The Changing Society And The Role of Indonesia Defense University As Country Defense Axis

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Article Info	Abstract
Keywords: ***Defense the country;*** ***Ideology;*** ***Globalization,*** ***Faithology;*** ***Post-nationalist***	*This study discusses the concept of defending the country in by considering the context of the development of Indonesian society in the global era and democracy. The diversity of consciousness that arise therefore, are challenge for Indonesia. This qualitative research-based study found that the various phenomena mentioned above are essentially challenge to the interests of the state because they de territorialize the logic of state territorialism, through the form of post-nationalist logical thinking. This study is an attempt to define the role of the Indonesian Defense University to form the Axis of State Defense as a strategic network to respond the dynamic of socio-political consciousness constructively. This study contributes a number of important academic concepts to be discussed and further developed.*
Corresponding Author: risrif@gmail.com	Kajian ini mendiskusikan konsep bela negara dengan memperhatikan konteks perkembangan masyarakat Indonesia di era global dan demokrasi. Kemajemukan gagasan yang timbul karenanya menjadi tantangan bagi Indonesia. Kajian berbasis penelitian kualitatif ini menemukan bahwa berbagai fenomena tersebut di atas pada dasarnya merupakan tantangan bagi kepentingan negara karena semuanya sama-sama melakukan deteritorialisasi terhadap logika teritori negara, berupa logika berfikir "pasca-nasionalis". Kajian ini merupakan upaya untuk merumuskan peran Universitas Pertahanan Indonesia untuk membentuk Poros Bela Negara sebagai jejaring strategis untuk

menanggapi dinamika kesadaran sosial politik secara konstruktif. Kajian ini menyumbangkan sejumlah konsep penting secara akademik untuk untuk didiskusikan dan dikembangkan lebih lanjut.

Introduction

The concept of state defense is not an activity that must be done by military because it can be done by any social agencies through various activities and strategies, for example is through education. Education is the most important aspect in a state building. Napoleon Bonaparte (1805) stated: *"There cannot be a firmly established political state unless there is a teaching body with definitely recognized principles"* (Bereday & Lauwerys, 2013). This shows that modern state-run process is highly dependent on educational institutions. Through this, construction becomes a nation can occur from the beginning of nation-state formation, its maintenance, and until further developments.

Educational institutions could become the bonding straps of unity for plural society. Social scientists (Anderson 1983; Bates 1983; Horowitz 1985) have argued that the boundaries of ethnic groups are tend to be easily influenced through social, economic conditions and dependent on policy and economic choices, although the endogeneity forms ethnic boundary. In the global political and economy era, the border of the state to some extent lost its significance, and has made external forces allows for changes in primordial-based groups.

Anderson (1983) argued that when the Dutch colonial government allowed young people from royal (*priyayi*) families to participate in the education provided by the Dutch, the national consciousness came into being politically. This shows that the education had opened the horizon of young people's minds in the Dutch colony, by which knowledge had constructed oppositional idea in a form of nationalism. Through education they find imagination of their community throught out the colonial territory. It is what Anderson call as imagined community which then binds them into collective unity as the nation of Indonesia.

In today's global context and its development new social ties beyond the ethnic aspect have been able to melt the boundaries of ethnicity, and incorporate them into new socio-political boundaries, by which it break through the boundaries of nationalist imagination. By using this thesis I discuss the forces that now exist in a tug-of-war situation, such as between political religion and secularization forces; nationalist and post-nationalist ideas; pragmatism and post-ideology, or a combination thereof. Those forces have the ability to appeal cross-ethnic communities to have a new imagined community beyond its ethnic ties or identities.

For example the collective effect of political Islam is actually a psycho-political response to the globalization and development by which the members feel marginalized from global and development role. Then they form a "religious post-nationalist consciousness" by connecting national with international network. This kind of deterritorialization strategy not only happen among the political Islam movement, but also young generations as they have access to the global context through any kind of link. In this situation the young generations do not feel that they are marginalized by global context but rather having access to the global progress, then they develop "pragmatic-secular post-nationalist consciousness" individuals as the ideological aspect is insignificant for them.

Method

In this research used qualitative approach. According to Creswell (1994), qualitative research is focused on the processes that occur in research. This suggests that quantitative research can not be limited. In addition, researchers are an important part of research to understand the social phenomena occurring in the research process. A qualitative approach is also called an interpretive approach, an approach that attempts to systematically analyze the social phenomena that arise from direct research conducted against a natural environmental setting (Neuman, 2013).

Data collection techniques used in this study are library research, observation and interviews. The

appointment of informants by purposive procedure is to determine the group of participants who become informants in accordance with the selected criteria relevant to a particular research problem. The data obtained were analyzed using interactive models (Miles & Huberman, 1994) through the stages of analytical techniques such as data collection procedures, data reduction, data display and data verification.

Result and Discussion

From Ideology to "Faithology"

In the global development, the flow of secularism, pragmatism, and religious ideas have been undergone the sphere of global modernity. Arjun Appadurai (1996) argues that there are five important aspects of scapes of global modernity: **First**, *ethnoscape* aspect, i.e. ethnic movement from one region to another through transportation which make them easier to migrate and influencing changes in the existing social sphere. **Second**, *mediascape* aspect as the movement of media information including cultural aspect, throughout the world in a short of time so that

can be seen by people who are far apart from each other.

Third, *technoscape* as technological flows of mechanical goods, software, gadgets and so on which travel all over the world without boundaries due to global corporate facilities. **Fourthly**, *financescape* in the form of money movement in a short of time globally and global investments that recruited young generation to involve in it. **Fifth** is the *ideoscape* as the movement of a political idea and other form of ideas like knowledges from one region to another through crossing the boundaries. These five scapes are related to each other and influence to each other dialectically.

The *ideoscape* aspect in Apadurai (1996) point of view can be used in the discussion about ideology and *"faithology"*, since it is essentially a sphere of ideas that follow the globalization of secular and religious knowledges. *Faithology* is a new concept that is important to be explored in this paper to analyze how it constructs the "religious post-nationalist consciousness". Before I formulate faithology, allow me to discuss the meaning of ideology as it

is important to contrast with faithology. Althusser (1971) formulates ideology as a representation of the imaginary relationship of individuals to the real conditions of their existence.

As an imaginary idea, Althuser also explains that ideology has a strong relationship with material consciousness as Marx's point of view. Althuser put forward the idea of state ideological apparatus in eduction and other institutions, by which the domination of bourgeoise ideology has its ability to operate. Based on this view, the concept of ideology in this study is define as a system of ideas used to achieve ideal conditions rationally to built social, political and economic as foundations for society. The notion of ideology which is based on rational choice implies a separation between the political sphere and the domain of religion, thus ideology has a secular character.

Secularism is an idea in society that rejects the involvement of religious aspects in political system and social life. Secular ideology emphasizes the importance of universal aspect of morality which can be a moral standard in society and this moral value should not be based on religious judgment. Basically this morality should be naturally based on public good by which secular. This social morality becomes social ethics through the disposition in everyday life practices (Kurtz, 2008). Pragmatism and secularism have a high degree of conformity, and it easier to form incorporation of ideas into secular pragmatism rather than religious one. This idea is used by individuals to respond their circumstances pragmatically based on non-religious morality.

Meanwhile, William James, CS Pierce, John Dewey, and Richard Rorty, initiate pragmatism. They explain that pragmatism is the idea when it working in practical life and the result was satisfactory, then the idea would be accepted by people. It means that the idea which makes people face difficulties or non-practical then it will be rejected (McDermid, 2006; Shook & Margolis, 2006). Pragmatism here is a perspective in any social act which is considering the practical effect of an object conceptualized by individuals to achieve the condition needed not the ideal condition.

Furthermore, the concept of "faithology" is need to define as it is a new term that I examine here. To understand this, I use the related concept of ideoscape as already discussed before. Basically faithology is a system of believe in achieving ideal condition of social, economic and political order based on religious faith. It is an idea based on faith as rational choice by which this rationality always considers religious teaching. This means that faithology have aspects of rationality in their framework as ideology. Ideology has a secular rationality, meanwhile faith has religious rationality, therefore, faithology is a mixture of logical thinking and religious beliefs function to manage social, economic, cultural, and political condition to reach ideal situation which is considered as truth.

Faithology principally is based on idea and religious knowledge that already circulates in and regulates society, consequently it has power effect, and this power works, diffused and embodied in discourse, knowledge, and 'regimes of truth' like what Foucault argued (Foucault 1991; Foucault, in Rabinow 1991). Foucault defines truth as a knowledge based thing of this world, that it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint publicly by which it induces regular effects of power. His argument indicate that every society has its own regime of truth as their political common platform of truth in a form of discourse, like religious belief.

The repetition of religious teaching in any kind of sermon, ritual, and other forms of discursive practices has become the circuit of power by which society accepts and makes function as true. This means that truth is a form of knowledge mechanisms and instances which enable individual to differentiate true and false statements. This kind of knowledge discourse function as means in society to give sanction, punish and reward to the individual who disobey and who obey the truth. It is basically socio-political techniques and procedures of accorded value in the basic cognitive process of truth, by which it is the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true (Foucault, in Rabinow 1991). Faithology as power of discourse creates consciousness to individual(s) who

believe in the religious regime of truth, which then enable them to create social network as its circuit of power.

Secular Pragmatism Movement

Millennial generation living in the era where online technology enable themselves become the boss of their own business, or the owner of online newspaper,   and other independent online social and political activities see the world in pragmatic and liberal way. In this context they consider ideology such as communism is insignificant for their life, as they think that they do not want too much control from the state over their life. If they want to be religious they take it as their private matter rather than communitarian issues, because they do not want religious institution come into their personal life. Moslem millennial generation for example, would rather say "my religion is my religion, your religion is your religion" quoted from Al Quran to express their religious feeling when they socialize with friends coming from different religious background. Although they are religious, they do not want to mix it up with politics. For them political issues are worldly issues, and religion is transcendental matter which cannot be mixed. This shows that the individual separates politics and religion in their everyday life. It is the phenomena of secular self beyond the state.

They understand that religion is sensitive issues so they do not want to bring it in politics or other sensitive discourse in public. When the politician make use of religion for their political purposes they understand that it is policies populism strategy to gain support from communitarian faction in society, and this generation are prefer to stay away from this kind of religious politicization that easily stir up political tension.

Living with secular pragmatism in their everyday life, the millennial generation feel emancipated, more liberal and flexible with the changing of social, cultural, economic, and political dynamics. They are also open minded in understanding and giving the meaning of nation-state as their country and fellow country people. The role of online media technology

open up their imagination to cross beyond nationalist idea like the flow of money and news in global online media. State territorialism is less meaningful for millennial generation, as they can connect with the whole world virtually or even some of the can afford to travel the world. In this context their logic of thinking is very much beyond the nationalist logic, they are post-nationalist generation. Regardless of the negative effect of advance capitalism, it has encouraged various forms of social, economic and political emancipation that affect both individual and group level.

The idea of secular pragmatism also follow the progress of advance communication technology. This technology provide online media network by which it has becomes human need to increase their social capital globally. This technology to a great extent liberate them from any political control from the state. Online media not only used by the secular pragmatic group of people but it is also used by the religious movement to spread its faithology against the liberal politics, as this social media is relatively free from state control. In this context,

pragmatism and secularism are the rational choice to gain higher emancipation to enter the social, economic and political sphere globally by which it makes themselves more comfortable and free.

The millennial generation who are secular, liberal, and pragmatic in character are constructing their identity as part of their multicultural group, rather than based on the communitarian identity. Yet primordial identity, like religious, ethnic, or country is not an important identity to this generation. Religion is an individual faith, not identity any longer. This mean that pragmatism and secularism have done the *deteritorialization* of the boundaries of ethnicity and religion which are primordial. This demonstrates that the exogenous force has penetrated and deconstructs the territorial identity and make it more loos or even borderless. Even to a great extent this situation has uprooted the individuals from their traditional identity.

Social groups with secular pragmatic ideas often identify themselves as part of global culture and society. This can be seen from

their consumption behavior, fashion, and other life style that express cosmopolitan feature. This identification builds an emancipatory social relationship in the sense of emancipation from its primordial boundaries.

For example, many young people with global identity have a global consumption behavior by drinking coffee with their multicultural friends in multinational corporate cafe to show that they are part of global community. The group also has a high mobility tendency to cross the country, and even has tendency to settle in other countries without any problem to become other country citizen as long as their pragmatic life satisfy them. In this situation they become part of global community they want, as the social, economic and political order facilitate their lives. Their mind and their discourse can be characterized as having post-nationalist consciousness. This is because their political consciousness is no longer tied to the nation state where they were born or belong nationally as they are more affiliated with global community.

The political context of democracy for this millennial generation is facilitates them to have ample social, economy, and political sphere to express their consciousness, even to attract people to enjoy the same consciousness. They create their own organization based on their hobby like biking, cycling, touring and traveling. They also involve in social activity like charity or other philanthropic activities and so on.

There is a good example of the millennial family who are very pragmatic in their life in viewing the dispute between the tenants of the housing complex and its body corporate in Bogor:

Q: *How the way you view the group of tenants who won the case against the housing body corporate because the monthly fee, including water subscription, was to expensive?*

A: *Honestly, I do not care about politics, or demonstration series in Jakarta or even the protest here. I enjoy living in elite area of Bogor which is quite tranquil especially for relaxing my self with family after working hours, as I am a business person. This area was nice and tranquil, but after the group of tenant won the case against the housing body corporate, then I have to face the effect of the dispute. The body corporate of housing complex very*

often stop the *water with so many reasons, like the water supply is not enough, included blaming the protesters who already won the case in the first trial in court.*

A: *Do you think that the body corporate do that by purpose?*

Q: *Yes, I think the body corporate stop the water in the morning or afternoon for water efficiency is because of they lost in court. Why dont they just pay the monthly fee to the housing body corporate then enjoy the facilities and enjoy life. The protester said that their struggle is based on the Indonesian constitution regarding water and land. I don't care about constitution, I just want to enjoy living here.*

Q: *I heard that the tenant organization that won the case want to return the water management to the local government, what do you thing about it?*

A: *For me, Singapore and Shanghai water management are much better as well as in other public facilities. If the water management returned to the local government as it is the madate of the constitution, then I don't believe with local government. If the situation remain the same due to the dispute and bad service, I think its better to move to those countries.*

The group of tenant that has struggled over their rights as citizen using Indonesian constitution to fight the housing body corporate is political. But, the other group shows pragmatic consciousness as they only want to enjoy life by paying the fee. This kind of pragmatic perspective not only experience by middle class Chinese ethnic but also, Sundanese, or Javanese upper middle class, living in the same housing complex. The habitus of secular pragmatism has been there and functions.

This kind pragmatic discourse is very much close to the post-nationalist consciousness. They prefer to be apolitic rather than facing any hassle in any situation of life rather than to be political. Interestingly this kind of situation also has already been in the consciousness of young generation of middle class who are ready to work abroad after they finish his university level. Post-national pragmatism has spread among the middle class, even young generation and very much like postmodern movement that works without any organization command and expansive like rhizome.

Inter-nation marriage among those kind of middle class have become very common, as they already assimilated with global cultural lifestyle. This idea has been started from the existence of international school, by which the

upper middle class send their children to go to that school instead of public school. This international schooling system increasing the integration of knowledge's with *global ideoscape.* This facilitate their emancipation process from its traditional roots and become part of the construction of post-secular pragmatic consciousness which tended to be inclusive and very much having post-nationalist logic of thinking.

Solidarity among them also moves globally because all information can be access in everywhere and any time because of internet. This situation challenges the mainstream nationalist ideas, even the millennial generation assuming that nationalism is left behind, or in their synical expression: "*Hari gini nasionalisme*?" (in these days, nationalism?). This kind of phenomena is actually happen in every where as the effect of globalization of any aspects of life, and this is the driving force to think globally.

Faithological Movement

Religious-based political movement in Indonesia like HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonessia) and Moslems involved in demonstration series against Basuki Tjahya Purana when he was the Governor of Jakarta will be analyzed as movement which is based on "faithology" rather than ideology. This movement offers an alternative social, economic and political ideal which is oppose the idea of democracy and capitalism, as it is based on religious teaching. Hadiz (2016) considers that political Islam in Indonesia, Egypt and Turkey is a religious-based populist movement.

Hadiz explained that revival of Pan-Islamist movement was the historical context of religious-based populism movement along with the waning of *Utsmaniyah* Empire. Hadiz also asserted the emergence of a religious-based populism was a reaction to Western domination that historically proceeds through colonialism in Africa and Asia. In addition, he also explained the reaction to Western influence in society in post-colonial modern era in consumption behavior such as lifestyle, capitalism economic system, secularism, pluralism and democracy (Hadiz, 2016).

The structural analyzes helps to elaborates religious based populism in macro level of political economy, but it does not explains the process on how the formation of collective affect from individuals to community or group work at the micro level. The aspect of affect in anthropological study uses to show how feeling is uses to establish, to resist or to avoid, and to fulfill what people experience in specific situation.

For example, how the Islamic group of people in Indonesia feel that they are marginalized or impaired in global economic development. This kind of feeling encourage them to create collective movement to fight against the dominant player in global activities. In collective affect perspective, that kind of feeling may transform into a fundamental reason to construct social or political solidarity as the bases for movement. This fundamental reason framed with religious teaching to give meaning to the actual experiences that reflects unequal power relation which has to fight according to the religious teaching. Therefore, it is important to understand the collective affect aspect as political phenomena in

Foucauldian sense of power/knowledge to understand how the power works (Foucault, 1980; Massumi, 2002; Stewart, 2007; Clough, 2007; Martin, 2013).

The same with social political movement in general, the faithology that brngs knowledge and power operates through various domains, like ethnoscape that is brought by community from one country to another, the technoscape such as internet network, books or other printed media and electronic media and from bank management procedures based on religious system. The idea based on Faithology has tendency to form communitarian based on social, politic and economic although its members are from multi ethnic, cultural and states.

In general, it is similar to what Hadiz (2016) states on religious populist movement. On the other hand, consciousness also arises from power of collective affect when they confront the power of global capitalism. This is a sociocultural mechanism when reacting to Western domination and Western influence within their social environment by strengthening the principle of

Faithology through the process of collective affect which not only develops locally but also nationally, regional and global because there are instruments they both use. Although instruments between Western and faithology based group are the same, the situation of faithological collective affect group tend to feel that they have no equal ability to confront the West. Therefore, the reaction emerges in the form of Imagined Solidarity (Bayat, 2005) to reject the situation as it is contrary to the religious teaching. This solidarity connects from local to the global level.

In global context, faithological based movement is a transnational, socially and culturally movement like Hizbut Tharir. This organization disseminated to promote the idea of khilafah Islamiyah which deteritorialize the Indonesian state in which the state apparatuses remain carrying nationalits idea that appreciate the territorial significance of the post-colonial state. At the same time this organization also strengthening its member territory based on religion as collective power.

In this social and political context they create a pluralist strategy by incorporating different race, culture, and ethnicities which then bound in Islamic communitarianism. This shows that ethnic, culture, and race boundaries are superseded with the new social boundary based on Islamic religion. In this context that various ethnic groups can unite in the faithological territory through the collective affect process.

Secular Pragmatism vs Faithological Movements

The difference between Secular Pragmatism and Faithological Social Movements can be seen from the character of power influence. The following figure (Figure 1) describes the model of power influence and magnification of those two social movement. **The first** (left picture) character shows the secular pragmatism power influence. The character of power influence is sentripetal, which means weak or lose in the inner core but expansive in nature. This movement is follows the capitalist development and all facilities included its political platform of liberal democracy.

The second shows the faithological movements has sentrifugal power influence. The faithological based organization develops its hegemony by conditioning their own social order,

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economic activities and political discourse based on religious teaching. This conditioning process is work by creating the strength of the inner core as it is centrifugal in character but it is widening in term of memberships

Centrifugal expansion   Centripetal expansion
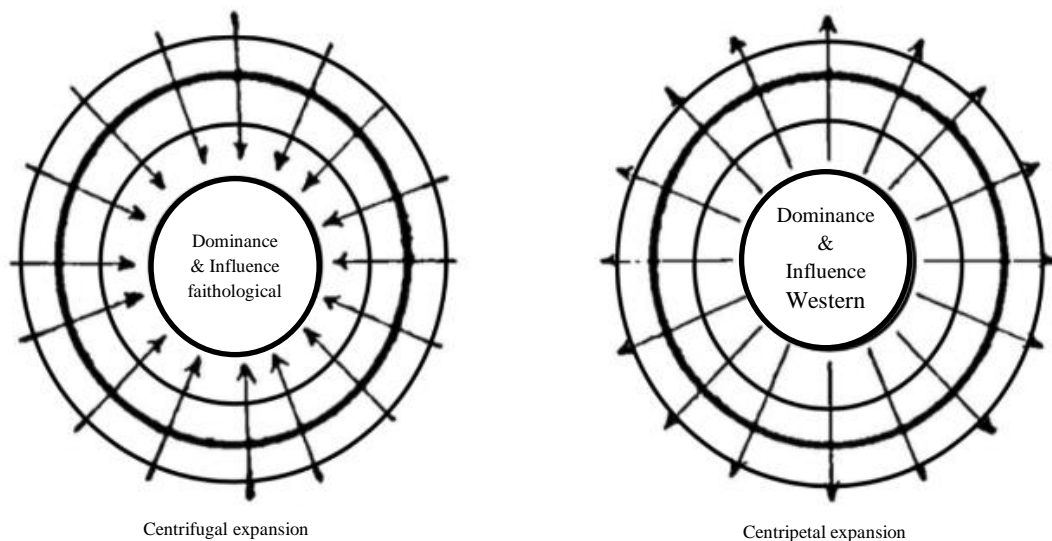
Figure I: The Sentrifugal and Sentripetal Power

The way faithological reproduce their socio-religious value is by creating religious based housing complex to recruit their member in order to contstruct faithological strength. They also occupying student dormitory belong to the university, or running dormitory business in campus or off campus to disseminate faithological teaching. It is to compete the liberal style of student dormitory. Their business is creating a chain of business or banking service

that encourage their member as main customers.

This group also active in virtual social media as it is can be accessed from anywhere. It is the way the faithological based organization create their collective affect based community, by which in the long run they calculate will be able to take over the state especially when its foundation is strong. The way faithological movement conditioning its social ground in real world and

virtual media has built a collective bond, based on the same identity. Even at an extreme level, they can achieve high level of solidarity, such as involve in terrorism or creating political movements that radically resist agiants the modern state at all cost for the sake of their faithological believe.

Khilafah Islamiyah as faithological based society, shows the tendency to increase their number centrifugally and undertakes deteritorialization effort against modern state teritory. Khilafah Islamiyah showing this kind of tendency, by which the member of this movement create meshwork by building up supporters from cross social class, cross ethnics, and internationally, but not cross religion as they are creating communitarian collective affect based on religious believe.

Khilahaf Islamiyah, as it is faithological movement, has tendency to expand and extend centrifugally, to undertake deteritorialisation efforts against the modern state territory. This is because the modern state and its citizenship principle have been considered to be the barrier of their

movement to establish social, economic, and political order based on the interpretation of religious teaching. This faithological movement thus has a "post-nationalist religious consciousness" because they reject national territorial of modern state, since the territory according to the faithological teaching is not based on geographical boundary, but rather faith itself.

Secular Pragmatic and faithological consciousness are post-nationalist characteristically, and both of them coexist in a territory of post-colonial state of Indonesia. This construct social relation in Indonesian society as in Figure II which shows fragmented pluralism., as the relation between those two social groups are antagonistic although both of them are having post-nationalist perspective. The faithological group regulate their social, cultural, political, and economic life within their group. Meanwhile, the secular pragmatic groups are more affiliated with modern global life style, liberal, and western oriented consumption behavior, as well as political, social, and its cultural orientation.

In between those two group there is an agnostic groups of people who are more or less do not care or tolerant about these social grouping. This shows that Pancasila and *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* or Unity in Diversity is not discursively practiced which means frozen as texts and slogan only, not as social paradigm. These situation is a challenge for Indonesia's future defense strategy in developing a nation with fragmented plural society.
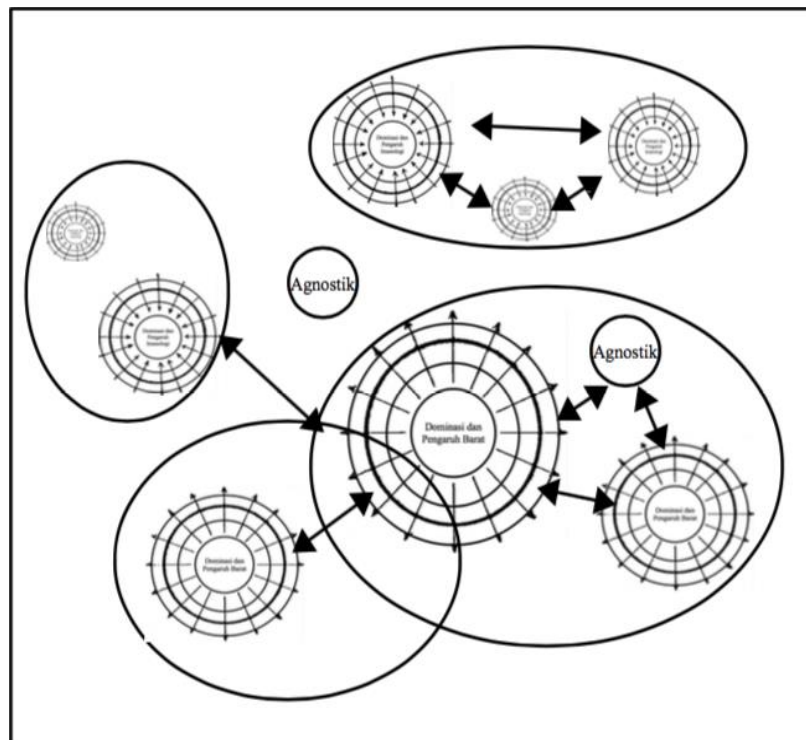
Figure 2: Fragmented Pluralism Pattern

Designing Strategy through Indonesia Defense University: Facing the Challenge

The legal basis of state defense is stated in 1945 Constitution of Indonesia, which is Article 27 paragraph (3) stating that all citizens are entitled and obliged to participate in state defense; Article 30 paragraph (1) stating that every citizen shall have the right and obligation to participate in state defense and security matters"

State defense is an important part of nation building because it is a

long process of maintaining, protecting, defending and developing nations in the hands of all citizens. The concept of state defending is also the basis of a strategy to form patriotism of citizens to maintain the existence and integrity of the country. In the context where nationalism is contested by post-nationalism consciousness, the state cannot monopolizes patriotism any longer.

In this context, the Indonesian Defense University (IDU) need to develop strategy to melt down the frozen Pancasila and its Bhineka Tunggal Ika as paradigm and discursive practice contextually. It is important because IDU has considered itself since 2009 as "Defense State University", therefore the campus is socially, intellectually, politically and ideologically responsible for the formation of nation character through education. Thus, although the Indonesian Defense University was established by TNI (Indonesian National Army) does not mean that this campus is based on military. After the 1998 political reforms, which is after the institution of ABRI (Indonesian Armed Forces) overhauled its

organization into TNI and POLRI (Police of the Republic of Indonesia). Fundamental changes has been applied to the TNI organization's body including removing political practice of ABRI dual function. Based on this reform agenda TNI then sought to continually improve the relationships between the military and civil society.

Civil society is often interpreted as a social power comprising active citizens who are manage their collective activities and channeling their aspiration through the state politically. In this context the state has a meaning as a political organization that accommodates, manages, and is responsible for the fulfillment of the rights of its citizens. In the post-reform era, civil society has become an important power for democracy in Indonesia. TNI in a non-political situation practically takes a position to defend the nation-state, which is to defend a sovereign territory whose citizens share the same interests and goals to defend the land, speak the same language as its identity, and form a u nation state collectively, although members of the nation are diverse (*bhineka*).

This involvement of TNI in university life is important to formulate Pancasila and its Bhineka Tunggal Ika as paradigm rather than frozen doctrine. Strategizing Pancasila becoming more dynamic and contextual. This is important because the IDU is a "*kawah candradimuka*" not only for knowledge of defense, but also to guide the nation's leaders to face the dynamic challnege for the better future of Indonesia.

Politician Hobsbawm (2012) noted that the development of nationalism in 1780 shows that:

"*Naturally states would use the increasingly powerful machinery for communicating with their inhabitants, above all the primary schools, to spread the image and heritage of the 'nation' and to inculcate attachment to it and to attach all to country and flag, often 'inventing tradition' or even nations for this purpose*" (Hobsbawm, 2012).

The construction of Indonesian patriotism requires educational institutions from basic to higher education, but not in doctrinal and monopolize way. In the past, the New Order regime, carried out the principle of democracy, communicating the idea of nationalism through authoritarian way. The result was the homogenization of the New Order (Order Baru) ideology by which, basically failed as we can see the wave of resentment and the effort to establish democratic politics in 1998 along with the process of political reform.

Compare to other countries, the experience of Union Soviet in the application of democratization is responded by separation of the state and the collapsed of Uni Soviet central command. The Balkanization did not occur in Indonesia, although at the beginning several ethnic and religious-based conflicts happened. Only East Timor was ultimately decided through a referendum, and then parted from Indonesia. Democracy in Indonesia is deepening, to some extent, although it still emphasizes the procedural aspect rather than the substantial ones such as implementing social welfare by distribution of development and inclusive growth. In this era, doctrinal way for homogenizing state ideology will be resisted by liberal-secular pragmatism and faithological consciousness, therefore it has to be strategical.

Moreover, Indonesian people have essentially undergone a phase of industrialization that is getting stronger in this century, although in most part of Indonesia still in the phase of agrarian economy. Industrial societies in urban areas has put the foundation of their economy on regional markets, and globally. Meanwhile, some of their economic power still based on local markets, agricultural, and communitarian social ties. In this context the strategy of state defense cannot be uniformed, as Indonesia has to face the political atitude of liberal-secular pragmatic and others are having faitholocial consciousness which have diverse attitudes toward Pancasila and capitalistic industrialization.

In this era, Pancasila is like intersection because it has not been formulated as academic paradigm to face all problems in the global age. Pancasila at the moment is just like "inventing tradition" as stated by (Hobsbawm, 2012; Trevor-Roper, 1983) that function to communicate the interest of state to its citizens about the characteristic and tradition-based state ideology which is different from other existing

ideologies. In the changing context as laready discussed before, Pancasila cannot be treaed as inventing tradition by which the challenges that need to be faced are more complex than in early post independent.

In the global context, Pancasila has not found its new formula to face the fragmented pluralism in social and political life. In this situation, what kind of state defense strategy that needs to be formulated? This needs to discuss jointly, since there is no single problem solver given the existing plurality and tension because of the development of global *ideoscape* that has been discussed in previous section.

To facilitate discussion of paradigmatic defense strategy of the country, Defense University of Indonesia has important legitimacy. Particularly to become an educational institution which serves as PBN (Source of State Defense). As the source, Defense University should be a core of large network throughout Indonesia to develop a new paradigm of state defense through education. To build the network, all universities in Indonesia need to participate in the

Axis for State Defense (*Poros Bela Negara*), which is based on the principal of *Persatuan Indonesia* (The unity of Indonesia) of the third principle of Pancasila as in the following picture:

Defense University an axis for State Defense needs to build a national network with all universities in Indonesia as partners and stakeholders in each province. The purpose of this network is to formulate the various diversity in each region of Indonesia that must be formulated as paradigm to defend the country in a democratic and non-doctrinal, and non-monopolize way. It's important, as Chantal Mouffe argues that democrats are often incapable to understand that democratic country also need to make a concrete thing, based on community's desires and fantasies about welfare (Mouffe, 2002). Deficient of such capability, will lack to anticipate the emergence of faithological collective affect which use the issue of social and global inequality, then the state will fail to face the existing challenges in democratic way.

The national network based on the unity of Indonesia principle is not enough as the challenges are post-nationalist in character, so the idea of unity also need to be widening in regional and international context. It is to facilitate mobility of people as it is the demand of the people to design their own way to reach their welfare.

Conclusion

This study indicates the changing of society in the context of global community, which follow by the responses to the global capitalism context. There are some groups of people that can be categorized as having liberal-secular pragmatic consciousness and on the other side creating faithological collective affect. Both of them are developing post-national consciousness by which it is against the idea of state nationalism. Meanwhile there are also some groups that relatively agnostic in responding the social change and global capitalism. The first two group are oppose to each other, and the third one is coexistence with the existing social grouping. This shows that Indonesian society are now in the situation of fragmented pluralism by which it become future challenge of the government to be able to manage this situation demcratically.

The position of Pancasila in such situation becomes complicated, because after Independence Day of Indonesia, Pancasila becomes *inventing tradition* that provides a place for pluralism. But in nowadays Pancasila need to revitalise become national paradigm not state doctrin as in the New Order era.

Recommendation

In this situation, Indonesia Defense University needs to form the Axis the state defense, to take an important role to unite the knowledges from various universities in Indonesia. It is to formulate a strategic paradigm of state defense to face the challenge of fragmented pluralism.

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