

Pancasila as Strategy to Prevent Proxy War**Siswanto ***

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This article aim to contribute an idea regarding the importance of returning Pancasila as the state ideology and way of life to prevent Indonesia from going into deeper trap of nation problems. Pancasila as the ideology and life perspective has been abandoned by most of Indonesian citizens. It is not surprising that the Indonesian people are exposed to several national issues, such as horizontal conflicts, moral crises, economic disparities, and the threat of disintegration. All of this problem has a potential to trigger proxy war. This article is using three dimension framework of ideology, including, reality, ideal, and flexibility dimension. This study conclude that actualizing Pancasila may address the nation issues in Indonesia.

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Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menyumbangkan sebuah gagasan mengenai pentingnya mengembalikan Pancasila sebagai ideologi dan cara hidup negara untuk mencegah Indonesia masuk ke dalam perangkap masalah bangsa yang lebih dalam. Pancasila sebagai ideologi dan perspektif hidup telah ditinggalkan oleh sebagian besar warga negara Indonesia. Tidak mengherankan jika masyarakat Indonesia terpapar beberapa isu nasional, seperti konflik horizontal, krisis moral, disparitas ekonomi, dan ancaman disintegrasi. Semua masalah ini berpotensi memicu perang proxy. Artikel ini menggunakan kerangka dimensi ideologi tiga dimensi, termasuk, kenyataan, ideal, dan fleksibilitas. Studi ini menyimpulkan bahwa mengaktualisasikan Pancasila dapat menangani permasalahan bangsa di Indonesia

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Introduction

Indonesian political dynamics over time have not really put Pancasila as the sole foundation of the state, philosophy of life, source of law, and the philosophy of the state, but instead being placed and interpreted in accordance with the interests of the ruling government. During the Old Order regime, in addition to Pancasila, there are other teachings for example, Marhaenisme, NASAKOM (means: Nationalism, Religion, and Communism).

During the New Order regime, Pancasila has been made as a means for political interest, so that Pancasila is often identified with the New Order government which is considered by most people as repressive and corrupt. Although democracy in the New Order regime was called as Democracy Pancasila, the implementation of democracy is not in line with the values of Pancasila. For example, frequent violations of Human Rights, there is no freedom of speech and association. This has an adverse effect on the public image of Pancasila.

Consequently, during the reformation era, Pancasila becomes the formal jurisdiction as state foundation, but it no longer used as inspiration on social and political life, socio-economic, and socio-cultural in Indonesia. Pancasila has been ignored by the people of Indonesia because it has been perceived as part of the New Order. Therefore, the existence of Pancasila as the principle of life has been blurry or nonexistence.

Therefore, the purpose of this article is aim to restore Pancasila in the heart of Indonesian nation and community. This needs to be done given the current development, where the Indonesian people are trapped in unhealthy social and political polarization. The spirit of unity in diversity, which is the motto of Pancasila has begun to be displaced and abandoned.

Social groups in Indonesia had led to behavioral conflict of thought, conflict disagreement based on a spirit of hatred in social media. If no concrete measures being taken, this can lead to horizontal conflict of Ethnic, Religion, Race, and Beliefs, and eventually will led to

disintegration of Indonesia. Abandoning this issue means we are condoning the “Balkanization” in Indonesia.

The significance objective of this paper is to provide advice to the government and people of Indonesia to return Pancasila as the state foundation and life perspective of the nation of Indonesia. Furthermore, this is conducted so as the Indonesian people could avoid the threat of national disintegration, by placing Pancasila as the adhesive for Indonesian nation in accordance with the third principle that is the unity of Indonesia. Of course this is not easy but not an impossible thing to do.

Problems

Indonesian government and society needs to pay serious attention on the global, regional, and national strategic environment in Indonesia. China's rise as a global power have affected the international political dynamics. Acts of terror by Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in the Middle East and other parts of the world has become a real threat. Donald Trump's election as President of the United States (US) also affect

the international order. The 45th US President, has various controversial policies and is unpredictable.

Indonesia's regional strategic environment is also a concern. The South China Sea conflict has been heating up, and there is also potential conflict between China and Indonesia on Natuna waters. This conflict is caused by China's unclear Nine Dash Line (NDL) which caused overlapping territorial with the sovereignty of Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) within the area of Natuna waters.

However, China has finally recognized the sovereignty of the EEZ area after the diplomacy bilateral. Another issue that also needs special attention is the support of the Melanesian countries for the Free Papua Movement (OPM). If this issue is not carefully addressed by the government, the disintegration of the nation is at stake, because OPM might get the “wind”, in form of diplomacy support, and potential loss of Papua from the Homeland.

The national strategic environment also require our attention. The prolonged political

euphoria in Indonesian society, increasing hoaxes and racial issues in social media could provoke conflict among social groups. This could lead to the disruption of national security and stability, even it might destroy Indonesian unity. The issue of foreign labor invasion has also raises some concerns. The Acts of terror by radical groups in various regions in Indonesia has also become real threat to security problems.

Externally, the latest developments in the global, regional, and national environment could affect the occurrence of Proxy War in Indonesia. This relates to the highly intense mobility of people, goods, services, ideas (taught) in this globalization era, coupled with the rapid and sophisticated information and technology development.

The proxy war itself is divided into three categories: politics/security, economy, and culture. (1) The Proxy War in the field of politics and security has characteristics include: (a) has a target of political / power, (b) Methods of operation: violence, semi-military; (2) Proxy War in the economic field has characteristics: (a) profit oriented

(commercial), (b) the methods of operation: lobbying, bribery (corruption); (3) The proxy war of culture and knowledge has these characteristics: (a) has a target of ideology, lifestyle and mindset, (b) Methods of operation: public diplomacy, art promotion, entertainment, public discourse, the introduction of popular culture.

Proxy wars are defined as conflicts involving third parties to intervene or indirectly affect strategic outcomes (Mumford, 2013), achieving strategic objectives to avoid involvement in direct warfare (Loveman, 2002). Proxy war criteria can be used to distinguish war tactics through blatant or disguised intervention (Royster, 2016). Proxy war is not only conducted by military force, but war through various aspects of national and state including politics, economy, and social culture.

The proxy war predictors are viewed from government and rebel forces, public and political marginalization (Buhaug & Rød 2006; Buhaug & Gates 2002; Alesina & Spolare 2003). Political analysis of the proxy war is often used by experts who debated the study area in socio-

theoretical (Middell & Naumann, 2010), although there is some work in proxy wars (Byman et.al 2001; Prunier 2004; Swami 2004), this term has applied descriptively to certain rebellions (Salehyan, 2010), for military capacity, administrative, and state bureaucracy (Hendrix, 2010).

Meanwhile, Pancasila which supposed to be a force to overcome the threats of Proxy War has been neglected from the public life, so that people are losing guidelines or guidance in facing the onslaught of globalization which have the potential to become a proxy war. Therefore, Pancasila's existence should be actualized as the outlook of the nation of Indonesia, in order to address the threat or challenge of the Proxy War. In this case, Pancasila should be given a new interpretation and adapted to national and global dynamics that are taking place today.

Metod

The discussion of this article is using analysis and interpretation in qualitative methodology scheme. Those things include the following steps: categorization, causal analysis, comparative analysis and analysis

(Moleong, 1994). The steps above deemed to have been sufficiently comprehensive to examine and interpret the data collected.

The collection of facts in the writing of this article are based on documents review technique and social observations. The documents used in this study are books, articles, papers, and other information or records, either in hard copy available at the Library or the soft copy browsed in the Internet network. These documents become a reference in testing, give interpretation and forecasting various possibilities that might occur (Moelong, 1994) particularly related to Proxy War in Indonesia.

Furthermore, data collection is also conducted through social observation techniques. This observation technique gives an opportunity for the writer to note and record the various events and situations proportionately. Observation technique also helps the writer to easily understand the complex situations and complex behaviors of Proxy War background in Indonesia (Moelong, 1994).

The following will present a historical perspective of facts regarding the threats of the extreme left and right movements that are understood as part of a proxy war in Indonesia. In 1948 there was an uprising PKI/Muso.

At the time of the Indonesian nation was busy confronting the second Dutch aggression, but PKI was using it to rebel. Muso uprising was affiliated to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It also reflects a nuanced of political action in Proxy War because the Soviet Union was supporting or controlling the movement. This happened because at that time, the world was in the Cold War between the Soviet Union against the United State. As a superpower, the Soviet Union has their interest, to exert influence in Indonesia.

This paper would first review the existence of the ideology of Pancasila. An intellectual figures who long studied political development in Indonesia, Alfian defines ideology as a thorough and in-depth system of values that regarding truth and justice in the life of a community (Alfian, 1981). The

Ideology is reflecting the most fundamental value system within the community life in Indonesia. Thus, the ideology is a reference of value development in Indonesia.

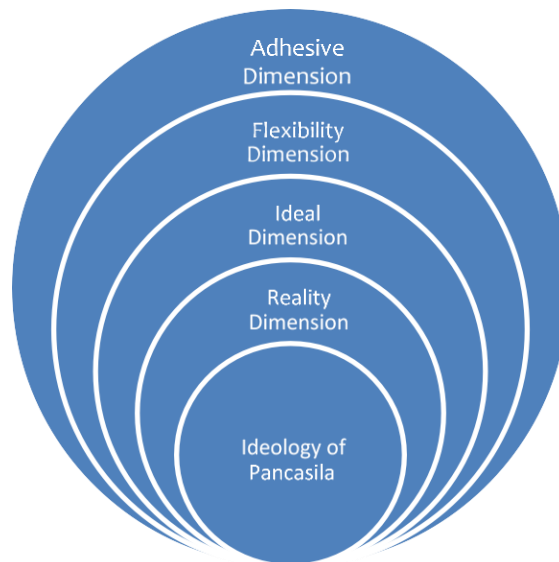
Furthermore, has Alfian formulated The ideological dimension, namely: (1) dimension of reality, (2) the idealistic dimension, (3) the flexible dimensions (Alfian, 1981). In Alfian's understanding, an ideology must have all three of these dimensions. Ideology has a comprehensive coverage, which can be an umbrella for different interests and social dynamics because ideology is a set of values, ideas or norms, and beliefs of a person or group of people. So ideology is a reference to an individual or group in response to problem and in attitude (Budiardjo, 2008).

History proves that some countries have collapsed because of ideology crisis. For example, the Soviet Union has been collapsed and become several sovereign states, including Georgia, Moldova, Belarus, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan and others with Russia as the main heir. Yugoslavia later splintered into several other countries including Bosnia, Serbia,

Slovenia. Both countries was devastated since the citizens are no longer enthused by state ideology.

Thus, ideology has adhesive functions to stick the various components of an Heterogeneous community, so that when the ideology is not supported by the people, the adhesive function for nationhood has been damaged which could lead to state disintegration.

The ideological dimension above, can be fitted into four dimensions, namely: (1) dimensional reality, (2) the idealist dimensions, (3) flexible dimensions, (4) the adhesive dimensions. This is a complete three-dimensional discourse to ideology. Of course, this kind of thinking can attract cross discourse and argumentation. The description of the four dimensions of this ideology can be described in Picture 1



Picture 1. Four Dimensions of Ideology

Source: Alfian (1981)

Actualization of the fourth dimension of ideology becomes important when the country is on the verge of disintegration. The third principle of Pancasila; unity of Indonesia, is a direct reflection of the

adhesive dimension for the nation. The community needs to be educated in a well-planned and systematic approach through the unity of Indonesia principle and not through indoctrination as it did during the

New Order, ie on the basis of openness and rationality.

The formulator of Pancasila has been anticipating this issue since the beginning of Indonesian society that is heterogeneous, vulnerable to the threat of national unity. As we have inherited, the value of the unity of Indonesia made its own precepts which means its presence is very crucial.

Result and Discussion

Findings and Facts of Potential Proxy War in Indonesia

In the early 1950s, a former guerrilla soldier in South Sulawesi and Southeast Sulawesi named Abdul Kahar Muzakkar establish TII (Islamist Army of Indonesia), which later merged with the Darul Islam (DI), and later known as the DI/TII in South Sulawesi and Southeast Sulawesi. This action is a rebellion against the Indonesian government and is categorized as an extreme right act.

The central government took their action against this subversion threats and deploying a military operation. On February 3, 1960, through Operation Crush, Kahar

Muzakar was announced for being shot dead in combat between the military forces of the Siliwangi unit 330 and guard member of Kahar Muzakkar in Lasolo, Southeast Sulawesi. For the Kahar Muzakkar case the writer can not found any evidence whether he had any affiliation with foreign power or not.

Another events was the case of PRRI/Permesta in 1957 triggered by disharmonious relationship between the leaders in Jakarta and those in other regions. Some nation leaders figure at that time, among others are Simbolon, Kawilarang, Ventje Sumual, Burhanudin Harahap has rather dissatisfied with the Central Government policy and decided to establish counter government known as PRRI and Permesta.

The history indicates that this movement was affiliated to the United States/US (Siswanto, 2015). This is because the US, like the Soviet, is part of a superpower engaging in the Cold War, so it also has an interest to exert influence in Indonesia. However, Sukarno was criticizing the US policy for supporting the rebellion (Jones, 1977).

In 1965, another insurgency was organized by PKI, this time was led by Aidit. This action was marked by the murder of Army officials in a place called Lubang Buaya in East Jakarta. Those being killed were Generals and officers of the Army: Ahmad Yani, Katamso, M.T. Haryono, D.I. Pandjaitan, S. Parman, Sutoyo, Suprpto, K.S. Tubun, Tendean, Sugiono. From the study on the history of the event, there are indications that PKI uprising is affiliated to China who also wants to spread its influence in Southeast Asia, including in Indonesia known as the People's Liberation War.

Furthermore, it also presented contemporary perspective on situations that threaten Indonesia. Lately, there is an interesting phenomenon associated with the presence of extremist groups in Indonesia. At the end of 2016, the Indonesian community enlivened by the case of the emergence of Communism symbols. This caused hard reaction of criticism from the community who against it.

Law enforcement agency, in this case the police, has confiscated the symbols. In the community there

is actually a debate because some people condemn the foreclosure action as an excessive measure because communism is outdated and no longer exist in the world except in North Korea, so no need to be excessively wconcerned. This action is also seen as part of the restrictions on freedom of expression that is highly respected in the reform era.

However, there is also the view that as long as the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly Decree (TAP MPR) No.25/1966 has not been revoked, the Indonesian government is entitled to prohibit all attributes that reflect the Communism principle. This was deemed unlawful and the perpetrators can be prosecuted in accordance with applicable regulations.

Besides, if left unchecked, it could be a bad precedent and might cause turmoil in society. People who oppose it are feared to take their own initiative or vigilante. In fact, this could spark a horizontal conflict, and if escalated it would disrupt the stability and national security.

Not only that, the Indonesian people are currently encounter the

threat of another extreme force doing acts violence in the name of religion. The examples that have occurred since 2002 are Bali bombings and followed by other actions such as the Marriot bomb, the bomb in front of the Australian Embassy, Sarinah bomb, a bomb in front of a police station in Solo, and the last bomb in a church in Borneo. They perform acts of terror by throwing bombs and suicide bombings.

The perpetrators claimed that the action is part of an international terrorist network and they later acclaimed their action as part of ISIS movement in Indonesia. Thus, the action could be categorized as part of Proxy War that has entered into Indonesia.

The perpetrators of this action targeting the government, particularly the police and the symbols of the "West", especially the US in Indonesia. From the perspective of this extreme action perpetrators, they argued that the Indonesian government is their enemy because it is seen as a Toghut government, infidel, unjust towards Muslims and regarded as the accomplice of the US.

Though the US or "Western" was seen as an enemy of Islam because Samuel Huntington in *The Clash of Civilization* which assumes that the post-Cold War created a Bipolar new system where the conflict is between the "Western" civilization versus Islam. Moreover, it has been proved empirically, because in the Middle East conflict the "western" are generally siding with Israel. The tragedy of World Trade Centre (WTC) phenomenon in 2001 was also considered as truth evidence of this thesis.

Discussion

The history of the nations in the world provides important lessons that the existence of a state might stand and could collapse in accordance with the dynamics of social and political orientation of its citizens which is inseparable from internal and external influences

To explore further about the dimensions of ideology, the following review of the dimensions of Pancasila. First, the reality dimensions, it is understood as an illustration that the values in this ideology are the values that live in the

community. Reviewing these values become inseparable part of Indonesian community. The integration between values and society is can be put in the analogy of two sides of coins. The two cannot be separated because there is an interdependence with one another.

Second, the ideal dimensions is an overview of the ideals within an ideology. If we refer to Pancasila, the five principle is social justice for all Indonesian people. The concept of social justice is the ideals vision of the Indonesian nation. The values of social justice is a condition of evenly distributed welfare for Indonesian people, but not uniformly as described by the Communists principle.

The future condition when the gap between the poor and the rich has narrowed down. When this condition will be realized, what is the growth rate at that time, and how big is the population? This kind of data and information on cannot be defined now because that would be the ideal condition in the future. Indonesia has not reaching that stage yet. The condition is an aspiration that is

mandated by the ideal dimensions of an ideology, in this case Pancasila.

Third, the dimensions of flexibility, is the dimension of openness in embracing the development. Pancasila as an open ideology providing space to new interpretations in accordance with the social dynamics that continue to evolve along times.

Discussing Pancasila as an ideology shall refer to the drafting history of this ideology at the early days of Indonesian independence in 1945. The founders of the nation understand that the ideology of the Indonesian nation must reflect the values of the community living in Indonesia. Therefore, they reflect and enriching the values of life in Indonesia.

The results of their contemplation was later presented at the Meeting of the Independence Preparatory Committee BPUPKI on August 18th 1945. On May 29, 1945 Muhammad Yamin outlines his thoughts on the foundation of the state, which consists of:

1. Sense of ethnicity;
2. Sense of Humanity;

3. Sense of Divinity
4. Sense of Democracy; and
5. People welfare.

Furthermore, the idea of Muhammad Yamin as the state foundation has implicitly contained in the written proposal on the draft of Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The last paragraph of the preamble of the constitution also listed description of the five fundamental principle of the state.

The last paragraph was then agreed as the state foundation titled as Pancasila, namely:

1. Belief in the one and only God;
2. Nationality Unity of Indonesia;
3. Fairness and civilized humanity;
4. Democracy, led by the wisdom in consultative / representative; and
5. Social justice for all the people of Indonesia

From the above facts, Yamin has deliver the foundation of the state directly and indirectly. The first state foundation was delivered directly when he is delivering his speech and indirectly conveyed while proposing for the initial draft of national constitution. Both contained similar idea but has different systematics. For

example, the divinity was delivered as the third principle in the speech, interestingly the second state foundation which conveyed indirectly was then agreed as the basic principle of the Indonesian state, and perhaps Mr. Yamin himself does not expecting that to be implemented.

Supomo also expressed his thoughts regarding the state foundation of the Republic of Indonesia. On May 31, 1945, Prof. Dr. Mr. Soepomo was presenting his speech before BPUPKI. In his speech he expressed his ideas on the five basic principle an independent Indonesia which consists of:

1. Unity;
2. Kinship;
3. Physical and mental balance;
4. Colloquy; and
5. Justice for the people.

Sukarno was also one of those who submitted his thoughts on the state foundation. On June 1 1945, Ir. Sukarno delivered his speech before BPUPKI. Soekarno verbally submit his proposals of the five basic principles of the newly formed Indonesian state, consisting of:

1. Indonesian nationalism;

2. Internationalism or Humanity;
3. Consensus or democracy;
4. Social welfare; and
5. Cultural Belief

The five principles was proposed to be titled as "Pancasila" by Sukarno. Various values described in the state foundation was part of the reflection of the Founding Fathers who observe values that live in the homeland of Indonesia at that time. Those values include: Piety towards God Almighty; soul and spirit of independence; love to the homeland and the nation; high self-esteem as an independent nation; no retreat and no say surrender; the spirit of unity; anti-colonialist and colonial spirit.

If explored further, these values are the ideal values held by the people of Indonesia since the ancient time. Therefore, the Indonesian nation should be grateful and beholden to our ancestors who have successfully managed to build the structure of traditional values and social values to life together. Though they lived under an unfair social structure because of the colonial system, but they are still trying to maintain the ideals or the noble values.

As we all know, compromise is the wise path taken by the Founding Fathers to formulate state foundation. State foundation substance was taken from the insights of Yamin. This proposal would later know as Jakarta Charter, with the first principle reads Belief in the One Almighty God with the obligation to enforce Sharia Law for its disciple. Only seven syllables was eliminated due to objections from the members of BPUPKI from the eastern part of Indonesia.

Willingness to modify the Jakarta Charter is a form of tolerance for unity in the formulation process of Pancasila. The founders of the nation appreciate the differences of opinion; put the interests of the nation rather than class interests; accept the results of a joint decision; and promoting unity and oneness.

Furthermore, Proxy War in various regions of the world has become a valuable and important lesson learned to be understood and learn from. Therefore the Indonesian people can be aware of the effects of the proxy war because it would destruct the unity which has been painstakingly built by the founders of the nation. Proxy war can be

described as an indirect war, as follows:

The typical definition of the term war by proxy in the Cold War period is a war between regional states that may be regarded as a substitute for direct confrontation between the superpowers. War by proxy is the result of the invention of nuclear weapons and of the consequent need for the superpowers to avoid coming directly into conflict with each other. Generally we can identify two meanings assigned to the term war by proxy, local war with and without external military *intervention* (Bar-Siman, 1984).

In many cases, proxy wars occur during the Cold War. Proxy wars can prevent super power being directly involved in the conflict so that the potential of a nuclear war can be minimized. Proxy wars have been identified with two characteristics that is local wars and no military force intervention from outside.

The main actors remotely control and providing assistance or support both in material and non-material in accordance with the existing situation. The Proxy War case in various regions has increased with the escalation of the Cold War between the Soviet Union against the United States (US) in the past.

Proxy wars have occurred in Indochina. Vietnam is one of the country being engaged in Proxy War. The war took place between the Vietkong in North Vietnam affiliated to the Soviet Union against Ngo Dinh Diem group affiliated to the US. Proxy war manifested in the form of civil war took place between the years 1955-1975.

Cambodia is another country that also had Proxy War history. This war took place between groups of Heng Samrin affiliated to Vietnam and Russia against Pol Pot group affiliated to China, the US, and Thailand. Proxy wars hardly being settled as long as the foreign nations that control it does not indicate its goodwill for peace.

Therefore, the Indonesian nation shall take lessons from the proxy war in Indochina. Do not let it happen in Indonesia. If it happen, it would be very difficult to solve. Proxy war is very complex and complicated because it involves the interests of many parties, both internal and external.

Referring to the concept of three-dimensional in the previous

section, that dimension or reality in ideology is reflecting the values of a society, therefore the values of Pancasila actually reflects the values of life in Indonesia.

Pancasila has been formulated by the founder of the nation through long reflection as well as exploring and searching for the basic values of the people who live in the area that stretches from Sabang to Merauke, formerly known as the Dutch East Indies. Therefore, the actualization of Pancasila values of Indonesian society would logically restore the core values that may have been forgotten due to the bustle of modernization.

The approach might be helpful in addressing the challenges of political, economic, and cultural dynamic that has potential to trigger Proxy War in Indonesia. This view is based on the premise that these values are fundamental values that need to be actualized in order to become a reference for the Indonesian society's behavior, both for the elite and the commoners. If there is any government policy, legislation and social behavior, including social groups that do not correspond with

the values of Pancasila, it could be rejected or should be aligned with the values of the nation of Indonesia as contained in Pancasila.

Thus, Pancasila has a strong position (strategic) as the source of all law and fundamental values in Indonesia. It need to underline that this has become a consensus of the founders of countries. If there are those who oppose it means he has betrayed the nation's founder who has fought for an independent Indonesia.

The actualization of Pancasila values in politics is in response to political Proxy War. Consistently, Indonesia should also not conducting direct election system for the fourth principle states that we adopt a democratic system through representation. But of course this is not an absolute because the flexible dimension states that Pancasila as an ideology is open to amendment or adjustment according to the social dynamics of the community.

Thus, Pancasila provide space for political interpretation adaptation from time to time. Indonesian people could shape it in such a way by looking for the

electoral system that in line with the conditions of today's society, but it also reckon with the substance of the fourth principle.

The actualization of Pancasila values in economics is also taken in response to economic Proxy War. Actually, since the establishment of foreign investment IGGI (Inter-governmental Group in Indonesia) in 1967 in the New Order era, until the Reformation era Indonesia is more inclined to embrace the Liberal-capitalistic economic order. This happens because the Soeharto government needs foreign capital to revive the low economy of Indonesia at that time.

The financiers only agree to invest in Indonesia with the premises of liberal economic order that gives the broadest freedom to investors in their business exploration in Indonesia. This is not the case in the era of Sukarno, because rather than permitting the Indonesian natural resources being exploited by foreigners, he believe that it is better to postpone it until the Indonesian people are ready to effectuate it, especially for the mining and mineral exploration sector.

In the reform era, the Liberal-capitalist order has been continued with considerations to maintain high economic growth, as this is listed as one of the success indicator of a government. All the presidents in this era are competing in adoring economic growth, despite having to sacrifice other interests such as environmental issues.

On the other hand, it can be understood as the government is required to meet the needs of its people, particularly clothing, food, housing, and employment. Indeed, the condition is a dilemma between the ideals and the reality of political economy.

However, this can be addressed if the government wants to build a consistent and objective balance between economic and non-economic interest and could withstand the pressure of interest from domestic and foreign economic actors with their increasingly strong influence. The world is currently controlled by global capitalism who are transfixing their influence in countries with huge potential in economic sector, Indonesia is one of these countries. No wonder that

Indonesia also became one of their targets.

The global capitalism power has been investing in Indonesia by collaborating with their partners that is national businessmen. Indonesia become the market for various products of the world's major industrial and this products or business competition can also be presumed as a proxy war in an economic context. As we know that the businesses in Indonesia has been established with orientation to various major brand and major countries. It has been known that there is a tight competition of goods and services in the Indonesian market.

Although an institution has been established to oversee the business world, that is KPPU (Business Competition Supervisory Commission), fraudulent practices are still often found. The problem occur when the business actors wants to win the competition by cheating, for example, by approaching the circle of power or bribing the state officials and stirring the government policy to be biased toward particular group interest. However, this practice has been increasingly difficult to do

because the officials and the elite behavior has been supervised by the mass media.

If we want to organize the Indonesian economy from the perspective of Pancasila, it certainly needs some bold steps. First, Pancasila does not regulate economic issues in detail. Only the fifth precepts that declared Social justice for the all the people of Indonesia. This means that Liberalism-Capitalism in Indonesia needs to be adapted to the social justice issues.

Moreover, the development of Liberalism and Capitalism has been promoting a global culture of greed and hedonistic, thus indirectly, in addition to businessmen, the ruler, is also responsible for this situation (Marcuse, 2012). Therefore, economically, the Indonesian government policy should be heavily involved in the development of business culture and consumption behavior of Indonesian society. It shall not be allowed to be performed without directions as liberal mechanism.

The Indonesian people level of understanding against liberal

economy has not been sufficiently "mature." Do not let the lower class to have consumption level far above his income. In short, it needs community assistance by the government through regulations in order to be rational in economic behavior. The government should not hesitate nor afraid to modify the free market economic mechanisms in order to align with the values of the Indonesian people.

Furthermore, the presence of medium and large businesses has been detrimental to small businesses. Just look at the supermarket group that has reached the remote area within Jabodetabek, and even almost all of Indonesia. It potentially destroy the small shops and stalls owned by locals since they are not able to liberally compete with major capital conglomerates. Supposedly, any company operating in Indonesia must pay attention to that dimension. On the format, the business climate with social justice dimension would need a separate study.

Second, other things also worth noting is the mandate of the National Constitution 1945 stated that Cooperatives shall be the backbone of the Indonesian economy. The

implementation, would need specific government policies to govern it. Obviously, Indonesian economic order should not be allowed to thrive by just favoring the foreign investor's interest, but also need to heed the mandate of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. So once again it takes is the courage to organize the economy while still providing the opportunity for foreign capital in Indonesia.

Moreover, the actualization of Pancasila values also apply in culture in response to cultural Proxy War. Indonesian people, especially the younger generation today, are preferring foreign culture than the Indonesian local culture. Nowadays, popular culture of East Asia, West Europe, USA, South Asia, has been competing in Indonesia to compete for influence. Even some private TV stations in Indonesia has become local actors of Proxy War for specifically collaborate with the country where the culture originated. This also indicate the proxy war phenomenon in popular culture sector.

Conversely, local and national culture has lost its enthusiasts. Javanese culture such as wayang kulit (shadow puppets),

wayang orang (human puppets), ludruk (traditional theater), Ketoprak has been neglected. Similarly with Sundanese culture such as puppet shows and dances that also suffered the same fate. The Sumatran culture has also lost its enthusiasts, especially among the youth, such as Serampang Dua Belas dance, Piring dance, Umbrella dance and other cultural attractions that also experienced the same issues.

Pancasila is not particularly detailing about culture since only the second precepts that stated justice and civilized humanity. Civilized humanity can be described as humanity with culture. In fact many Indonesian people has been treated by the products of cultures that are not in line with the values of civilized humanity. For example, TV shows and movies that display violence, pornography, or values that are not in line with the first principle of Pancasila.

Now with the digital age, the culture media is also required to adjust to it. The character of digital community are TV, movies, applications on mobile phones and the like, become strategic information

media. On the other hand, if the TV, movie and social media are allowed to grow freely as today (in the era of reform), in the name of freedom of expression, the public will be easily split in public opinion as part of provocation and could easily triggered horizontal conflict.

Moreover, when referring to the tradition of free market or liberal economic, private TV, the producer, the site on social media is only prioritizing for profit (rating broadcasts) without considering the fate of national culture, the local and dimensions of public education, except for public TV that still paying attention to it.

That means social media in Indonesia has been generally paying less attention to the dimensions of social responsibility although not all them did so. The government should not immediately respond. Relevant technical ministries need to be engage actively in regulating the direction of the national culture development.

The past concept, as the national culture strategy can be an inspiration for relevant stakeholder, although it does not need to be exactly

like that. Do not let Indonesia becoming Proxy War battlefield of various foreign cultures because our own culture is national identity, so it needs equally serious attention like in economic growth sectors.

Conclusion

One of the challenges for the Indonesian people and government today is the proxy war that could have an impact on the threat of disintegration and destroying the Homeland. Various Proxy War in Indonesia, as in the fields of politics and security, economy, and culture have potentially moving towards it. Nevertheless, there are some social groups that perceive alertness as panic and exaggeration. It is a matter of human interpretation which is influenced by variables of diverse interests and perspectives against a phenomenon.

The measure in encountering Proxy War as mentioned above, takes effort to actualize the values of Pancasila into various sectors of politics and security, economy, and culture. In principle, we need to restore Pancasila as the philosophical foundation of the nation and state life.

Moreover, it also require an efforts to enact it as a way of life amongst Indonesian society during this era of reform that cares for the values of freedom, openness, democracy, and the dimension of flexibility in Pancasila.

Recommendation

Law enforcement agencies and relevant stakeholders should work professionally, so it does not have to be affected by public opinion and need not be worried of being perceived as non-democratic. We need to hold strongly toward the principle of alert and ready is better than being “missed”. Therefore, strengthening the role of law enforcement and intelligence functions need to be maximized.

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