

Threats to the Ideology of Pancasila In the Reform Era: Praxis Case of Regional Development Policy

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ABSTRACT

This study is about the ideology of Pancasila in the praxis of development policy at Local Government (Pemerintah Daerah), which identifies the potential threat to the existence of Pancasila ideology in the reform era. Focus Group Discussions (FGD) were conducted in order to analyze critically how ideology operates in development policy praxis. This study identifies the symptoms of two potential threats to Pancasila ideology in the *Kulonprogo* region. First, comes from the stronghold of global capitalism through agents that continue to expand the market, which systematically and strategically proceeds with the policies of the regional government. Both come from the stronghold of the global religious movement that carries the ideology of Islamic universalism against diversity, thus threatening the ideology of Pancasila, especially the precepts of Indonesian Unity. In the meantime, to face the threat of religious radicalism, intelligence strategies can use multiple options. Starting from the conventional approach of exploiting internal conflicts within the radical organization, cultural strategy by facilitating the occurrence of strategic alliances between traditional-cultural forces with the power of locality culture face the attacks of radical Islamic political movements based on anti-Pancasila. Keywords: The Ideology of Pancasila, Public Policy, Capitalism, Radicalism's Movement

ABSTRAK

Studi ini mengambil topik ideologi Pancasila dalam praksis kebijakan pembangunan pada Pemerintah Daerah (Pemda), sekaligus mengidentifikasi potensi ancaman terhadap eksistensi ideologi Pancasila dalam era reformasi. Melalui pilihan metode penelitian studi lapangan yang dikombinasikan *Focus Group Discussion* (FGD), ingin mengetahui dan menganalisis secara kritis bagaimana beroperasinya ideologi besar dalam praksis kebijakan pembangunan. Studi ini mengidentifikasi adanya gejala dua ancaman potensial terhadap ideologi Pancasila di wilayah Kulonprogo. Pertama datang dari kubu kapitalisme global yang melalui agen-agen yang terus melakukan ekspansi pasar, berlangsung secara sistematis dengan strategis berkelindan dengan kebijakan Pemda. Kedua datang dari kubu gerakan agama global yang mengusung ideologi universalisme Islam anti keberagaman, sehingga mengancam ideologi Pancasila, khususnya sila Persatuan Indonesia. Sementara itu untuk menghadapi ancaman dari gerakan radikalisme agama, strategi intelijen bisa menggunakan beberapa pilihan. Mulai dari strategi konvensional-

al mengeksploitir konflik internal dalam organisasi radikal tersebut, strategi kultural dengan memfasilitasi terjadinya aliansi strategis antara kekuatan Islam kultural- tradisional dengan kekuatan lokalitas kejawaan menghadapi serangan gerakan Islam politik berbasis radikalisme yang anti Pancasila.

Kata-kata kunci: Ideologi Pancasila, Kebijakan Publik, Kapitalisme, Gerakan Radikal

INTRODUCTION

In the post-New Order government, Indonesia then entered a new round that is often agreed as an era of reform. The political constellation also changed from the system of authoritarian government to a democratic government. Indonesia also became one of the countries categorized as a vast country that embraces democratic government system. However, in this era of democratization, Pancasila became unpopular and even tended to be forgotten. So many people judge this nation as experiencing a crisis of identity or identity.

The legitimacy could be a spontaneous reaction to the pseudo-ideology of Pancasila run by the New Order regime ([Abduhzen, 2013](#)). According to [Azra \(2010: 10\)](#), politically there are at least three factors that marginalize Pancasila. First, during the New Order era, Pancasila was polluted by Soeharto who made a single interpretation of Pancasila and used it for the means of maintaining power. Second, political liberalization during the era of President BJ Habibie's administration by abolishing single-principle obligations to enable the adoption of other ideologies, especially those based on religion. Third, decentralization politics and regional autonomy led to the emergence of local nationalism overlapping with religious sentiment thus marginalizing Pancasila.

After the reform era, for more than 17 years, how does the position of Pancasila ideology in the development process? To achieve the goal of development requires the logic of thinking positivistic. The main character in the logic of positivistic thinking is to assume the change of society runs linearly and continuously without shock, to efficiently achieve the goal. Such philosophy of thinking has become a pattern in the development

process in the era of regional autonomy post the New Order, which is then institutionalized in the vision-mission thinking scheme. Vision is the ideal condition imagined, and mission is what is done to realize the ideal conditions envisioned. Such conceptual systems have been the pattern for various development activities in all sectors.

The critical question is, whether the vision-mission of local government so far has the central reference and ideological? The vision of the central government always refers to the ideology of Pancasila and the ideals of national development, which is to promote the common welfare, to educate the life of the nation, and to implement the world order based on independence, eternal peace and social justice. Ideally, the vision-mission of the regional government should refer to the vision and mission of the central government, so that there is an accumulation of energy as the ability to do business toward the ideals of the national development.

One of the primary references of the vision and mission of the Local Government in the era of the Jokowi-JK government is Nawacita, a political document in which many values of Pancasila democracy, such as the desire to protect the interests of the people from the exploitation of the capitalists. If the values of Pancasila democracy in the local government planning document do not exist, then it implies the development policy formula that is not pro-people and tends to favor the interests of capital owners who have the potential to exploit the people. In fact, much development in the region is controlled by the interests of global capitalists, thus threatening the ideology of Pancasila, especially the value of social justice. However, there are also local governments whose development orientation favor the interests of the small people by applying the concept of populist development based on Pancasila ideology.

One of them is Kulonprogo Regency Government which in the last seven years implements affirmative policy referring to Pancasila ideology. As an illustration of the attack of global capi-

tal forces in the form of rampant modern market *Indomart* and *Alfamart* responded creatively with pro-people policies embodied in the People's Store (ToMiRa). In response to the dominant attack on the global bottled water market, it reacted creatively by producing "AIRKU" by the Regional Company.

On the other hand, there are also facts that religious sectarian fundamentalism movements are increasingly prevalent in various regions including Kulonprogo Regency. This point poses a severe threat to Pancasila ideology, especially the value of Indonesian unity. The movement claims that Pancasila failed to realize Indonesia prosperous and social justice, so it needs to be replaced with Islamic ideology. The discourse of making Indonesia as an Islamic state has reinforced this momentum.

Various creative and populist responses Kulonprogo District Government in the dynamics of its development policy, interesting to observe as a study, amidst the symptom of religious fundamentalist movement nuanced religious sectarian tendencies in it. This is discussed in the next section, namely whether the creative and populist response is appropriate between reality and hope. Then will be discussed in this study related to how the dynamics of the fundamentalist movement of sectarian religious nuances to penetrate Kulonprogo region in the midst of determination Kulonprogo District Government realizes Pancasila democracy.

LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Pancasila is the basis of the State especially for Indonesian. It means that everything related to the constitutional activity in the Republic of Indonesia must be based on Pancasila. All regulations that applied in Indonesia must be based on the values of Pancasila or it can be said that Pancasila is the source of all sources in the law of Indonesia. Therefore, all actions of power or power in society must be based on the rule of law and also the law that is applicable as a norm in the State. Pancasila is listed on the highest provisions of the Preamble 1945 Constitu-

tion (UUD 1945), which includes the atmosphere of the 1945 Constitution (UUD 1945) as well as other positive laws. Pancasila is the basis of the Indonesian State principles which are the following (Kaelan, 2013):

- a. Pancasila as the basis of the State is the source of all legal sources (legal discipline) of Indonesia.
- b. Pancasila is the spiritual principle of Indonesian law in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution (UUD 1945).
- c. Realizing the ideals of law for the basic law of the State, both written and unwritten basic law.
- d. The norms contained in Pancasila are requires the government and other state organizers to uphold the moral ideals of the lofty people.
- e. Pancasila is a source of enthusiasm for the 1945 Constitution (UUD 1945) of the State, including government executives with party organizers and functional groups.

The decree of Pancasila as the source of all the sources of law is described in Law No. 10 the year 2004 on the Establishment of Legislation (UU No 10 Tahun 2004 Tentang Pembentukan Perundang-Undangan, Pasal 2), especially in Article 2 which states that, the Pancasila is the source of all legal sources or legal order for legal living in Indonesia, accordance with the preamble of the 1945 Constitution (UUD 1945) Which puts Pancasila as the basis and ideology of the State and the basic philosophy of the Indonesian nation. Therefore, any substance of the contents of the legislation can't deviate with the values of Pancasila Based on its open nature.

Pancasila always anticipates the development of people's aspirations as a supporter of ideology and adapted to the development of the era. Ideology Pancasila always serves as one way to achieve the goals of the nation. In the fourth paragraph of the preamble of the 1945 Constitution (UUD 1945), Indonesia's objectives are specifically mentioned as, First, to protect the entire Indonesia's nation and the entire Indonesian blood

sphere. Second, promote public welfare as well as the (third) the intellectual activity of the nation. Fourth, participate in the implementation of a world order based on independence, eternal peace, and social justice.

Abdurrahman Wahid some of the historical people in Indonesia give the statement about political ideology in Indonesia:

“Pancasila is a set of principles and it will live forever. It is the idea of the state that we should have, that we strive for. From Pancasila, I’ll defend with my own life. Regardless of its being castrated by the armed forces or its being manipulated by the Muslims, misused by both.”

Most importantly, Abdurrahman Wahid deserves particular attention because his ideas have a majority influence on the recent political debate. When he is to be general chairman, he is talking about Islam, politics, democracy, and their relationship to Pancasila that have a central fundamental role in contemporary Indonesia ([Darmadi, 2013](#)).

After the easing of the ideology case during Soeharto’s leadership is now present again during the command of Jokowi-JK. Where in this case, the role of community organizations is very influential on the policy of a region which eventually through a long journey, established the Ordinance Act to fortify the threats that will arise. The role of this mass organization is to balance the reactionary and pro-democratic interests that coincide with the benefits of these mass organizations. If we look at this Suharto era, CSOs like Brigadier Manguni want to maintain the focus of these agencies in improving local welfare and helping the masses who will increase their popularity and credibility as a pro-community organization ([Berenschot et al., 2017](#))

The issue I am exploring is the position of mass organizations and its relationships between individuals and the political community. These relationship, as postulated in the Introduction ([Berenschot et al., 2017](#)), is a significant pillar of citizenship. It is constituted by ‘the conception and specific practice of

rights, interconnectedness and representation ...’ that ‘... relating to the political economy [postcolonial state] and the history of the formation of a particular state’ (see also Introduction of this volume). Thus, the day-to-day practice of citizens’ rights and obligations in Indonesia has a history of personal relationships that conflict with anonymity and its accountability is essential to the Western ideals of state- citizen relations. Following this paragraph, I discussed some examples of activities and strategies of the mass organizations to understand their functions. I will explore their position in society - such as serving customers, or fight for the masses - its influence in continuing or impeding the rights and obligations of citizenship, and their interests the way to violence and crime.

In the formulation of Pancasila according to Nurcholish Madjid, no longer need to be disputed. Thus, in its constitutional position as the basis of state and community life in the plurality of Indonesia is also a matter that has been declared final ([Madjid, 2007](#)). This national ideology of Pancasila by the nation of Indonesia is used as the basis of the life of the state and society in the context of Indonesian pluralism. Although at this time there are still many polemics that occurred in the ideology of the nation. According to [Wicaksono \(2015\)](#), in the present era many things are mandated by Pancasila but many too are violated starting from the first principle until the fifth sila, including constitutional violations in real life of Indonesian society. Hence, the national goal of Indonesia is only limited to the ideas in paper, while the people’s welfare is increasingly challenging to achieve. This is what we often encounter now, the threat to the grains of Pancasila is getting closer.

This act of radicalism is a threat to the life of the nation and state because it is destroyed so that it can hamper the process of achieving national goals. Therefore, [Wicaksono \(2015\)](#) provides a method that should be used in implementing Pancasila values. The technique used is the transformative de-radicalization method, combining the revitalization of local wisdom values in

the community with the role of the state as an actor in the socialization of Pancasila values, as well as giving legal and policy paying in supporting the realisation of national goals by Pancasila. 15 years of reformation period, but the people of Indonesia increasingly lose the grip of life, so many acts that are contrary to the universal values of Pancasila. Corruption is still rampant; law enforcement is not yet entirely underway, development is not evenly distributed, the concerns of young people are disappearing, and so on into a fantastic spectacle ([Ruslan, 2017](#)).

According [Tjarsono \(2013\)](#), the Pancasila is a necessity for the survival of the nation whose territory is a heterogeneous archipelago. Pancasila is a comfortable space for the development of diversity (heterogeneity), and Bhineka Tunggal Ika becomes the motto of the Indonesian nation. Heterogeneity is the de facto, and democracy Pancasila is a solution and space in developing heterogeneity, and Bhineka Tunggal Ika is the slogan that encourages the development of Pancasila democracy. Bhinneka Tunggal Ika became the motto of Pancasila. Several previous studies have become a reference in this study, such as in table 1.

TABLE 1. LITERATURE REVIEW

Name	Title/Year	Description
Idjang Tjarsono	The Democracy of Pancasila and Bhineka Tunggal Ika as the Solution of Heterogenitas/ 2013	Pancasila as a way of implementing democracy with the diversity of cultures, tribes and religions that exist in Indonesia.
Donald E Weatherbee	Indonesia: The Pancasila State/ 1985	Pancasila as the basis of this country is considered still in the transition period of leadership because every turn of the leader, always changing relations and political power of Indonesian economy.
Laurens Bakker	Militias, Security And Citizenship In Indonesia/ 2017	Pancasila's emphasis on unity is the main ideological source of Indonesia, therefore, should guide and include all laws and regulations. It should be noted that government and community organizations must also communicate with each other in both directions.
Purwito Adi	Cultural Values of Pancasila for Society as the National Defense Basic Capital Nkri / 2016	Culture of the noble values of the Pancasila nation, is a shared responsibility by all components of nation and state institutions. Young generation should increase national awareness and national security, because the future of the state is the responsibility. Implementation of the values of progress must have consistency since the level of individual / family, small community to the collectivity of the nation. If the implementation of inconsistent values follow the social actors, there will be a number of distortions to the progress of the nation.
Nabella Puspa Rani	Reactualization of Pancasila as a Prevention of Radicalism / 2017	One of the major challenges is the emergence of radicalism that threatens the resilience of Pancasila ideology. The actions of radicalism have an impact on division, the loss of diversity and even a shift in the values of Pancasila in the life of the nation. In establishing the synergy of the values of Pancasila so as not to contradict the religious values and local wisdom, e.g. radicalism is prevented if the people will stick to the value of humanity. The value of humanity is a value element that must contain every movement of religious teachings and rules of religion as well as customs and culture. This is because it is the Indonesian people who will carry out the order of any form and who receive the reverse effects of every action taken.
Dwiyana Achmad Hartanto	The Implementation Value of Pancasila Philosopher and Islam Religion In Countering Radicalism in Indonesia / 2017	The philosophical values contained in Pancasila and Islam in its implementation can be used to counter the growing understanding of radicalism in Indonesia. Basically, these values are comprehensive enough to stem the growing understanding of radicalism that stretches in Indonesia, because Pancasila as the foundation of the state proved to be a powerful unifier of the nation, with the values contained therein derived from religion and which is reflected in the life of Indonesian society.
Anas Saidi	Relation of Pancasila, Religions and Culture: Reflection/ 2009	At the empirical level Pancasila has failed to provide guidance on self-formulated principles. In the implementation level, Pancasila has lost the ability to formulate a "common will." The failure of Pancasila is not primarily because Pancasila lacks elements that meet common needs, but rather in the absence of consistency in its application. Another threat to Pancasila, if it is only a collective wish list, but empty in its implementation. The end of ideology if its function as an action guide has been shifted as a function of legitimacy.

Based on the researches, it can be deduced that the Pancasila must be implemented not only by the government but with the community as well. Pancasila as the foundation of these values is concerned with the order of the Indonesian nation with its ethnic, cultural and religious diversity. Hence, the implementa-

tion of Pancasila is necessary for Indonesia to remain in the right position without any threat of radicalism which emerged over the years.

CONCEPT OF IDEOLOGY

There are two theoretical explanations based on the concept of ideology. First, from the Marxian and other libertarian perspectives. The Marxian view understands doctrine as a system of rules of ideas which again try to conceal contradictions that are at the centre of the capitalist system. In most cases, they do this in one of three ways: (1) present a method of ideas, religion, philosophy, literature, law, which makes contradictions seem coherent; (2) describes those experiences that express disagreements, usually as personal problems or individual oddities; or (3) to present a capitalist contradiction as one that actually becomes a contradiction to the nature of man and what social enterprises cannot fulfill ([Ritzer 2004: 71](#)).

Meanwhile, Althusser, who is a Marxist, defines ideology as a system (with its logic and principle) of representation (image, myth, idea or concept) understood as a practice that is lived and transforms the material world. There are four aspects in Althusser's work that are at the core of his view of ideology: 1) ideology has a common function for forming subjects; 2) ideology as experience lived is not a fake thing; 3) ideology as a misconception about the real condition of existence is false; and 4) ideologies engage in the reproduction of social formations and their relations to power. In his essay entitled *Ideology and the Ideological State Apparatuses*, argues that ideology praises and questions individuals as concrete subjects. Ideology serves to form real individuals as subjects. This argument is part of Althusser's anti humanism in which the issue is seen not as an agent that creates itself, but rather as the 'effect' of the structure. In this case, the ideological work which manifests the subject because there is no practice in ideology. In short, ideological discourse constructs a position or place of subjects on foot when he understands the

world ([Barker, 2000: 60](#)).

Althusser's point of view can be used to see how Pancasila positions as a state ideology. In the New Order era until now too, there are many discourses in the debate and understanding of Pancasila that follow the formulation of ideology. Althusser's formula puts Pancasila as the state ideology that must determine in every action individual or group. Pancasila during the New Order became the determining factor in various areas of community life, nation, and state. The ideological project of Pancasila by the state, such as through P4, is an essential example of how to understand ideology such as Althusser's view (Rahman, 2014).

The influence of Althusser in Pancasila as an ideology is apparent. Thomson (1984), defines ideology as a set of action-oriented ideas or thoughts organize into a regular system. An ideology contained some elements, *first*, the existence of an interpretation or understanding of reality. Pancasila is placed as a whole in the context of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution by indicating analysis of the history of the Indonesian nation in the past as well as how it should be formed in the future. *Second*, each ideology contains a set of values or a moral prescription. Pancasila is a set of values and by that benefit, the people want to be organized. Ideology implicitly contains a rejection of other systems. *Third*, ideology includes and orientation to action. Ideology is an activity guide to realize the values provided in it.

Understanding the reality is not only for information and explanation but for something to be done, which is a transformation of the world. Therefore, it can be said that ideology contains an interpretation, ethics and rhetoric. Ideology could also be interpreted as rhetoric because it is a statement about something to someone, so it does not stand as it is, but it has to "do" something (Sastraprteja, 1991). The ideology of Pancasila which has been agreed upon as the basis of the state was once so prevalent in the Soekarno era and the Soeharto era. Unfortunately, in both periods Pancasila was never used as the primary

spirit of national independence. In the era of Soekarno, the program of self-reliance was not realized because there was no precise economic planning. Eventually the promises of prosperity cannot be realized even when the economy is in bad condition. Pancasila in the Soekarno era was only used efficiently as a unifying ideology of the nation but failed to become the main instrument in realizing common prosperity (Rahman, 2014).

In reference to Soekarno's desire to use the ideology of Pancasila as a foundation to build a Self-Sufficient Economy, the Government of Kulonprogo Regency under the leadership of Hosto Wardoyo seeks to realize in various policies and development programs against the dominance of global capitalism. Different popular pro-economic systems, such as Tomira, Airku, and Bela Beli are the embodiments of pro-people interest by the policy to offset the dominance of global capitalism such as Indomartization and Alfamartization.

DEMOCRATIC PANCASILA AS THE CONCEPT

It is almost sure that no single system of government transcends democracy when viewed from the pursuit of social justice and the welfare of the people. At the very least, the political system of democracy has a small risk of abuse of power. Therefore, almost in all countries who want to achieve social justice choose freedom as a political system, and Indonesia is not an exception. Conceptually, democracy itself undergoes a significant development after the struggle and theoretical debate.

Almost all theories ever since the classical era always emphasize the development of democracy after a struggle. In the fact, the force behind democracy is the people or *demos*, populous. Therefore, it still emphasizes the real role of *demos* in the ongoing political process. At the very least, in two main stages: *first*, the agenda setting, the step to choose what issues to discuss and decide; *second*, determining the outcome, the decision-making stage. According to [Dahl \(1989\)](#) "The *demos* must have the exclusive opportunity to decide how matters are to be placed on the agenda

of matters that are to be decided by means of the democratic process.”
[\(Gaffar, 1999: 6\).](#)

Any country that chooses a democratic system is not just a claim, but it must meet democratic criteria. Thus, if a nation claims to be a democratic country, it must meet several conditions. According to Dahl there are seven indicators of a nation can be called as a democratic country, namely (1) Control over governmental decisions about policy is constitutionally vested in elected officials; (2) Elected officials are chosen and peacefully removed in relatively frequent, fair and free elections in which coercion is quite limited;

(3) Practically all adults have the right to voice in these elections; (4) Most adults have the right to run for public office for which candidates run in these elections; (5) Citizens have an effectively enforced right to freedom of expression, peculiarly political expression, including criticism of the officials, the conduct of the government, the prevailing political, economic, and social system, and the dominant ideology; (6) They also have access to alternative sources of information that are not monopolized by the government or any other single group; and (7) Finally they have and effectively enforced right to form and join autonomous associations, including political associations, such as political parties and interest groups, that attempt to influence the government by competing in elections and by other peaceful means [\(Dahl, 1989:233\).](#)

Although democracy has not been formulated well, at least there has been a claim that justice can be expressed conceptually and get scientific study as a science. History notes that the idea of Pancasila democracy was once made. Amidst the different interpretations and formulations, but one thing is clear, which the understanding of Pancasila democracy is more influenced by the prevailing political system of government? That is when the New Order era that deliberately implements the policy of the authoritarian regime, the interpretation of democratic Pancasila more departing from the construction of the state and no

more than guided democracy in the previous era. Therefore, when Indonesia enters a democratic transition, the Pancasila democracy interpretation is also more influenced by liberal democratic ideas adapted to socio-cultural conditions. Here, Pancasila democracy refers to the fourth precept, prioritizing consensus, but which is open or proceed from the bottom. The difference thing is, if the New Order era deliberation is the elite or elite bias interest, in the era of post- New Order democracy deliberation is more a civil society interpretation.

In government, Pancasila democracy is the linked to a governance system that uses the principles of good governance, namely transparency, accountability, and public participation. Even in the last fifteen years, good governance has become the main policy and program for the realization of a democratic system of government. One step ahead in the formulation of Pancasila democracy is its elaboration on the economic field. At least the factor of the prevailing political system has little effect on the conceptualization of economic democracy, both in the New Order era and in the post-New Order era. Its main principle in formulating Pancasila democracy is the middle ground of the dichotomy perspectives between Western liberal thought and Eastern idea.

Mubyarto for example, one of the founders of the Pancasila economy argues that in Western economic theory (Classical-Neoclassical-Keynesian) it is assumed that human nature is selfish, whereas in the method of Marxian human economics is considered collective, the balance between living as a person and living as a citizen, between material life and the life of Rohani. The Pancasila Man of the Almighty, besides homo economics, as well as homo-metaphysician and homo-mystics (Mangunpranoto, 1981, in [Mubyarto, 1991: 240](#)). This means that in the Pancasila economy man is not only seen from the aspect of the order in the economic instinct, but as a human being, the whole person is that he thinks, behaves and acts, not based on financial stimulation, but also aroused by social and moral factors. Social

factors about other human beings and the societies in which they exist, and the moral element in human relationships as the decree of God with its creator ([Mubyarto 1991: 40](#)).

According to Mubyarto, Pancasila is the foundation of a state that can be “applied” in the economic life of the nation, state and society as follows: (1) Belief in the Almighty. The wheels of the economy are driven by economic, social, and moral stimuli; (2) Just and Civilized Justice. There is a strong will of all societies to embody social equality (egalitarian), according to humanitarian principles; (3) Unity of Indonesia. The priority of economic policy is the robust creation of a strong national economy. Its means that

nationalism animates every economic system; (4) Citizenship led by Wisdom in the Consultative / Representative body. The cooperative is a pillar of the economy and is the most concrete form of joint effort; and (5) Social Justice for All Indonesians. There is a clear and decisive balance between national-level planning and decentralization in the implementation of economic policy to achieve economic justice and social justice.

Taking into account some conceptual formulations about the Pancasila economy, if looking at the economic platform of Jokowi-JK government as stated in Nawacita, there is a very thick slice with Pancasila economy. Combined with a populist leadership style, the Jokowi-JK government seeks to implement the economic principles of Pancasila that stem from the concept of democratic socialism. Thick slices with the Pancasila economy should also exist in the Kulonprogo regency government, led by a regent known to the media as a populist leader, concerned about the “little people”, protecting the local economy from the onslaught of capitalist-oriented capitalist domination for mere profit and exploiting the people. However, field studies that have been done show different things or say have “thin slices instead of thick” with Pancasila economy.

DISCUSSION

Pro-Capitalist Policy in Populist Packaging

Kulonprogo District Government under the leadership of Regent Hasto Wardoyo in the last five years has issued policies and programs populist or oriented to the interests of the people. Some of them are People's Store or popular with the ToMiRa acronym, Airku water bottling industry Tirta Binangun Water Supply Company (PDAM) Tirta Binangun, House Surgery, and *Bela Beli* become independent economic programs against the dominance of the capitalist economy. All policies and programs are based on popular ideology derived from the values of Pancasila.

On various occasions, the Regent stated that any development policies and programs without an ideological nature would be difficult to achieve. He learned from the experiences of South Korea which successfully carried out socio-economic development with the spirit of independent ideology refers to the collective consciousness. Through the capital of hard work ethos, as the South Koreans demonstrate, according to Hasto they succeeded in building the prosperity of the people. Such an ideological spirit that Hasto wanted to apply in leading the Kulonprogo people. Hasto then did not stop at rhetoric but practiced it by issuing such populist policies and programs.

The ToMiRa program, for example, departs from the constant concern of the modern market, not only embodies malls and supermarkets in urban areas but extends to rural areas. The expansion of retail businesses such as *Indomart and Alfamart*, which continue to expand into rural areas, is a significant threat to the people's retail companies that have previously been strong enough in existence. As is known, that at every district in Kulonprogo region, there are at least two modern retailers, namely *Indomart and Alfamart*. The presence of these two modern markets continues to grow and penetrate, so it is not wrong if there has been called the phenomenon of *indomartization and alfamartization*.

Realizing the language of the new market invasion, Hasto did not take a radical policy by banning the presence of the giant retailers. Instead, he responded smartly- creative, namely by building a modern market counterpart to the form and management that the same as Indomart and Alfamart, which was named ToMiRa. The management of the administration was handed over to a special cooperative about local products, while management-related in a general sense remained in Alfamart and Indomart's control. In order for ToMiRa to bear more spirit populist ideology, Hasto made a policy that the products sold in Tomira should be derived from local products. Here are 20 Cooperative Products that successfully entered ToMiRa in Kulon Progo after going through very strict selection stages, in terms of product quality and packaging.

TABLE 1 TOMIRA'S PRODUCTS

No	Namely
1	<i>Ikan Krispy Mina Rasa</i>
2	<i>Kripik Belut</i>
3	<i>Abon Cabe Nyoss</i>
4	<i>Stik Buah Naga</i>
5	<i>Criping Pisang Rohana</i>
6	<i>Gula Kristal Sari Nila</i>
7	<i>Sari Nila Jahe Box</i>
8	<i>Sari Nila Jahe Kaleng</i>
9	<i>Enting-enting Jahe</i>
10	<i>Kripik Pegagan</i>
11	<i>Peyek Menoreh</i>
12	<i>Rengginan</i>
13	<i>Jamur Tiram</i>
14	<i>Stondok Kalibawang</i>
15	<i>Kecap Benguk</i>
16	<i>Emping Garut</i>
17	<i>Kopi Moka Menoreh</i>
18	<i>The Tabur Hitam</i>
19	<i>Kopi Jahe</i>
20	<i>Kopi Moka</i>

Source: [\(Sigit, 2017\)](#)

Different versions of ToMiRa's success story are common among Kulonprogo's citizens. In the midst of positive media coverage of success stories Kulonprogo area development, some provide a critical assessment. Pro-people-oriented policies based on the spirit of Pancasila ideology feared to support the development of capitalism. Local products are not fully able to enter. Only a few SME products can enter ToMiRa. Practically just sugar ants are presented in the space provided ToMiRa for local products. While more products sold on ToMiRa are from the urban manufacturing industry controlled by global capitalism. ToMiRa as a modern market designed to fight and at least reduce the dependence of foreign products still need development to reduce the dominance of global capitalism.

A determination similar to ToMiRa's policy is apparent in the production of *Airku* by the Kulonprogo Regency which is intended to counter the dominance of bottled water production of global capitalist products such as Aqua-Danone. Since the beginning of the creation of bottled water *Airku* was designed with the spirit of Pancasila ideology, in addition to being part of effort to improve the welfare of the people, but also at the same time become a symbol of the dominant resistance of bottled water in Kulonprogo. The Regent is very confident to build their own bottled water plant, in addition to utilizing the potential of natural resources in Kulonprogo, which was able to increase regional economic independence. Like other policies, the Bupati always takes ideological principles in making decisions related to regional economic development programs.

The defense mission of the small people must be in line with all policies referring to the ideology of Pancasila. Moreover, if you want to reduce the dominance of capitalist economic actors are mostly foreign. If small pro-people systems are based on the ideology of Pancasila, the regional economy in general, and the economy of the small people, in particular, will be lifted and further reduce the dominance of foreign products. The Regent's intention to penetrate the market with at least 10 percent

of the bottled water product in Kulonprogo, is not yet attained. This product is still inferior to other products that are cheaper and considered by Kulonprogo residents themselves are still less quality. *AirKu* consumers are among the local government offices, consumed when there are meetings.

The reluctance of the public to consume *AirKu* because it still assumes that the quality of production is still below the standard, the stock is does not necessarily exists, and marketing management is less professional. *AirKu* is always difficult to obtain at any time and is not easy to find in kiosks or modern markets. *AirKu* is expected by citizens not only nameplate project which is only useful for imaging alone. While in fact the less significant contribution to efforts to prosper the people.

PRO MAJORITY POLICY AND THREAT OF IDEOLOGICAL MOVEMENT

Kulonprogo, like other regions in the provinces of DIY, Central Java, and East Java, in the last fifteen years has become the arena for the emergence of a political Islam movement that threatens and even disturbs the sovereignty of the state, and therefore threatens the ideology of Pancasila. There are some long-term, long-term civic, religious organizations seeking to take over the role of government in the governance of state politics based on Islam. This political Islam movement takes place systematically through various channels both entering into government bureaucracy, school institutions, as well as social institutions of society in general. This action brings Islam as the leading alternative to solve various aspects of life both political, economic, and socio-cultural.

Through the bureaucratic path, the movement pioneered by Islamist political groups continues to penetrate into the bureaucratic structure. One of the primary programs is quiet and systematic influence in the bureaucratic structure. In the last ten years, this movement has reaped the rewards; it is almost sure that the ranks of bureaucracy, public school institutions, and

SOEs have become more controlled by certain forces. Its manifestation begins to look like the use of more Islamic terms such as *milad* (replacement of birthday), *islah* (substitute for word referral or reconciliation), *mandate* (substitute of responsibility), *madani* (civic alternative), and many other Islamic terms.

Field studies show that so far, Islamic regulatory products are increasingly being issued by Kulonprogo District Government. Similarly, various appeals from the top leadership to create an atmosphere of more Islamic bureaucracy continue to be done regularly. Also, the regency often issued intolerant regulations not only against non-Muslims but also against fellow Muslims, especially traditional Muslims and *Abangan*. The real appeal requires that wearing the hijab for ASNs is one of the less tolerant policies for people who prefer local clothing or wear veils as the *nahdliyin* traditions. Moreover, among the state educational institutions, the regulation is very Islamic nature is increasingly felt. Currently, school uniforms in all public schools from elementary school to senior high are all required to wear hijab, while men from high school already have to wear trousers as a cover symbol.

Such a policy is legitimate and probably also good. However, it has great risks for the effort to build nationalism, and ultimately increasingly threatens the ideology of Pancasila. Such a Middle Eastern-style Islamic cultivation of Islamic values would be slow but sure, would rule out the ideology of Pancasila. The further implications of traditional culture and the culture of the archipelago are increasingly unknown. Even found a student who does not want to respect the flag of Indonesia or do not wish to sing Indonesia Raya song when the flag ceremony at the school. This is an indication that they are increasingly growing into a generation that abandoned the Pancasila ideology.

Some instances of intolerance in the district of Kulonprogo also occur, although the manifestations are not vulgar, but if carefully perceived the feel of nationalism is intensely felt, especially with regard to the construction of places of worship for non-

Muslims, and the treatment of religious fanatical groups against the *Abangan* most of whom live in the notch mountain region. In social interaction, these *Abangan* are shamed as a hereditary, idolatrous, and non-religious group. However, tolerance or harmony of religious people, is not possible without the involvement of the *Abangan*. The Head of the Forum of Religious Harmony (FKUB) Kulonprogo, stated that the issue of religious intolerance is still happening in Kulonprogo and the intolerant case is dominated by the effect of places of worship (tribunjogja.com, 25 November 2015).

However, the issue of intolerance also received the attention of the Kulonprogo Regency, in addition to forming FKUB and building its office, as well as creating an inclusive policy product. In 2012, the Head of Population and Civil Registry of Kulon Progo Regency had issued Circular Letter Number 475/2744 / x / 2012 on Population Administration Service for Believers on the One God. Circular letter addressed to all Sub-district Heads and Village Chiefs in Kulon Progo explicitly states the following among others; First, making ID cards for believers will still be served even if they do not want to include religion; Secondly, the believer can always fill in the complete data of his belief flow; Third, in the case of marriage, the Village Government remains obliged to issue a marriage certificate; Fourth, in the case of children's recognition and endorsement, it is enacted just like marriage of children's identification and validation for non-Muslim religion.

The fact also shows that in Kulonprogo religious radicalism movements are getting stronger which potentially threatens the ideology of Pancasila. Outside the two mainstream religious mass organizations, the NU and Muhammadiyah, in Kulonprogo also spawned more puritanical and even sectarian Islamic groups. Their resistance to Pancasila ideology is quite high.

Radical groups use logo centrism thinking that is characterized by hierarchical and dichotomy to replace the ideology of Pancasila. This hierarchical way of thinking is the effect of

linearity positivistic thinking. According to this radical group, ideologies in the world have hierarchical levels, which in their view Islam is at the top of the ideological hierarchy. Therefore, for them, there is no most effective solution in this world except Islam to build a society of justice and prosperity. The ideology of Pancasila according to the radical group's view is hierarchically under the ideology of Islam, so it seems strange that the majority Muslims in Indonesia should be subject to ideology number two. For radical groups, it is unreasonable for Muslims to be controlled by their daily life controlled by the hierarchical ideology of Pancasila underneath. Ideology number one cannot be subject to ideology number two, so the logic of their thinking in assessing the political system in Indonesia. So if the people of Indonesia first asked what their ideals always answer will be to be a useful human for the country, nation, and family; but within radical Islamist circles, the response will be to be beneficial to religion, state and family.

Radical groups are also accustomed to using binary opposition or dichotomy oppositional ways of thinking. For more details on developing a strategy of deconstructing dichotomous ways of thinking, it is necessary first to understand Derrida's thought when evaluating the logo centrism of Western thinking.

According to Derrida, the dichotomous way of thinking is a couple of concepts that appear to be the opposite of each word. For example, attendance / absence (absence), identity / difference, or talk / writing. The two terms that makeup one dichotomy is indeed meant to be exclusive to each other. Something that if not "present" is of course "absent." It cannot be both. Derrida claims, we understand the world regarding such dichotomies. Such an understanding is both significant and problematic (Zehfuss, in [Edkins and William, 2010: 187](#)). [Johnson \(1981\)](#) points out "... the second term in every couple is considered negative, corrupt, and undesirable versions of the first term." In the above example, the term "identity" is preferred

over the term “difference”, the term “attendance” better than “absent” or “absence.”

More precisely, deconstruction confronts the dichotomy in our minds through inversion and displacement. That is, in an attempt to criticize speech/writing for example, the hierarchy must be reversed: we must think what it means to consider that “writing” is better than “talking”. This reversal is necessary to change the way we understand things. We must do this consistently because the hierarchy of binary opposition always re-establish itself ([Derrida, 1981: 42](#)). However, overturning the authority of the binary opposition is not enough. It does not change everything, because we still think in more or less the same way, just in the opposite direction ([Zehfuss, in Edkins and William, 2010: 188](#)).

According to Derrida if it only stops at the reversal stage, deconstruction attempts will fail, even reproducing dichotomous thinking, for criticizing just at the inversion stage remains in the original system of thought to be deconstructed. In many cases in Indonesia, the claims of deconstruction are only at this stage of reversal, so they do not realize that all of their efforts are part of the reproduction of the old ways of thinking, thus becoming part of the copy of oppressive social structures. Therefore, Derrida suggests a second step that must be taken pertaining to the previous system of thought. Derrida mentions this second level as displacement. In Derrida’s example, “speaking” versus “writing,” he argues that “speaking” is a form of writing in general, a system for recording and thus producing meaning. Therefore, we cannot reason something if we try to distinguish between “talking” and “writing”.

So, this deconstruction strategy if applied to deconstruct radical groups that spread intolerance, then the first step should be to identify their dichotomy thinking, which is we and others. We are a representation of the team that is considered to be preferred over others or groups outside of themselves. The next step is to do an inversion, which is doing the reversal, which others who carry tolerance better than we or their group of anti- tol-

erance. However, to stop at this step alone, or on this reversal alone is not enough as an act of deconstruction. Then need the next level, namely the displacement effort that leaves the old way of thinking. Here both the exclusive radical groups and the reversal groups together abandon the hierarchical and dichotomy thinking and the principle of binary opposition. So, interpreting the relationship between religion and state or more specifically between Islam and Pancasila is not hierarchical in which Islam is superior to Pancasila, and vice versa. Nor does it see the relationship between Islam and Pancasila in a deterministic way, but rather a continuum, affecting each other. Similarly, in everyday social interaction, for example seeing people wearing headscarves is good, but who do not wear well, and so on.

CONCLUSION

When the district government of Kulonprogo is committed to declaring a pro people policy through policies on ToMiRa and AirKu, it is feared that it is still substantially pro capitalist policy. The competence of government in professional business unit management still needs to be improved. This situation has implications for the potential threat of capitalist ideology that could threaten Pancasila ideology, especially in relation to the principle of Social Justice for All Indonesians. Through the strategy of control and spatial production as made by *Indomart and Alfamart*, the practice of marginalization of populist production units such as SMEs in Kulonprogo is still ongoing intensively. Claims of district government to fight against the dominance of global capitalism through a series of pro people policy is still not as expected which can be a potential threat to the ideology of Pancasila to realize social justice for all Indonesian people. In the Kulonprogo region, the existence of radicalism movements is getting stronger and continues to extend the influence intensively. Citizens of Kulonprogo District Government consider some policies to favor the majority of religions, although some policies are inclusive. Through logocentric and

positivistic thinking strategies, religious radicalism continues to spread its influence by developing hierarchical and binary or dichotomous ways of thinking. Movements that exist in long term political contestation can threaten Pancasila as a state ideology. At the same time in society, there are traditional Islamists and *Abangan* who appear as locality forces, i.e.

As active subjects who continue to negotiate and resist the narrative of production of radical religious movements. Despite the lack of attention from the district government, the group often opposes radical religious actions that are perceived to threaten the strength of local cultures. Through cultural resistance, the power of this locality continues to negotiate and even openly resistant to radical activities who are considered to be anti Pancasila.

In the context of national security from the point of intelligence analysis, several strategies can be selected to deal with the expansion and octopus of capitalism that could potentially threaten Pancasila ideology, especially with the fifth precept, Social Justice for All Indonesians, taking a lesson from the Kulonprogo District case trying to fight against the capitalism, it may be necessary to pursue a strategy for strengthening Pancasila values for all regional leaders. Some paradigmatic options for mainstreaming Pancasila values for policy in local development can be with a choice of positivistic, constructivist and critical paradigms.

In the meantime, to face the threat of religious radicalism, intelligence strategies can use multiple options. Starting from the conventional procedure of exploiting internal conflicts within the radical organization, social policy by facilitating the occurrence of strategic alliances between traditional-cultural forces with the strength of local culture against the attack of radical Islam-based political movements that anti-Pancasila. Disclosed in different sentences, the intelligence strategy continues to facilitate strategic alliances between the citizens of *nahdliyin* and the *Abangans* who have so far demonstrated the strength of the

cultural coalition. Hence, this policy aims to influence the way of thinking of the Indonesian society towards a more effective effort in changing the mindset of Islamic radical groups.

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