The Challenges of Pancasila Socio-Democracy in The Era of Networked Society: Liberal Democracy and Religious Fundamentalism

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Abstract

Socio-democracy, along with this writing style, is in the heart of the nation of Indonesia which is the key essence of Pancasila. The fundamental philosophical values of Indonesia's socio-democracy is a typical democracy of the Indonesian nation. This socio-democracy is part of the Pancasila ideology. The socio-democracy, in Pancasila, was introduced by Sukarno, the first president of Indonesia to face and respond to two major challenges, market fundamentalism, and religious fundamentalism. Market fundamentalism values increased individual satisfaction at the expense of society and public service, and put monetary reward as the only measurement. The socio-democracy wants to go against this while paving the way for shared values and shared prosperity. Religious fundamentalism refers to a closed and exclusive religious interpretation and practice of faith which alienates common and shared life and wants to force all people to be under this practice. The socio-democracy wants to build a platform for all to be happy and shares public life, and this avoids the trap of religious fundamentalism. In looking into the concept and practice of socio-democracy, this study uses qualitative methods and literature. Various reading materials related to this topic were reviewed and then became material for research analysis. Sukarno's thoughts on socio-democracy and Manuel Castells on network society are two examples of thoughts. Those provide the key frame of this paper. The purpose of this article is to describe the two big challenges faced by this nation, i.e., liberal democracy and religious fundamentalism. This article assesses or even anticipates whether those two big challenges tear the nation apart going into the next decades.

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Abstrak

Sosio-demokrasi beserta gaya literaturnya adalah jantung bangsa Indonesia yang merupakan intisari dari Pancasila. Nilai-nilai filosofis fundamental sosio-demokrasi Indonesia adalah demokrasi khas bangsa Indonesia. Sosial-demokrasi ini merupakan bagian dari ideologi Pancasila. Sosial-demokrasi dalam Pancasila diperkenalkan oleh Sukarno, presiden pertama Indonesia untuk menghadapi dan menjawab dua tantangan besar, fundamentalisme pasar, dan fundamentalisme agama. Nilai fundamentalisme pasar meningkatkan kepuasan individu dengan mengorbankan masyarakat dan pelayanan publik, dan menempatkan imbalan uang sebagai satu-satunya ukuran. Sosial-demokrasi ingin melawan ini sambil membuka jalan bagi nilai-nilai bersama dan kemakmuran bersama. Fundamentalisme agama mengacu pada interpretasi dan praktik keagamaan yang tertutup dan eksklusif yang mengasingkan kehidupan bersama dan berbagi dan ingin memaksa semua orang untuk berada di bawah praktik ini. Sosial-demokrasi ingin membangun sebuah platform untuk semua orang berbahagia dan berbagi kehidupan publik, dan ini menghindari jebakan fundamentalisme agama. Dalam melihat konsep dan praktik sosiodemokrasi, kajian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dan literatur. Berbagai bahan bacaan terkait topik ini diulas dan kemudian menjadi bahan analisis penelitian. Pemikiran Sukarno tentang sosio-demokrasi dan Manuel Castells tentang masyarakat jaringan adalah dua contoh pemikiran. Mereka menyediakan kerangka kunci dari makalah ini. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk memaparkan dua tantangan besar yang dihadapi bangsa ini, yakni demokrasi liberal dan fundamentalisme agama. Artikel ini menilai atau bahkan mengantisipasi apakah kedua tantangan besar tersebut dapat mejadi alat memecah belah bangsa dalam dekade-dekade mendatang.

Introduction

In his dissertation entitled "Jürgen Habermas' Ethics of Discourse: His Contribution to the Understanding of the 1945 Constitution and its Relationship with

Pancasila",[1] Alexander Seran argues that Pancasila is a source of material law, namely a rational consensus regarding the shared worldview which is a proper universal moral principle and philosophical basis for assessing legislation, law, administrative conduct really reflect and bear the fruit of the 1945 Constitution. As this rational consensus, Pancasila is the source of laws and politics in this republic. It expresses five principles that guide the life of the Indonesian nation. The five principles are divinity, humanity, nationality, democracy, and social justice.

Regarding democracy, we have an essence of Indonesian democracy which is a combination of the fourth and fifth principles (*sila*) of Pancasila: democracy and social justice. In other words, Indonesia has the characteristic of a democratic system. This system is called socio-democracy, a democracy with a socialist character. In socio-democracy, as Sukarno said, "...we do not only want political democracy, but we also want democracy of economy."[2] This is, in essence, Socio-Democracy.

The system of socio-democracy of Pancasila is a combination of two principles, namely the fourth and fifth principles. That is, socio-democracy contains two ideas, namely the populist idea led by wisdom in representative deliberations and the idea of social justice for all Indonesian people. Socio-democracy has, in its foundation, thought, and trajectory belongs to the school of socialism on the one hand, and nationalism on the other. The latter means that socio-democracy has pluralism in character. In this sense, socio-democracy respects differences. Although respecting differences, in a socio-democracy, differences could coexist a working society because it is based on two

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[1] Alexander Seran, "Etika Diskursus Jurgen Habermas Sumbangannya Bagi Pemahaman Undang-Undang Dasar 1945 Dan Hubungannya Dengan Pancasila," *Disertasi, Program Pascasarjana Universitas Indonesia*, 2010.

[2] Bedjo Sukarno, "Memperbaiki Perekonomian Dengan Upaya Membangun Sistem," *Jurnal Ekonomi Dan Kewirausahaan* 6, no. 2 (2006): 259–60.

characteristics of the Indonesian nation, namely mutual collaboration and mutual recognition (*gotong-royong*) and deliberation (*musyawarah*).

Currently, the Indonesian nation's political system is facing at least two major challenges, namely free market/liberal democracy and religious fundamentalism. Free Market ever increased individual satisfaction at the expense of society and public service[3], and put monetary reward as the only measurement of the fullness of life. This often being indifference to the breakdown of national life and to poverty. Religious fundamentalism refers to a closed and exclusive religious interpretation and practice of faith which alienates common and shared life and wants to force all people to be under this practice.

This challenge has been under discussion and critics as everyday life has become more polarising in both the economy and society. The socio-democracy faces challenges from individualism and liberalism. Individualism in Indonesian society today is increasingly evident. Meanwhile, in terms of religious beliefs, nationalist socio-democracy is being challenged by religious fundamentalism. Various ideas and movements of fundamentalism, even radicalism which lead to acts of terrorism[4], continue to threaten the life of the nation. Will this multicultural nation be destroyed by the various challenges that arise continuously? Or will it survive?

Some of the views and results of recent research show the existence of threats to the two things above (market fundamentalism and religious fundamentalism) in

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[3] As in the Classic of Jon Stuart Mil on utilitarianism (as in "In Liberty", 1959) as one of the key aspirations towards market fundamentalism; and as in critics of Thomas Piketty against market fundamentalism (as in "Capital in Twenty-First Century", 2013(

[4] Terrorism in Indonesia according to Solahuddin (2011) in Ikhwanuddin (2020: 158) has colored the life of the state in Indonesia (in the form of rebellion) for a long time, "Terrorism in Indonesia originated from the rebellion of Islamic groups, which fought for the establishment of an Islamic state. They consider the war against the government as jihad. As was done by *Darul Islam* (DI) or the Islamic State of Indonesia/Negara Islam Indonesia (NII) in 1950, with resistance bases in West Java. The government foiled this movement through military operations (Solahudin, 2011)

Indonesian society. First, is market fundamentalism. In market fundamentalism, freedom and individual rights are the basic tenets. In this case, the author quotes two thinkers, namely Christman and Adian. In relation to the culture of Indonesian society, market fundamentalism eliminates the values of *gotong-royong* in the economic system and deliberations in the political process which are characteristic of the socio-democracy and the Indonesian nation in general. On the political side, this market fundamentalism is manifested in a liberal democracy, in the sense that increasingly liberal democracy represented more polarization than shared life. It is this liberalist democracy that "comes against" the political system of the Indonesian nation, socio-democracy.

Liberal democracy can be said to be a combination of democracy and liberalism. Liberalism itself is a political ideology that promotes individual freedom and in which there is free competition between individuals. As Christman said about liberalism, "central to the tradition of liberalism is the claim that the state should protect individual liberty without dictating the goals and purposes espoused by free people",[5] liberalism carries individual freedom in fulfilling their interests, and free competition. between individuals. Individual freedom is actually a good thing. Every individual has the opportunity to develop himself according to his wishes and abilities. However, monolithic individual freedom in a liberal democratic system is prone to creating social inequality. In this situation, individual freedom is regarded as the only principle in a nation. As described by Adian, liberalism fails to answer questions about the subject's commitment to collective life. In liberalism, collective life disappears, undermined by individuality. The spirit of pursuing individual interests becomes everything. Liberalism

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[5] George W. Watson et al., "Ideology and the Economic Social Contract in a Downsizing Environment," *Business Ethics Quarterly* 9, no. 4 (1999): 343.

considers shared life unimportant as this is contrary to the interests and fulfillment of individual rights.[6]

Second, religious fundamentalism, in this case, the development of radical ideology, in particular with what now contesting Islam. This ideology was carried by a group whose goal was to change the Pancasila ideology into a radical ideology. They want the nation to be changed from being based on a shared life into being religious. Various persuasion and radical movements around the world inspired radical ideological movements in Indonesia.

The Framework of Theory

The challenges facing Pancasila ideology are getting bigger in this era. We know the current era of society as the era of network society. To explain this network society the author uses the theory of Manuel Castells. The characteristics of a society like this by Manuel Castells are referred to as the information age with the character of a network society. Castells said that "The information technology revolution, and the restructuring of capitalism, have induced a new form of society, the network society."[7]

In short, the information technology revolution and the restructuring of capitalism have given birth to a new form of society, namely a network society. The term network society has emerged because, since the emergence of the internet, society has easily formed itself in various networks. This era is characterized by technological advances, especially digital and communication technologies, which form the background of the global network in the form of the Internet.

Methodology

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[6] Donny Gahral Adian, *Setelah Marxisme: Sejumlah Teori Ideologi Kontemporer* (Penerbit Koekoesan, 2011), 95.

[7] Manuel Castells, *End of Millennium*, vol. 3 (John Wiley & Sons, 2010), 1.

This study describes systematically all the theories and concepts used to construct the background, determine the problem, build a conceptual theoretical framework, determine research methods, and enrich the discussion of research results. Denzin and Lincoln in Pambayun explain that the literature used as a reference or source consists of up-to-date text books and research journals. [8]Adequate literature study methods will explain assisting writers in selecting the right data, conducting research, and compiling arguments in the discussion. Bibliography references are also listed in the bibliography. The literature taken comes from publications of at least the last 10 years for textbooks and the last 5 years for journals. The literature review describes a systematic literature review of the meaning of Pancasila ideology in the view of Socio-Democracy in the Era of Networked Society: through the perspective of Liberal Democracy and Religious Fundamentalism which was carried out for 1 year in a coherent manner which describes the continuity of the concept to the conclusion. The authors conducted an in-depth study about facts, theories, concepts or Networked Society approaches through opinions in the literature of experts and the public. References can be obtained from various sources of information: textbooks, research journals, internet journals, reliable papers.

Result and Discussion

The Theory of Networked Society

The character of a society like this has characteristics that cannot be separated from the role of technological tools, and microelectronics, as well as data and information communication that they carry, network, and move quickly. As Castells puts it:

> "It can be argued that nowadays wealth, power, and knowledge generation are in large part dependent on the ability to organize society to reap the benefits of the new technological system, rooted in microelectronics, computing, and digital

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[8] Ellys Lestari Pambayun, *One Stop Qualitative Research Methodology in Communication*, Jakarta: Lentera Cendekia, 2013

communication, with its growing connection to the biological revolution and its derivatives, genetic engineering. I have conceptualized as a network society the social structure resulting from the interaction between the new technological paradigm and social organization at large."[9]

In today's internet era, the concept of communication has changed from physical interaction to virtual interaction based on information technology. With information technology-based interactions, communication is not limited to physical space but can also take place in virtual/digital space, therefore, the scope of communication becomes global. In this condition, physical distance no longer determines the smooth flow of information. Even though we are physically far apart, communication can run very smoothly and quickly. In this condition, interaction can take place from private space to another private space with global scope. Regarding this global scale network interaction, Castells said:

> "the network society is based on networks, and communication networks transcend boundaries, the network society is global, it is based on global networks. So, it is pervasive throughout the planet, its logic transforms and extends to every country on the planet, as it is diffused by the power embedded in global networks of capital, goods, labor, communication, information, science, and technology. So, what we call globalization is another way to refer to the network society, although it is more descriptive and less analytical than what the concept of network society implies."[10]

With the globalization of information, information flows much faster than in the previous era. The scope is ever-widening. This global flood of information can have unhealthy consequences if the "national defense" is weak. In other words, the era of network society with digital advances has given rise to various changes in society, related

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[9] Manuel Castells and Gustavo Cardoso, *The Network Society: From Knowledge to Policy* (Center for Transatlantic Relations, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced …, 2005), 3.

[10] Castells and Cardoso, *The Network Society: From Knowledge to Policy*, 4.

to the progress of various digital devices, and microelectronics, which allow various influences to enter and change the behavior of the nation's children.

In other words, the rapid advancement of technology, and the invasion of foreign cultures entered and influenced the nation's citizens to their bedrooms. The invasion of foreign cultures such as Korean culture which we know as K-Pop, western culture, to Arab culture are increasingly aggressively "attacking" the Indonesian nation, especially young people. Conditions that allow various cultural influences to come and directly affect each individual in their private place and have the potential to erode the nation's own cultural values.

In addition to various foreign cultural influences, some of the data and information that came out gave rise to negative phenomena in the form of hoaxes, slander, religious insults, and other forms of hate speech. This condition increases the risk of sectarian division and even conflict among elements of the nation.

These negative phenomena are increasingly evident with the strengthening of the post-truth era, an era where truth is no longer seen as something fixed or absolute. In the post-truth era, something that is not true can be considered as the truth after being socialized repeatedly to the public sphere. An era where packaging is often more important than content. The emergence of these negative phenomena has an adverse impact on today's society. Clashes and conflicts further distance society from shared prosperity with social justice.

With the development of the era of network society supported by advances in digital technology which has both positive and negative impacts, the challenge of creating a socially just and prosperous society is becoming increasingly difficult. The development of progress in society, if not evenly distributed, can lead to gaps. As Paul Nemitz, a lead adviser to the EU Commission on Justice and consumer protection,

visiting professor in Bruges, Belgium, and member of the SPD Commission on Media and the Internet):

> "among the many causes for the erosion of enlightened social democratic politics, two of the most influential are the new digital communications environment and the social effects that digitalization has had, including its tendency to isolate individuals from one another".[11]

The creation of a prosperous society with social justice is very important. The reason is various threats and chaos will emerge as social welfare and social justice cannot be achieved in time. Social inequality makes people's conditions vulnerable to conflict. The anger or apathy of the poor against those who are more successful, especially economically, can fuel conflict. In addition, the poverty that some people suffer creates despair that can lead to brutal ways out such as fundamentalism, extremism, and terrorism. The creation of a prosperous society with social justice is directly challenged by market fundamentalism and the emergence of religious radicalism/fundamentalism.

1. Challenges: Economic Liberalism and Radicalism/Religious Fundamentalism (Islam)

As the introduction above, the challenge faced by the ideology of socio-democracy of Pancasila is the emergence of market fundamentalism on the one hand and religious radicalism/fundamentalism on the other. With the emergence of these two challenges, efforts to develop a prosperous society with social justice are getting harder. Market fundamentalism has the potential to create social inequality, while religious fundamentalism is prone to conflict, i.e. riots, in society. The challenges that can give rise

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[11] Paul Nemitz, "Constitutional Democracy and Technology in the Age of Artificial Intelligence," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society A: Mathematical, Physical and Engineering Sciences* 376, no. 2133 (2018): 23.

to this vulnerability are getting bigger with the entry of the digital era which makes competition even higher. As Paul Nemitz said:

"among the many causes for the erosion of enlightened social democratic politics, two of the most influential are the new digital communications environment and the social effects that digitalization has had,…".[12]

The characteristics of society in the digital era have features that cannot be separated from the role of technological tools and the data and information they carry, network, and move quickly. Information technology, network, and fast movement ultimately make the level of competition even higher. The characteristics of society in the digital era that meet with market fundamentalism increasingly prioritize competition and speed in all fields, on the one hand making social progress. Society can more quickly achieve prosperity. But on the other hand, this era was marked by competition which gave rise to extreme inequality. As a result, no social justice is achieved, but social inequality.

Apart from that, the digital era can also degrade democracy along with negative changes on the cultural side. This is because the digital era, which is also an arena for the growth and development of radicalism and even terrorism, has given rise to many negative phenomena such as hoaxes, religious insults, and hate speech. These negative phenomena are increasingly evident with the strengthening of the post-truth era, an era where truth is no longer seen as something fixed or absolute. The emergence of these negative phenomena has an impact on clashes and even conflicts. Clashes and conflicts further put society away and away from prosperous conditions with social justice.

Market fundamentalism

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[12] Nemitz, "Constitutional Democracy and Technology in the Age of Artificial Intelligence," 23.

Liberalism can actually be said to contain the meaning of democracy, as Max Meyer said, "liberalism, which I understand to mean a free market economy in combination with human rights as well as democracy."[13] The similarities between liberalism and democracy mainly lie in the celebration of the values of individual freedom. In both, to guarantee the values of individual freedom, the role of government is limited. Merging the two makes individuals freedom in the economy and politics. Seen from this point of view, there is no conflict between liberalism and democracy, including socio-democracy. However, it can be seen that this market fundamentalism, even though it put a claim out of liberalism, liberalism tends to alter the liberal democracy; so there is a slight difference from socio-democracy, namely in the emphasis on collective endeavor versus individualism.

As a political system that prioritizes individual freedom and equal opportunity, liberal democracy promotes free competition for every individual in politics and the economy as well as restrictions on the role of government. Here it can be said that in a liberal democracy, freedom and free competition are more important than social justice. Free competition, if not regulated, is prone to causing social injustice. This is due to differences, even in a stark situation, of ca different abilities and financial capital.

Thus, it can be said that the claim of liberal democracy in market fundamentalism pursues the individual project. Individualism can be seen as a theory or an ideology or a concept. MacPherson said:

> "Individualism is a social theory or ideology which assigns a higher moral value to the individual than to the community or society, and which accordingly advocates leaving individuals free to act as they think is most conducive to their self-interest."[14]

Meanwhile, Branden said:

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[13] Max Meyer and Max Meyer, "Liberalism," *Liberal Democracy: Prosperity through Freedom*, 2020, 7.
[14] C. B. Macpherson, "Individualism," *The Invisible Hand*, 1989, 149.

"Individualism is at once an ethical-political concept and an ethical-psychological one. As an ethical-political concept, individualism upholds the supremacy of individual rights, the principle that man is an end in himself, not a means to the ends of others. As an ethical-psychological concept, individualism holds that man should think and judge independently, valuing nothing higher than the sovereignty of his intellect."[15]

Radicalism and Fundamentalism

Radical Islam in Indonesia has the ultimate goal of replacing the Pancasila ideology with an Islamic-political ideology in the form of a caliphate state (as this is their expressed statement and their political choice). The Khilafah is said to be a better form. By using Peter L Berger's thought, it can be said that this is a social construction created by those who believe that the caliphate is a better form than a non-caliphate state like the current form of the Indonesian state. The idea of this caliphate, in practice on the ground, often gives rise to extremism.

The emergence of other ideologies, especially radical ones, creates disharmonious relations and tensions in society. As Sujito said:

The deployment of religious, racial, and ethnic identities (SARA) triggers social tensions in a multicultural society and at worst eliminates ongoing conversations about strategic issues of development in technocratic-oligarchic economic-political governance. As pointed out by most Indonesian democracy researchers, electoral quality for a decade of substantive democracy is difficult to achieve in a flurry of identities and the focus of public attention on elite configuration conflicts—confrontation, alliance, and consolidation. Scholars from the culturalist-behavioralist tradition argue that religion, in this case, Islam, is used as an instrument of electoral propaganda and presents the dark side of democracy. Meanwhile, from the structuralist political sociology tradition, Vedi Hadiz and Mudhofir for example, put forward a critical argument that the articulation of Islam in electoral politics is not merely

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[15] Ayn Rand et al., *Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal* (Penguin, 1986).

the instrumentalization of religion but is more precisely understood as the construction of an Islamic populist movement suing and opposing oligarchic political-economic control and development policies that weaken Muslims as a national economic power.[16]

The radical ideology created by SARA which can give rise to social tensions is actually not the shared ideology of the Indonesian people. Greg Barton said that radicalism or he said as jihadist thought, was an "import" item in the sense that it was not an ideology that originated within the Indonesian nation itself. The influence of this "import" understanding is getting into society in Indonesia more quickly because the flow of information is easier and faster. Barton said: "Jihadist thought in Indonesia appears to be entirely an import of the product that sits on the margins of Indonesian religious life and finds the greatest appeal in minority groups such as Indonesia's ethnic Arab community."[17]

Meanwhile Ahmad Syafii Maarif in KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, said that specifically for Indonesia, the rise of fundamentalism in the archipelago is more due to the failure of the state to realise the ideals of the independence in the form of upholding social justice and creating equal welfare for all people.[18] Another view, namely Haniff Hassan said that "...ideology often serves as one of the fundamental bases in motivating the adoption of political violence which includes terrorism as a tactic." For example in Indonesia this is said as political-Islamic ideology.[19]

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[16] Akmal Saputra, Heru Nugroho, and Arie Sujito, "Post-Conflict Aceh; Partai Aceh Versus Partai Nanggroe Aceh at the 2017 Election," *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 10, no. 1 (2022): 14.

[17] C. Medus et al., "Multistate Outbreak of Salmonella Infections Associated with Peanut Butter and Peanut Butter-Containing Products-United States, 2008-2009.," *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 58, no. 4 (2009): 85–90.

[18] Ahmad Syafi'i Ma'arif and Abdurrahman Wahid, "Ilusi Negara Islam," *Ekspansi Gerakan Transnasional Di Indonesia, Ahmad Saifuddin*, 2009, 9.

[19] Muhammad Haniff Hassan and Zulkifli Mohamed Sultan, "Insights on Community Engagement," *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses* 3, no. 1 (2011): 4.

The development of an ideology that is not cooperative with the current government tends to give birth to radical groups that aim to replace the Pancasila ideology into a political-Islamic ideology. Indonesia is fertile ground for the emergence of these radical groups. As Julie Chernov Hwang said:

> "Indonesia provides a rich environment for understanding the radicalization and disengagement of jihadists. First, there were multiple jihadi groups operating in close relationship with one another. Second, these groups were never unified on when and where it was appropriate to use terror attacks. Third, there was always a new group to join, if one wanted to continue participating in acts of violence, if one's current group decided to take a hiatus. Finally, on a practical note, that Indonesia is a democracy offers scholars the access to those movements necessary for fieldwork on the subject."[20]

They have aspirations to establish a caliphate state. According to Kartini, the idea of bringing back the caliphate was a resistance to the idea of a nation-state with a secular system, In the context of Islam, the idea of restoring Islamic caliphate has become the agenda of the Islamists. The caliphate is an Islamic form of government representing the political unity and leadership of the Muslim world. The idea of restoring the Islamic caliphate can be analyzed in the context of world affairs since it has challenged the secular system of nation states.[21]

This phenomenon is dangerous for the existence of nation-states, including Indonesia. If this continues, it can lead to polarisation in society. In other words, society will split as the result of this. Especially in the digital era where the dissemination of information is so massive, the idea of a caliphate often gives rise to radicalism, and it can

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[20] Julie Chernov Hwang, "The Disengagement of Indonesian Jihadists: Understanding the Pathways," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 29, no. 2 (2017): 277–95.

[21] M. A. Kartini, "Moeslim National Onderwijs: Pemikiran Pendidikan Tjokroaminoto" (Sekolah Pascasarjana, Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah, 2013).

lead to terrorism. What is meant by radicalism? Radicalism is said by Alonso et al. in Yosua Praditya Suratman: "…the radicalism is also an ideology that challenges the legitimacy of established norms to lead to acts of violence, but there can also be radicalism without the advocacy of violence to strive for the relations of social change".[22]

Meanwhile, the notion of religious radicalism is said by Kartodirjo in Robingatun that the term religious radicalism is a religious movement that seeks to totally overhaul a political order or existing social order by using violence. This radicalism or religious radicalism threatens the existence of norms that underlie the basis of the state.[23]

Regarding radicalism in the era of advances in information technology, information technology is used as a means of communication for jihadists. One example is said by Nathaniel L. Moir, in the series of PRISMA 7, no. 1, which said: "Telegram Messenger, an application of great importance to ISIL (the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant), was a central communication platform for the January 2016 Jakarta terrorist attack".[24] The easy and fast flow of information in the digital era is used by radicals to carry out their terror movements. The movement of these jihadists takes place within a social network. Why in social networks? Joshua Snider citing Bloom, said:

> "On a practical level, the importance of the social network aspect because, in many cases, cells have to function in secrecy or at least outside the norms of mass society, which requires a degree of isolation."[25]

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[22] Yosua Praditya Suratman, "The Effectiveness of De-Radicalization Program in Southeast Asia: Does It Work?; The Case of Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore," *Journal of ASEAN Studies* 5, no. 2 (2017): 135–56.

[23] Robingatun Robingatun, "Radikalisme Islam Dan Ancaman Kebangsaan," *Empirisma: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Kebudayaan Islam* 26, no. 1 (2017): 99; Muhamad Ibtissam Han and Ismi Rahmayanti, "Salafi, Jihadis, Dan Terorisme Keagamaan; Ideologi, Fraksi Dan Interpretasi Keagamaan Jihadis," *Kordinat: Jurnal Komunikasi Antar Perguruan Tinggi Agama Islam* 20, no. 1 (2021): 1–22.

[24] Nathaniel L. Moir, "ISIL Radicalization, Recruitment, and Social Media Operations in Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines," *Prism* 7, no. 1 (2017): 102.

[25] Joshua Snider, "Socialisation of the Islamic Terrorist: The Case of Indonesia," *Theses*, 2008, 13.

Regarding the government's response to the development of radicalism, Sidney Jones states that the government stated that radicalism is threat, such as against civil servants, academics, while they did not take the necessary steps to understand how radical ideas are transferred and how radical alliances are formed. No steps were taken to eradicate radicalism, or at least, the existing steps taken were insignificant, making this movement continue to spread among civil servants.

At a Crossroads, shared communal life or individualism?

The two challenges to Pancasila ideology as described above, market fundamentalism and religious fundamentalism, need to be taken seriously by all the nation's citizens. As a result of a rational consensus (using Habermas's term), Pancasila has a strong position in the life of the Indonesian nation-state. It was agreed that Pancasila could be the answer and solution to the emergence of various problems and challenges in the social life of the nation, including it can answer towards the emergence and intrusion of various external ideologies.

However, this challenge is increasingly felt in the internet era where various elements of society, both ordinary people and people who have been affected by the "virus" of radicalism, live in the form of their respective networks. Even though we believe that Pancasila is a strong foundation, outside ideology can still damage the structure of the existing order.

First, market fundamentalism has the potential to erode the identity of the Indonesian nation, such as Indonesian society as a collective society with a spirit of mutual cooperation. For example, the victory of market fundamentalism in this republic will erode the attitude of gotong-royong which has so far been the hallmark and

personality of the Indonesian people. The characteristics of liberalism in market fundamentalism, among others, provide ample room for individualism and on the other hand the minimalist role of the state, by itself "damages" the spirit of gotong-royong which has been the strength of Indonesian society. Market fundamentalism can give rise to selfish humans who only think about themselves. Capitalism-liberalism contradicts the precepts of Social Justice for all Indonesian people in the sense that capitalism-liberalism often ignores social justice. Capitalism-liberalism often leads to widening social inequality. At least that's what can happen if liberalism "wins the hearts" of Indonesian people.

Second, religious fundamentalism can undermine national unity and integrity. The existence of Pancasila as the ideology of the Indonesian nation faces major challenges from religious fundamentalist movements. Terrorism, in its manifestation, is an example of violence out of fundamentalism. In addition to causing casualties, terrorism creates conditions of mutual hatred.

Information technology that facilitates communication for every individual and enables the emergence of various networks in society facilitates the strengthening of the two challenges faced by this nation. Both fundamentalisms can develop very quickly with the increasing sophistication of this information technology infrastructure. Advances in information technology, which eventually gave rise to an era that we call the digital era, take place in the process of globalization, in practice, it coincides with market liberalism which erodes social and cultural values in a society and on the other hand, religious fundamentalism which can bring this nation-state on polarization and splitting.

The character of society that inevitably becomes global, informational, and networked (three terms popularized by Castells) becomes an arena of war of values, including individualism values on the one hand, and primordial values on the other. In the end, only the values that are strong and favoured will survive. Based on this

assessment, we can say that the nation is at a crossroads; whether it will remain as a shared communal society characterised by mutual cooperation and deliberation, or will it change into a society where individualism borne into everyday life, and causing social divided even more.

Conclusion

Finally, the condition under discussion poses a big challenge against the Indonesian nation" if this nation is able to survive as a nation with the ideology of Pancasila and socio-democracy within it. Once again, this nation is at a crossroads, whether it remains a unitary state with this socio-democracy, or, changes into a nation that embraces market fundamentalism and religious fundamentalism.

There is no guarantee that this nation will remain as one nation. If all members of this nation are wrong in responding to and responding to the challenges and problems of market fundamentalism and religious fundamentalism, there is a possibility that this nation will split into smaller different nations.

Surely, we did not expect this situation. Fortunately, until now Pancasila is still the ideology, way of life and philosophy of the Indonesian nation. The flow of reforms twenty years ago did not abolish Pancasila, but, on the contrary, it gives understanding and commitment to Pancasila afresh. The preamble of the 1945 Constitution and its values in it are strongly translated into public life. This makes the nation able to withstand various threats, including the threat of the nation's collapse due to market fundamentalism on the one hand and religious fundamentalism on the other.

At the community level, especially in a life of a network society that communicates intensely with each other, and influences other nations, Pancasila remains at the heart of

the Indonesian nation, so that in the end, this multicultural nation is still able to live as nation. As a final note, various challenges and influence of intolerance, have not been able to eradicate tolerance between elements of the nation which has so far been firmly ingrained.

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