

**Internalização e implementação de Pancasila como um esforço desradicalizado na
Indonésia**

Pancasila internalization and implementation as a deradicalized effort in Indonesia

**La internalización e implementación de Pancasila como un esfuerzo desradicalizado en
Indonesia**

Recebido: 10/06/2020 | Revisado: 01/07/2020 | Aceito: 04/07/2020 | Publicado: 13/07/2020

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Resumo

A questão da diversidade foi recentemente desafiada pelo surgimento de grupos de radicalismo religioso e terrorismo que podem causar a divisão da unidade nacional. No contexto da Indonésia, eles querem substituir a ideologia de Pancasila por uma ideologia de religião, transformando a Indonésia em um estado de Khilafah. O surgimento de grupos de radicalismo religioso geralmente leva a atos de intolerância e terrorismo, tanto em vários países quanto na Indonésia. Vários incidentes de intolerância e atos de violência em nome da religião ocorrem em vários lugares do mundo. Esses incidentes causam desumanização, o que é muito degradante para a dignidade humana. Além da intolerância desenfreada e do terrorismo na Indonésia, há também uma tendência para a politização da religião como uma ferramenta para a política prática. Isso levou a divisões nacionais que podem ameaçar a existência e continuidade do estado unitário da República da Indonésia (NKRI). A ética de Pancasila é o esforço para entender os conceitos de Deus nas religiões, onde as condições da

população são compostas, de modo que a tolerância na implementação da vida religiosa pode ocorrer entre diversas comunidades da Indonésia. Além disso, precisava revitalizar o entendimento da divindade que tem uma boa cultura na educação, a política indonésia ou a aculturação do valor de Pancasila no cidadão indonésio. Portanto, ao internalizar e implementar a Pancasila, a Indonésia pode se tornar uma nação grande e desenvolvida.

Palavras-chave: Implementação de pancasila; Desradicalizar; A unidade e o progresso do povo indonésio.

Abstract

The issue of diversity has recently been challenged by the rise of religious radicalism and terrorism groups that can cause the splitting of national unity. In the context of Indonesia they want to replace the ideology of *Pancasila* into an ideology of religion by forming Indonesia into a *Khilafah* state. The rise of religious radicalism groups often lead to acts of intolerance and terrorism, both in various countries and in Indonesia. Various incidents of intolerance and acts of violence in the name of religion occur in various places in the world. These incidents cause dehumanization which is very degrading to human dignity. In addition to the rampant intolerance and terrorism in Indonesia there is also a tendency for the politicization of religion as a tool for practical politics. This has led to national divisions which can threaten the existence and continuity of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). The *Pancasila* ethics are the efforts to understanding the concepts of God in religions where the conditions of the population are compound, so tolerance in implementing the religious life can be happened among diverse community in Indonesia. Besides, it needed to revitalize the understanding of the deity that has a good culture in education, the Indonesian policy or acculturation of *Pancasila* value in Indonesian citizen. Therefore, by internalizing and implementing *Pancasila* Indonesia could become a large and developed nation.

Keywords: Pancasila implementation; Deradicalize; The unity and progress of the indonesian people.

Resumen

El tema de la diversidad ha sido desafiado recientemente por el surgimiento del radicalismo religioso y los grupos terroristas que pueden causar la división de la unidad nacional. En el contexto de Indonesia, quieren reemplazar la ideología de Pancasila en una ideología de la religión mediante la formación de Indonesia en un estado de *Khilafah*. El surgimiento de grupos de radicalismo religioso a menudo conduce a actos de intolerancia y terrorismo, tanto

en varios países como en Indonesia. Varios incidentes de intolerancia y actos de violencia en nombre de la religión ocurren en varios lugares del mundo. Estos incidentes causan la deshumanización que es muy degradante para la dignidad humana. Además de la intolerancia desenfrenada y el terrorismo en Indonesia, también existe una tendencia a la politización de la religión como herramienta para la política práctica. Esto ha llevado a divisiones nacionales que pueden amenazar la existencia y la continuidad del estado unitario de la República de Indonesia (NKRI). La ética de Pancasila son los esfuerzos para comprender los conceptos de Dios en las religiones donde las condiciones de la población son compuestas, por lo que la tolerancia en la implementación de la vida religiosa puede ocurrir entre comunidades diversas en Indonesia. Además, necesitaba revitalizar la comprensión de la deidad que tiene una buena cultura en educación, la política indonesia o la aculturación del valor de Pancasila en el ciudadano indonesio. Por lo tanto, al internalizar e implementar Pancasila, Indonesia podría convertirse en una nación grande y desarrollada.

Palabras clave: Implementación de pancasila; Desradicalizar; La unidad y el progreso del pueblo indonesio.

1. Introduction

The rise of the of radicalism and terrorism phenomenon that is developing today is very alarming, because it is done by them who confess and believe to God, even those who commit violence by calling on the name of God. All people know that all religion is taught about goodness and God also wants his creation to do goodness. This phenomenon leads to a perspective that religion was used as a tool to legitimize various kinds of violence (Ruslan, 2015).

(Syam, 2009) referred that the existence of some violence cases in the name of religion in Indonesia can threaten the fair and civilized humanity and the unity of Indonesia, also it may harm the diversity of the Indonesian people in the concept of *Bhineka Tunggal Ika*. This can have an impact on inter-group conflict that leads to the disunity and disintegration of the Indonesian nation, which then threaten the NKRI. CSIS findings recorded that in the future the issue of religion related with the conflict and patterns of radicalism will cause the decreased of democracy in Indonesia (Muhibat, 2014).

According to (Pattipeilohy, 2018) based on the reality above, people start to think and disrespect the *Pancasila* as a joint platform which accommodates the various parties, whether religion or culture in Indonesia. The history proofed that *Pancasila* has become the joint

house from various kinds of differences between religions and cultures in Indonesia. *Pancasila* are the national masterpiece of Indonesian people because excavated from a diverse Indonesian culture, which formulated by the founder of nation. According to (Ruslan, 2015) the solution that needs to be done to face the radicalism of religion among others: improve the welfare and economic equality, upholding the rule of law and not discriminating the law, making stable political condition since it is related with the economic growth, strengthen the moral and faith along with learning the religious value.

This research aimed to collect the solutions to anticipating the rise of religious radicalism and terrorism, because the solutions as described by previous researchers are not enough to prevent and overcome the rise of radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia. Besides, it is still needed some additional solution that have been presented by researchers before.

2. Methodology

2.1. Research Material

This research was conducted by library research, the method of this research that referred to the book on Philosophy Research Methodology by (Zubair & Bakker, 1990). This research is qualitative type within in the scope of philosophy by using the character concept research model, which describes several sources of literature, research methods and data analysis methods as follows:

2.2. Data Resources

This research is library which the, researcher collect the data from related book, previous research results, Journals, articles. The data used in this study are as follows:

a. Primary data as resources in this research are

(Driyarkara, 2006) *Karya lengkap Driyarkara: Esai-Esai Filsafat Pemikir Yang Trlibat Penuh Dalam Perjuangan Bangsaanya*, edSudiarjo, Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta

(Notonagoro, 1981) *Pengantar Ke Alam Pemikiran Kefilsafatan*, Penerbit UGM

(Notonagoro, 1983) *Pancasila Secara Ilmiah Populer*, Bumi aksara, Jakarta

(Soekarno, 1965) *Di Bawah Bendera Revolusi* , jilid 1.dan 2 Jakarta : Kementrian

Those primary data sources above are examined researched and analyzed deeply, especially those that have links with the *Pancasila* field.

b. The Secondary Data Resources

The secondary data is in the form of literature such as various journals related to religious radicalism, a cultural divinity, literature related with *Pancasila* ethic, *Pancasila* philosophy, divine philosophy, cultural philosophy or historical studies that related with the topic of the research.

2.3. Collecting Data resources

a. Collecting Data Research

The researcher details the data sources and determines the location of the data collection first before the research is carried out, by tracing the sources of primary and secondary literature from books, journals, and internet related to the topic. Data collection is done with saving to the data cards by giving code in each sub system data. The researcher also conducted an analysis using the Verstehen Method with the purpose to understanding the data meaning. The process of collecting data s done with recording the data in the card to paraphrase, recording the data in quotation, and recording the data in synoptic. Furthermore, in the data collection process, the data are organized with the way to giving code to each of subsystem data accordance with its respective classifications.

b. Data Processing

- 1) Inventory of literature data relating to research material both from primary sources and other supporting sources.
- 2) After collecting the literary resource the literary sources are read to retrieve the data needed in this study. According to Notonagoro, Driyarkara and Sukarno
- 3) The data then selected and focused to the research about *Pancasila*.
- 4) After the data is selected, the data were grouped based on the characteristics which directed to the objectives on the concept of *Pancasila* according to Driyarkara, Notonagoro and Sukarno

- 5) After the display data is done, the data were organized in a scheme related with the data context
- 6) The organized data then inventoried, interpreted and taken the conclusion.

c. Result Analysis

This research issued factual historical research model regarding on the character, which is *Pancasila* as an object material, and *Pancasila* Ethical Thought as a formal object. This analysis used philosophical hermeneutic method with methodical elements as follows:

- 1) Interpretation, which is the research of Driyarkara, Notonagoro and Sukarno about *Pancasila* which understood to understand the meaning and nuance is specifically intention. The concepts of thought are explained to understand the thought pattern, such as the understanding that might influenced or influence the other thought. Then, it can produce the understanding on the data meaning.
- 2) Holistic, which is used to see the thoughts of Driyarkara, Notonagoro and Sukarno on *Pancasila* into its entire vision about the relation of human and God, human and universe or world.
- 3) Heuristic, used to examine the entire data from meaning and the meaning of the behind the life practice of Indonesian while making relation with the God or the fellowship. It then reflected in the framework of *Pancasila*. From the reflection of the philosophy methodology, it is expected to find the new vision about internalization and implementation of *Pancasila*.
- 4) Comparison, which is comparing all the original manuscript with all its variations. Then the terms use in the script compared to the languages of other philosophers, especially in the work of Driyarkara, Notonagoro and Sukarno.
- 5) Description, used to explain and elaborated in details of Driyarkara, Notonagoro and Sukarno's thought about *Pancasila*, due to obtain a complete picture of thought.

3. Theoretical Concept

In this research, the researcher views the problem of diversity in Indonesia as a very important and fundamental national issue, whether the tribal diversity, races or religion. In life, the diversity is still often becomes the problems in Indonesia and always appears at any time. According to (Notonagoro, 1983) *Pancasila* is an ideology of a nation as unifying tool, which is contained with the principle of unity, oneness, peace and cooperation. It becomes a

unifying tool of Indonesia with a diverse population. In reflecting the *Pancasila* Indonesian people should be done the *Tri-Prakara* of *Pancasila*, that is the absent of contention between *Pancasila* and the Nation, *Pancasila* and traditional culture, and also *Pancasila* and religion. Since the elements contained in *Pancasila* already have principles in the cultural customs of the Indonesian people, the principles in the religion and added the new position of the elements as a Indonesian nation principles. Notonagoro did not contradict between religion and culture, but between the two are in harmony.

According to (Notonagoro, 1983) the arrangement of human beings consist of soul and body. Soul is consisting of mind, feeling and desire, while body is consisting of the elements of inanimate object, plantation and animal. The soul and body have close and inseparable relationship with each other. According to the God's will, the arrangement of human beings in essence as the individual creature and social creature. The natures of human as individual and also social creatures are one unity which cannot be separated. This term refers that there is no one who only watch for this own interest without watching the interest of others and vice versa.

Driyarkara Ethics can be classified as deontological ethics which have theological, humanist-naturalist and axiological dimensions, thus Driyarkara ethics can be to be theological deontological ethics. For Driyarkara, the obligation is a relation which comes from inside, human are aware that what has done is in accordance with conscience. Theological dimension according to Driyarkara is a moral awareness that always presupposes the goods will proofed that humans move towards to the God. Driyarkara also does not rule out the external factors or the dialectic of silence, that is, the active attitude of humans that directs the whole process of his actions towards morality according to the guidance of gods will (Suprpto, 1989). Driyarkara ethics referred to the sight of Thomas Aquinas about the image of God, human is created in God's image, so human must realize the image of God in their daily lives, so that he can achieve his goals, these teachings can be classified in natural law and teleological theory (Driyarkara, 2006).

According to Driyarkara, Gods will is goods will, humans should act as humans, if he does not do good, then he is still human, but he denies his humanity (Driyarkara, 2006). Human lives in this world with obligation to be responsible with his act. Based on the God's will, human must be responsible to morality. Humans were created in the image of Gods, which means human is created as God's Image. God have the good qualities, such as forgiving, loving, and merciful etc. therefore, it is expected that human is also be able to

forgive each other, love each other, be loving and generous, thus it will lead to a good relationship between one and with another despite the differences.

Driyarkara's views about *homo homini socius* contained the meaning that human is friend for the other human, until the impact of friendship between humans is the creation of mutual need for fellow humans. This phenomenon causes social space as a form of human existence in the universe.

According to Driyarkara Pancasila is formulated as philosophical propositions as, "I am as human admit that I'm not alone, but together with love. I have to run as love in my unity with my fellow humans, humanity I must carry out in my relationship with unity to create, own and use the world's goods that lead to social justice. I admit that my existence is not only mine, all connected, all supported, all dependent, because of it I am is not perfect and limited, then it can't be my source, which is the source of my existence is the Absolute, the Almighty and the most perfect person, God Almighty. I in the form of love is actually love from all to the Supreme Love, The Most Merciful who is the basis of my existence, of all my actions and is the basis of the implementation of humanity, unity and social justice" (Driyarkara, 2006). It is clear that Human is a private creature as ell a social creatures. As privacy creatures, Human is gives autonomy or freedom by God, as social creatures, human is not able to fulfill the independently. Humans in their lives certainly need other people.

4. Result

A. Religion Radicalism Amid Diversity In Indonesia

According to Indonesian Dictionary, the word of Radicalism means the understanding or radical streams in politics, ideology or streams that want a social or political change or renewal by means of violence, extreme attitudes within the political stream (Departemen Pdan K, 1988 :719).

According to (Ruslan, 2015) the terms of radicalism is various the action of violence that done by a group of people as a destructive action which causing riots, the aims of the action is to change the condition of political social in accordance with the Islamic *sharia* and implemented drastically.

Indonesia is a nation which the population is compound. The diversity of Indonesia is the fact that cannot be denied by the entire of Indonesian people, because Indonesia is built based on the diversity. Pluralism can only be addressed positively or negatively. If it is

responded positively, then diversity will have the positive effect, then the compound population will be a gift to be thankful because it becomes the uniqueness for Indonesia. Conversely, if diversity is responded negatively, then it will trigger the conflict and become disaster for Indonesia, because it can lower the dignity of Human and able to bring Indonesia towards disunity and disintegration (Hastangka, Armawi, & Kaelan, 2019).

The violence in the name of religion and intolerance that occurred in Indonesia, including bombings in various regions in Indonesia, attacks on worship leaders who were conducting worship such as the Lidwina Bedog church in Yogyakarta, the burning of monasteries in Tanjung Balai, burning of mosques in Tolikara Papua, and others- other. These incidents cause dehumanization and very degrading human dignity (Cindy, 2011).

(Syam, 2009) confirmed that the existence of various violence cases on the name of religion in Indonesia can be threaten civilized humanity and the unity of Indonesia, also the diversity of Indonesia in the concept of *Bhineka Tunggal Ika*. This can have an impact on inter-group conflict that leads to the disintegration of Indonesian nation, and threaten the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia.

Religion Radicalism and terrorism that happened in Indonesia is clearly contradicted with the commitment of the founder of the nation, the founder of the nation stated that Indonesia is not a secular state or a religious state but it is an appropriate middle way which is in accordance with the conditions of the nation that is plural. Islam as the majority religion, but Islam is not made as an obligatory religion, so the nation treats all religions in Indonesia equally. In the 1945 Constitutions of Republic of Indonesia Article 29 the state guarantee the freedom of each of its citizens to embrace their respective religions and the state also guarantees all its citizens to worship their religion according to their beliefs. In the constitution it is clear that the state guarantees freedom of religion and the way of worship for everyone.

B. Pancasila Ethics Being A Guide In The Nation

Pancasila as a moral foundation should become a noble practice of the attitudes and behavior of Indonesian citizens within the community, nation and state. The noble value of Pancasila should be as a basic principal to create a more peaceful life in a diverse society. Notonagoro stated that *Pancasila* does not question about the existence or the absence of God, because *Pancasila* is based on the existence of God as an objective reality. The nature of God is *causa prima*, which means that the nature of God is the first cause (Notonagoro, 1983).

The first *Sila* leads to beliefs and fearing to God in accordance the basic humanity which fair and civilized. In the daily life, it is expected to be able to respect and cooperate with members of different religions, so that harmony and togetherness in diversity can be fostered.

Driyarkara viewed *Pancasila* is the religious encouragement and the connection between the *Pancasila* and religion is not contradicting. Basically, *Pancasila* is *Ekasila*, or refers to loving the God, religion itself is a recumbence to God in the faith that human is depend on God and God is the true salvation of humans, human is encouraged by faith that his life is the nobleness and light of God. Moreover, Driyarkara also stated that the nation which based on *Pancasila* it is not the religious nation but godly nation (Driyarkara, 2006). *Pancasila* is contained with the teaching on the existence of human in this world that always have a dependency relationship on "the other", which is horizontally or to the fellow of human beings and nature, and vertically or with the God.

Pancasila ethic is the collection of humanity value which is upheld by every civilized person. Noble value that found inside it should be integrated in political culture of Indonesia. *Pancasila* as the basic which unites the political culture. The aim from internalization and implementation of *Pancasila* is humanizing the community, due to make Indonesian society become more human. *Pancasila* shows the identity of the Indonesian people as a civilized, cultured and virtuous (Sastrapratedja, 2013).

The idea of Sastrapratedja is underlined the important meaning of interaction ethic by keeping the standard based on the principles of universal humanism. This is an important things that used while explains the concept of God due to not get caught up in narrow religious fanaticism, or while discussing the culture so it will not to be reduced to ethnocentrism. The condition of the Indonesian people lately is quite alarming, it can even be said to be in contrast to what Soekarno's aspires. Violence in the name of religion often occurs, the emergence of religious radicalism and terrorism groups is quite disturbing in society, nation and state. Sukarno's thoughts about a divinity that was cultured could become a study material for revitalizing *Pancasila*, then the efforts of revitalization of *Pancasila* serves to look for contextualization of the basic principles of nationality and statehood to faced the problems of Indonesian nations.

C. Deradicalization Solution in Indonesia

The solution of solving problem should be still focused to human fate as a cultured creature. (Driyarkara, 2006) develop the cultural theory, that the culture is essentially a

process of humanizing humans. Furthermore, Driyarkara also stated that Indonesia is putting the fair humanity value and civilized as the philosophy basis contained with the consequence that in all aspect of the administration of the state must realize the implementation of human values, this means the state recognizes and realizes human dignity, human rights and human freedom. The humanity value is within the *Pancasila*. *Pancasila* itself become the solution or the way out *Pancasila* since it is the basic of Indonesia.

Similar to Driyarkara, Sukarno is stated that the theory of God is antroposentrism, by saying that a divinity without "religious egoism" is a divinity that is cultured, a divinity that is virtuous, a divinity that respects one another. In true divine belief, human existence is seen as the crystallization of God's love. Humans must develop a love relationship with God and relationship with others (Soekarno, 1965).

In line with Driyarkara, Yudi Latif explains that the first *Sila* desires that Indonesian nation become faithful by ensouling the God's love, and making the God as the morality sources in daily life. The seriousness in loving God should be able to radiate God's love to others through an open and tolerant religious attitude, and deserved the open social room and cooperate with each other in the diversity (Latif, 2015). So the first *Sila* is very closely related with the *Sila* of humanity, the unify *Sila*, parley *Sila* or democraton and fairness *Sila* for the entire people of Indonesia. The efforts to deradicalize except mentioned by previously researcher can be seen as follows:

a. Cultivation of *Pancasila* values and national values through education

- *Informal education*

The effectiveness of Informal education is within the family. Family should be trying to instill the value of Pancasila into their children, such as on how the children are taught to love God and each other along with loving the nation, how the children are taught to be tolerance in differences, how children are educated for democracy, and how the children are educated to have empathy and solidarity. Parent as the primary educator must set an example for their children in instilling the values of Pancasila, and then the values can be internalized early by children in every family.

- *Non formal education*

Non formal education is in the citizenry, the community leaders, public official or religious leader should play a role in instilling the values of Pancasila in their citizens, such as on how they gives an example in providing the services, cooperates, deliberate, collaborate

and did not corruption, no discrimination and etcetera. Hence the values of Pancasila is truly lived and implemented in the community.

- Formal education

The formal education both from elementary to tertiary level needs to instill and implement Pancasila values to their students. School must really take the curriculum and education systems seriously, beside that school also have to prepare the educator resources as well as to the education of character and soft skill as a media to planting the Pancasila values (Murdiati, Carit as Woro Suliantoro, Bernadus Wibowo Susilawati, 2017). With the good formal education then the subjects that related to the education of character will be accepted by students and can be memorable and well-embedded. Then Pancasila is not only a theory, but really concrete those are implemented in real life, and make a good critical and nationalist personality, which is able to distinguish between good or bad and love the country.

b. Involve the community in security

The family as a cell in the community has a responsibility for the security of the community. Likewise from the lowest village administrators, namely RT, to village officials, sub-districts, districts and so on must carry out their pastoral duties, so that all parties can maintain security and mutually reduce the space for terrorists.

c. Making Product Policy state organizer

Both government (executive) or legislative and judiciary in making policy and law should refers to Pancasila and not contradict with Pancasila. Thus Pancasila can truly lives and becomes an identity and a way of life for the Indonesian people in their life.

d. Necessary presence of the State in every problem that occurs in society

If violence occurs in the name of religion so far, the victims felt that the state is not present with them for example the apparatus comes in inadequate number or apparatus is less assertive in cracking down on intolerant groups, or there is an omission implemented by the local government, such as Cikeusik cases, rejection case of church construction in Karimun, destruction case of a Vihara in Tanjung Balai, a case of the Yasmin church and so on. As a solution to prevent the violence occurs in the name of religion it is very necessary for the presence of the state, so that people will feel more protected.

e. Interfaith dialogue

The condition of Indonesia is compound and must be truly recognized by all Indonesian people. In order to see the diversity as a gift, Indonesia must react to it positively. One of the ways to react positively is by doing a dialog between interfaith. The Dialogue here is not intended to eliminate differences, but rather to recognize differences, therefore by recognizing differences people are willing to respect differences. Interfaith dialogue can also broaden everyone's horizons, so that with the breadth of one's insight, he or she will be more able to be inclusive, tolerant and not trapped in narrow fanaticism. People whose insights are narrow tend to measure things only from what they know, and then they will be trapped in an exclusive attitude and feel the most correct.

5. Conclusion

The raised of the violence in the name of religion that done by the radicalism religion group and terrorism is already unsettling the world community in general, and Indonesian society in particularly. Indonesia is a country which the population is compound. The Indonesian diversity if responded positively will become a gift for the people, because it can be attractiveness for the other country. Otherwise, if the diversity is responded negatively so it will be disaster for Indonesian people. In Indonesian context, radicalism religion and terrorism group are they who want to change the Pancasila as religion ideology.

There are several solutions offered by previous researchers, including equity and economic prosperity, upholding the rule of law, stabilizing politics, instilling religious values as early as possible. While for the researchers, the solutions above are not yet adequate to handle the radicalism and terrorism. According to the researcher, the main thing to do to prevent radicalism, violence in the name of religion and terrorism is by implementing the internalization and implementation of Pancasila, from several media, especially education whether in informal, non formal, or formal.

Why must internalize and implement Pancasila? Because Pancasila is the work of Indonesian people which has been formulated by the nation's founders and has become a joint consensus of the Indonesian people that stated Indonesia is not a secular state or a religious state, but nation which based on the Pancasila. Sukarno stated that Belief in the one and only God is the middle way or compromise between religious groups and nationalities. According to Notonagoro, Pancasila is philosophy of nation that becomes the tools to unify Indonesian

society. Driyarkara also added that in Pancasila, human who is both personal and social can realize the love, both of the God or each other.

Besides internalization and implementation of Pancasila, to prevent and resolve radicalism and terrorism is also needs to occurs the interfaith dialog, involved the community in security, and policy deed that is not contradict with Pancasila. Some efforts are expected to be able to complete the solutions that have been presented by previous researchers.

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