proven as intervening in the budgeting process, procurement of goods and services in the E-KTP project which resulted in state losses worth IDR 2.3 Trillion, the case of Taufik Kurniawan, who was deputy chairman of the DPR for the 2014-2019 period, was proven to have committed a corruption crime, he received the proceeds from processing DAK for Kebumen from changes to the APBN worth Rp. 3.65 billion and the DAK processing for Purbalingga comes from changes to the 2017 APBN amounting to Rp. 1.2 billion. The corruption case of Johnny G Plate, the BTS 4G communication and information tower cost the state Rp. 8 trillion. The case of violating the code of ethics was carried out by KPK leader Firli Bahuri, who was proven to have committed a serious violation because met with Syahrul Yasin Limpo, who at that time served as minister of agriculture, even though at that time the KPK was investigating a corruption case in the Ministry of Agriculture, then dishonestly reporting wealth on the LHKPN (state administrator's wealth report), and other violations.

The importance of honesty is not just a moral virtue that ends once one has achieved it. Honesty demands sustained effort over time. Even though we may be honest today, that does not automatically create an identity as an honest human being. Honesty must continue to be proven and fought for in all situations. The challenge is, situations that endanger life or existence often encourage us to ignore or even abandon pure truth. Political activity, as one of the areas that triggers the tendency of politicians to behave dishonestly, is often filled with the practice of " *white lies* " or lying for good. In fact, lying for good is actually equivalent to justifying all means.

When goals are considered right, there is a tendency to use all means, including lying. It is important to reflect back on the value of honesty in politics and overcome situational pressures that may lead to unethical practices. In the world of politics, upholding honesty

requires great courage. This courage must be based on the awareness that unhealthy political processes are not only detrimental to the development of democracy, but also damage political structures and systems that should be respected and followed together.

The issue of political ethics in the global aspect is seen from how political ethics realizes Human Rights (HAM) in a global context. What is meant by this is that human rights connect countries and communities throughout the world, creating opportunities to access the same space, the same freedoms and the same protection of humanity. Humanity has become an important discussion in political ethics, especially after World War II (second), in 1948 the declaration of universal human rights by the United Nations General Assembly (UN) increased discourse on humanitarian issues that needed to be of global concern, especially here. Major countries recognize and comply with international supervision rules founded on international human rights principles. Here it can be shown that the existence of the state cannot absolutely claim that human rights matters are domestic affairs (Rhona Smith, et al., 2008).

This matter is based on the UN (United Nations) charter as a multilateral treaty that is legally binding on all UN member countries. This charter states that the UN explains that belief in human rights is a form of respect for human dignity. At the same time, the aim in article 1 paragraph 3 explains that the aim of the UN is to encourage and advance respect for human rights and basic freedoms for all people without distinction of race, religion, gender or language. At the same time, Article 55 of the UN Charter states that there is respect for universal values, strict adherence to human rights and equal freedom for everyone. It is at this point that ethics in global politics becomes a serious study, even as previously explained regarding the seriousness of world institutions starting to review and care again about world humanity. This content is clear in the three main international human rights instruments in the term "*International Bill of Human Rights*" including *the first Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, *the second International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (*International Covenant On Economic Of Civil And Political Rights*), and *the Third International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (*International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*).

In the context of political ethics in global issues, it brings current to how every country in various parts of the world is currently focused on the same theme, the theme of humanity. Every country is currently interconnected and interdependent, protection and fulfillment are the joint responsibility of the state and government. The concept of justice in global issues has also become a serious concern in political ethics. This principle emphasizes the importance of fair and equal treatment for anyone without discrimination. In global relations, every individual or group interacts with each other, the principle of justice has become a hot issue at the moment because it is upheld, so it is the same as upholding human rights values which reflect respect for the dignity and dignity of world human beings (Hamish McDonald, 2015). In looking more specifically at the concept of political ethics in this research, the author focuses on comparing two modern thinkers in the study of political ethics, namely Franz Magnis Suseno.

Living in Indonesia, which adheres to a democratic government system, where supreme sovereignty is in the hands of the people so that people have the opportunity to access and participate in politics (said Ruhpina, 2005). It was here that Suseno gave birth to his great ideas regarding politics based on the culture of Indonesian society, which according to him was extraordinary in the aspects of tolerance and mutual cooperation. He provides the important idea that the involvement of all levels of society in Indonesia in politics is something that is protected and facilitated by the state which is clearly regulated in law.

Pancasila as the ideology and foundation of the Indonesian nation contains five principles/basics, the *first principle* is belief in one God, the *second principle* is just and civilized humanity, the *third principle* is the unity of Indonesia, the *fourth principle* of democracy is led by wisdom in representative deliberations, and the *fifth* is social justice for all Indonesian people. For Suseno, these five principles contain the overall goals of the Indonesian nation as a nation known for its diverse races, religions, ethnicities, languages, cultures and customs by positioning equality, unity, freedom, justice and prosperity as the most important things (Luh, Suryanti, 2014).

Suseno's political ideas seek to awaken the Indonesian people to be aware of the importance of participating in politics that adheres to a democratic system, a system that prioritizes the interests of the people, so that this system shows that participation in community politics at large can influence the development and progress of a nation, of course Suseno wants politics to pay attention to moral values. Political participation is none other than realizing the great goals of the Indonesian nation which are clearly stated in the 1945 constitution (UUD), including advancing general welfare and making the life of the Indonesian nation more intelligent. even though Indonesia is a country with different races, ethnicities, cultures and religions.

METHOD

This research uses a type of qualitative research data from library studies, namely a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words, and emphasizes certain topics rather than looking at problems to be generalized from journals, books, websites, etc. and understanding the reality of something through an inductive thinking process (Aldlini. et al., 2022). This research uses a contextual-interpretative approach. The contextual approach can be defined in the Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI) as an approach to deciphering a sentence to find clarity of a meaning. More specifically, the contextual approach is an explanation of the meaning of data by linking real situations. The interpretive approach is an approach that is oriented towards interpreting data as text. This stage attempts to interpret texts from the data that have been found with the researcher's theoretical meaning. It is a data source obtained directly from the original source. The primary sources are books directly written by Franz Magnis Suseno, including; Religion, openness and democracy (2015), Churching in Indonesia: Sparks of Catholicism Now (2020), Becoming Human: Learning from Aristotle (2009), Searching for the Meaning of Nationhood (1998), Philosophizing From Context (1992), Political Ethics: Basic Moral Principles Modern Statehood (2021), Reasoning God (2006), Power and Morals (1995), Basic Ethics: Main Problems of Moral Philosophy (2022), method used to collect data by means of documentation Library research, namely collecting and compiling information written text relevant to the holy book, hadith, scientific literature, theses/dissertations, encyclopedias, books, and various other sources are the data sources used. Researchers systematically search and analyze documents containing information related to the problem being researched (G Sevilla Consuelo, 1993).

DISCUSSIONS

Political ethics in Indonesia play an important role in shaping the identity and welfare of society. One of the main aspects that must be basic for every citizen is the skill to unite in diversity. In line with the spirit of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (diversity is still one), Indonesian people are expected to be able to respect differences and build unity, viewing diversity as

wealth, not as division. The ability to socialize, dialogue and listen are key elements in forming a strong foundation of political ethics, enabling collaboration in solving common problems.

Mutual respect for diversity is considered the most basic ethical basis for Indonesian citizens. Javanese society is a society that reflects the identity of the character of the Indonesian nation, including other nations. Suseno in the book "*Javanese Ethics: a philosophical analysis of the wisdom of Javanese life*" explains that Javanese society has a character of mutual respect, living in harmony together and upholding cooperation and tolerance above all else. Javanese and non-Javanese, the essence of Indonesian society, have this characteristic, the characteristic of looking after each other, respecting each other even though the differences between them are visible.

A person is considered not to fully reflect Indonesian identity if they are not able to live in harmony with diversity. Positive contributions to society, understanding of shared responsibility in state development, and respect for Pancasila values are crucial points that strengthen awareness of political ethics. In this context, people's happiness is the main goal, which is believed to be achieved through the implementation of Pancasila values in everyday life. Looking at politics in Indonesia, of course the great goals of the Indonesian nation are contained in Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, in the 1945 constitution in the 4th paragraph reads.

"...protect the entire Indonesian nation and all Indonesian blood bodies and to promote general welfare, educate the life of the nation, and participate in implementing world order..."

Politics in Indonesia is not just a tool to gain power, but a means to solve problems together, provide benefits to many people, and create a more prosperous life. Community well-being is the primary focus, with political participation driven by the desire to improve collective living conditions. However, in the last two decades, the structure of political attitudes has undergone significant changes, giving rise to new challenges in maintaining traditional values while facing the demands of current developments (Alim Ashari Sakti. et al., 2021).

Ethics in politics in Indonesia is very important and needed to build the Indonesian nation, K. Bertens explained that ethics is a guideline for a person or institution in carrying out its actions. Indonesia has become a nation that upholds the values of civility and humanity, with moral values in politics and at the same time requires comprehensive awareness from Indonesian society. So, the realization of Pancasila, especially the 2nd principle (just and civilized humanity) and the 3rd principle (Indonesian unity) can be achieved with the ultimate goal of the 5th principle (social justice for all Indonesian people).

Suseno's views on politics in Indonesia can still be said to be very relevant. The main reason that can be drawn is that Suseno is an intellectual in Indonesia today who is still active in teaching ethical issues, especially national ethics. Suseno is an intellectual who concentrates on ethical studies and writes on many ethical issues both specifically and generally which can be enjoyed by various groups. To this day, Suseno is an intellectual as well as a Catholic religious figure who provides an important idea in political matters in Indonesia, that ethics in politics is very much needed for the reason that humans are social creatures as well as moral creatures, so that political accountability by paying attention to ethical values is the same as being a moral human being (Suseno. 2018).

Furthermore, Suseno sees ethical issues as at least a very important discourse in the nuances of politics in Indonesia to this day. This can be seen from three reasons, namely, *firstly*, Indonesian society is a pluralistic society, so the impact of differences also exists in the moral area, *secondly* the reality that can be found today is a reality that is based on modern life, what

is meant in this case is that today's life has the potential for the presence of new views because this very complex life continues to develop at the same time that new views also emerge on moral issues, and *thirdly* Indonesia is a country that recognizes the existence of religion, even more than that, religion in Indonesia is often an important thing to be used as a basic legal consideration for the Indonesian nation, so that this is where the public understands the very urgent role of religion in politics in Indonesia to form rules that In fact, we get policies that are good, fair and contain strong moral values.

This is in line with Aristotle's view that he inspired the importance of ethics in politics. The relationship between the two can be said to have the same goal, namely achieving a just order of government and realizing a prosperous life for citizens. All of these things are a moral obligation of every citizen and government to make them happen. As the main capital in forming a good, just and prosperous state life. Suseno is an Indonesian intellectual figure who is still active in giving lectures on national political ethics. He highlighted the importance of politics in Indonesia, which is a diverse nation and a country that respects the existence of religion. Thus, awareness of political morals must be instilled from an early age, even since Indonesian people have become familiar with religious morals (Deliar Noer, 1997).

Another principle that Suseno offers and we obtained on the previous page is that Suseno provides a view of the issue of universal morality, which with this view shows how ethics in the political field becomes very relevant in overcoming the challenges faced in the political field in Indonesia with the answer being justice, equality , goodness, freedom and prosperity must be obtained equally in the same situation. The country of Indonesia today is grappling with problems of corruption, social inequality and human rights issues. This can be seen in the vulnerable case year 2022-2023 alone, several cases regarding violations of the political ethics category, including the case of the arrest and appointment of the chairman of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) Firlil Bahuri as a suspect in the extortion of the former minister of agriculture Syahrul Yasin Limpo, the corruption case of the former minister communications and informatics (MENKOMINFO) John G plate in the corruption case in the construction of 4G *base transceiver station* (BTS) towers, vocational cases that have not been enforced fairly, the level of welfare of the Indonesian people is still unequal, legal buying and selling cases are still rampant, and many other cases .

Of course, looking at the case above, Suseno's idea of political ethics explains that overcoming these violations can be done by applying the principles of morality in political practice. Suseno emphasized the importance of forming strong political character and morality among political leaders and actors. Apart from that, transparency and accountability in the management of public policy are also important steps to prevent and overcome violations of political ethics. In Said Zainal Abidin's view, there are at least four criteria for good public policy, including effectiveness, efficiency, sufficient and fairness (Taufiqurkhan, 2014).

Suseno in the book " *Nationality, Democracy and Pluralism: An Anthology of Actual Political Ethics* " explains that there are at least 3 (three) political diseases of the Indonesian nation discovered by him which are still rooted today, including:

- 1) The state, namely the legislative and executive powers in Indonesia, does not have the ability to formulate a vision for the nation's future and communicate it to the public. Suseno saw how Indonesian society was preoccupied with various problems that occurred, such as poverty, social inequality , hunger, unemployment, etc. without any solutions provided by the government, because they did not have a clear vision.

- 2) The legislature and specifically the executive institutions in Indonesia have a disease that Suseno calls rabbit disease. Like a rabbit who doesn't have the courage in politics. What is meant here is that the government does not dare to take firm decisions and policies towards its people, for example the oppression of the Ahmadiyya community, even though they are considered "heretics", they are Indonesian citizens who have the same rights where they have the right to trust and believe in their own beliefs. -each. This is where the government must provide equal protection fairly, not remain silent. Suseno explained that the Indonesian nation has a disease in the form of being whiny in the state apparatus when faced with large crowds, not daring to act firmly in accordance with the applicable constitution.
- 3) The third most serious disease of the Indonesian nation to date is the problem of corruption. The Indonesian nation is still steeped in a culture of corruption, which has implications for the nation's moral, economic and political health. This is where Suseno explains how corruption makes the Indonesian nation worse off, and is one of the reasons why Indonesia loses out to neighboring countries (Suseno, 2015).

In various cases in Indonesia, especially several Indonesian diseases that have been explained previously. Suseno himself has a strong belief in the development of the life of the Indonesian nation that the progress and development of a better Indonesian nation which is the first priority requires a leader who is visionary, honest, brave and firm. Suseno explained that the Indonesian nation should not leave without a clear vision that is shared together, understood by all the people, and supported by the intellectual class, all of which is the background for the nation's progress. Some of Suseno's beliefs about the Indonesian nation include (Suseno, 2021).

- 1) There must be a zero-tolerance attitude towards corrupt behavior, this cancer must be eliminated . So what the Indonesian people themselves need to do is strive for fair laws without allowing for tolerant punishment for corruptors.
- 2) shortcomings, Indonesian democracy must strive for success by upholding high awareness of democratic values.
- 3) Upholding the basic consensus of the Indonesian nation, namely Pancasila, because Pancasila as the basis, ideology and political ethics of the Indonesian nation is one of the main reasons the Indonesian nation remains intact.
- 4) Revitalize the determination to realize national solidarity. This is where the main belief that is built to build this determination is none other than strengthening Pancasila as the ideology of the Indonesian nation which upholds justice and realizes social welfare.

Suseno's ethical framework suggests that a just political system must be based on moral principles that prioritize the welfare and dignity of all citizens. This implies the need for political leaders to move beyond narrow self-interest and, instead, engage in governance that upholds universally applicable moral standards. Then Suseno explained how morals and ethics in Indonesia are a fixed price for leaders and citizens in building a civilized and democratic Indonesia. Here we can quote the view of Aswanto (2021) that it can be seen that the idea of ethics and morals is clearly one way to build human rights (HAM), justice and the welfare of the Indonesian nation as enshrined in the constitution, namely Pancasila and the 1945 constitution.

" Ethics provides an assessment of good and bad which is determined by morals so that morals are the determinants of what is good and bad in something. These two things will then become a knife in reviewing norms regarding human rights."

For Suseno himself, Indonesia is an extraordinary nation, he saw how in history the Indonesian national figures were able to create a very great constitution called Pancasila. Suseno sees Pancasila as the main basis for the Indonesian nation's view of remaining united even though in reality Indonesia is a plural nation, but with the existence of Pancasila as the political ethic of the Indonesian nation, for Suseno it (Pancasila) is the unique national identity of the Indonesian nation for reasons to remain united. .

".....this is something extraordinary friends, Indonesia has succeeded in becoming something that many other countries have not succeeded in. For example, Myanmar doesn't succeed, Sri Lanka doesn't succeed, even India doesn't succeed. Namely that national identity, Indonesian identity (Pancasila) does not suppress and oppress different identities but rather protects and elevates them"

Politics must be done correctly, responsible in political behavior. Because whatever the conditions, the good and bad of the nation's environmental conditions depends on political decisions. Suseno's opinion is in line with K. Bertens that all nations have experience of moral issues relating to good and bad within the scope of the family, community environment and state government, so that moral issues become a universal human phenomenon.

Suseno sees that the task of political ethics requires that claims to rights in organizing society be justified on a basic moral basis, because humans are moral creatures and have an understanding of the importance of respecting and caring for each other. Therefore, responsibility on moral grounds is not just left to the government or state, but as a whole is also the duty of all existing elements (Suseno, 2021).

Suseno's views on political ethics have an important positive impact on Indonesian society. that Indonesia is actually a large and diverse nation, so that in various settings the opportunity for conflict is more likely to occur. Moreover, if you look at the history of the Indonesian nation, which is so dark in its past, you can see how the behavior of the political elite in the entire political system is unsympathetic and immoral, undedicated and unethical. Looking at the political movements in 1998, looking at the corrupt political actions of elites, forms of ambition for power, forms of black campaigns, money politics and the low level of the political education process in all lines of the current political system, it is never devoid of conflicts of interest without any hope. on morals (Susilastuti, 2015).

Entering the reform period, there is new hope to change the face of politics in Indonesia in a better way. Starting to try to transform from micro to macro aspects of the policies being made. According to Sudjito (2013), political changes during the reform period in Indonesia hope for changes for the better by voicing political ethics playing a central role in reflecting the moral qualities that political actors and state administrators must have. It involves a set of moral values, norms and principles that guide political decision making and the implementation of duties and responsibilities. More than formal rules, political ethics reflect integrity, honesty, and a commitment to serving the public interest above personal or group interests. Indicators of the moral quality of political actors can be seen from the extent to which they are able to understand, internalize and implement political ethics and democracy in the context of the political moral values of the Indonesian nation which are clearly embedded in Pancasila.

However, the reform period which was considered a change for the better did not go smoothly. Many things that have long been a problem for Indonesia today (reform) violate political ethics. The failure of governance reform in Indonesia is reflected in real cases related to widespread corruption in the executive, legislative and judicial institutions. This phenomenon has resulted in the emergence of a number of serious problems, including the rise of corruption

cases, the practice of nepotism which is difficult to overcome, difficulties in implementing legal regulations, incompetence in economic regulation, and poor public services. Corruption cases are one of the main highlights, where this behavior is considered immoral and not in accordance with the principles of integrity.

In the context of the 21st century reform period, of course what must be done is that there needs to be further efforts to strengthen democratic principles and actively involve the community in political supervision and participation. Strengthening the justice system, firm law enforcement, and transparency in government governance are also keys to overcoming failures in governance reform and reducing the prevalence of corruption in Indonesia. Only with these concrete steps can Indonesia build a stronger foundation towards a clean, fair and efficient government.

Of course, the solution offered is that every political action taken by Indonesian citizens must be based on shared ideals that are deeply rooted in the national spirit. This ideal involves a commitment to protect all of Indonesia's blood, educate the nation's life, promote general welfare, and participate in maintaining world peace based on the principles of justice and national freedom. Political education that is considered the best or par excellence should be the main guideline that refers to these principles.

These principles reflect harmonization between national identity and global responsibility, where political education becomes the main instrument for forming a generation that not only understands, but also applies national values in every aspect of life. Therefore, the application of these principles in every aspect of political education is considered the best or equivalent, because it provides a solid foundation for the formation of the character and worldview of every Indonesian citizen.

Suseno's ideas regarding the relevance of political ethics in Indonesia are still hot to be studied, he shows that political ethics in Indonesia must be carried out with full awareness by various parties. The source of political ethics that Suseno saw in Indonesia was Pancasila, namely the five foundations of the nation but comprehensively containing the interests of the Indonesian nation as a whole.

Suseno himself explained in the book " Power and Morals " that the Indonesian state really had to implement policies based on the principles of Pancasila. Because by implementing Pancasila in various national policies, the goals and ideals of the Indonesian nation will be realized as in each of the five principles of Pancasila, namely humanity, unity, equality/ freedom/ consensus, and prosperity. For Suseno himself, Pancasila is an ideology of the Indonesian nation which throughout history the nation's figures have considered carefully and almost comprehensively in all forms of consideration. Likewise, if Pancasila is properly implemented, a harmonious life between fellow communities, whether of different types of religion, different ethnic groups, cultures/traditions and languages, will not experience discrimination. Everything will be guaranteed by the Indonesian state if the principles of Pancasila are properly instilled by the Indonesian people (Suseno, 1995).

Pancasila, as a collection of shared political values, ideals and ethical norms, is a pillar that is deeply rooted in the identity of the Indonesian nation. As a state ideology, Pancasila reflects the spirit of togetherness and diversity that unites Indonesian society. The Catholic Church in Indonesia firmly supports Pancasila, without promoting its own political ideology, because it understands that each nation must formulate its own basic philosophy based on its cultural and historical values. In this case, the values of Pancasila are in accordance with the Catholic view of a society that respects human dignity in accordance with God's will. According

to Suseno, the principles of Catholic political ethics, which are included in eight principles, are harmoniously integrated with the values of Pancasila. Each of the Pancasila principles reflects the Catholic view of religious freedom, human rights, rejection of violence, life, solidarity, kindness, general welfare and universal brotherhood. The Catholic Church's support for Pancasila shows the close conformity between religious teachings and the basic values of the Indonesian nation, forming a solid foundation for building a just, civilized and just society (Suseno, 2020).

Suseno also explained that Indonesia's future will be better when it carries out politics in compliance with applicable moral principles. According to Suseno, the main problem of the Indonesian nation today is the problem of the decline of democracy and KKN (corruption, collusion and nepotism), so what he offers is to overcome two big problems. The Indonesian nation is to emphasize everyone's awareness of the dangers of these actions by instilling an attitude of integrity and honesty as the basis for building the Indonesian nation by strengthening the moral lessons of Pancasila (PMP) (Suseno, 1995).

According to Suseno, Pancasila moral students (PMP) are a way for every Indonesian to instill the values of Pancasila in themselves. The main objective of the PMP is two parts, the first is to mobilize the community's willingness to work together to build a national life that refers to the basis of Pancasila. This includes the active participation of every individual in forming a just, democratic and socially just society, in line with the principles of Pancasila. Both PMPs aim to teach people to appreciate the values, views and hopes contained in Pancasila, with the hope that all levels of Indonesian society can absorb and practice these values in everyday life (Suseno, 1996).

Pancasila moral students (PMP) provide a moral basis to Indonesian society based on the community's original moral beliefs, such as the strength of family, tolerance and mutual cooperation. In this case, PMP not only functions as a learning instrument, but also as a means of building a strong moral foundation for Indonesian society, inspiring togetherness in facing challenges and strengthening national identity based on Pancasila (Suseno, 1995).

Through PMP, the community is invited to build solidarity and unity in national and state life. Active participation in the national development process based on Pancasila is the key to achieving the Pancasila community vision. In other words, PMP is not just a conveyor of information, but rather a form of moral education that moves individuals to play an active role in strengthening moral and ethical foundations based on Pancasila. As a moral basis, PMP from Suseno's ideas can provide a strong foundation for Indonesian society to answer and implement wisely the various challenges of the times. The successful implementation of Pancasila values through PMP not only creates a just and prosperous society, but also strengthens the moral foundations that become the nation's identity, making Indonesia a dignified and moral country in accordance with the principles of Pancasila values.

CONCLUSION

Political ethics plays a central role in shaping the identity and welfare of Indonesian society. *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is the basis for unity in diversity, it is hoped that society will be able to respect differences and build unity. Mutual respect in diversity is considered a basic ethical basis for Indonesian citizens. Community well-being is the primary focus, with political participation driven by the desire to improve collective living conditions. Political ethics, as a moral guide, is crucial in responding to the political and corruption challenges faced by Indonesia. In this context, Pancasila values are the main guide for achieving the goals of social

justice and prosperity. Suseno's ideas about political ethics and the importance of Pancasila Moral Education (PMP) are a strong foundation for building a just, democratic and socially just society, in line with the principles of Pancasila which is Indonesia's national identity.

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