

PANCASILA AS THE FOUNDATION FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF NATIONAL SECURITY: ADDRESSING NON-MILITARY THREATS IN INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia's national security can be implemented primarily through defense, focusing on territorial, sovereign, and social dimensions. Threats to national security are categorized into military and non-military threats. Non-military threats have become increasingly significant in Indonesia, as the public expresses greater concern about issues affecting their well-being, such as social injustice, intolerance, and health crises. Therefore, a national security strategy must prioritize a holistic and integrated approach grounded in Pancasila as the nation's legal and moral foundation. Pancasila functions not only as the state ideology but also as a moral and legal basis for formulating responsive defense and security policies aimed at preserving national unity and stability. This study explores the relationship between the application of Pancasila values and national security, particularly in addressing non-military threats. Employing a qualitative approach and literature review, the research concludes that Pancasila plays a vital role in shaping adaptive and integrative policies to confront future national security challenges. It also emphasizes the importance of inter-agency collaboration and active community participation in strengthening national resilience.

Keywords: Indonesia's National Security; Integrated Approach; Non-Military Threats; Pancasila

INTRODUCTION

National security can be implemented through defense as the main instrument of the state, by prioritizing territorial, sovereignty, and societal dimensions (Mardhani et al., 2020). The components of security emphasize the importance of reducing potential threats. Consequently, two categories of threats are considered part of the concept of security (Depczyński et al., 2022). These are military and non-military threats. Armed attacks that endanger state security and territorial integrity are classified as military threats. Meanwhile, non-military threats are those that have the potential to affect national security and stability (Marwanto et al., 2020). These threats may take many different forms, including cyber threats, terrorism, ideological extremism, environmental crises, ethnic conflicts, and social conflicts. Such threats are associated with various dimensions public security, technology, information, politics, economy, society, culture, and ideology (United Nations Development Programme, 2016).

At the global level, the types of threats are influenced by advances in science and technology, which often create new challenges to national security (Rachmat, 2014). These global developments also affect the dimensions of threats faced by different countries. In Indonesia, the majority of people tend to be more concerned about non-military threats that may disrupt livelihoods and welfare than military ones (Bland et al., 2021). The threats Indonesia is likely to face in the coming decades will be dominated by non-military issues related to public security and social well-being. Based on research conducted by the Lowy Institute (2021), Indonesians are most concerned about threats such as separatism, food shortages, international terrorism, potential epidemics, and social and religious intolerance. Amid Indonesia's diversity and complex social dynamics, these threats underscore the importance of a security strategy focused on non-military threats, which are increasingly evident and complex in the daily lives of its citizens (Badan Instalasi Strategis Pertahanan, 2023).

Furthermore, Indonesia's richness and diversity themselves have the potential to become challenges. Therefore, it is crucial to apply national security and protection concepts that are adapted to the country's unique conditions (Astawa, 2017). Providing a protective buffer for national security requires an in-depth analysis of social, political, and economic dynamics, alongside an assessment of the nation's capabilities in addressing threats (Aprita & Adhitya, 2020). As an archipelagic state, maintaining a robust defense system is essential to ensuring national stability (Kamaluddin Nashir, 2024). The development and maintenance of defense capabilities serve as the foundation for creating protection policies (Bhakti, 2009), while integrating social values as the fundamental principles of nationhood is vital to achieving national security.

According to Article 3, Paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution (UUD 1945), Indonesia regards the concept of a rule of law as encompassing matters of statehood. This concept also influences national and social order (Ridwan, 2012). As a comprehensive framework, the rule of law serves as the foundation for upholding state sovereignty and ensuring national security stability (Wulandari et al., 2024). Within this context, legal instruments play a vital role in achieving the state's primary objectives: preserving national integrity and honor, ensuring protection from external threats, promoting public welfare, and guaranteeing safety, security, and peace (Syawaladi & Triadi, 2023). The existence of legal products and their implementation in national security represent an integral causal relationship.

The fundamental principle of national security lies in protective efforts that are based on public awareness of rights and obligations as a general and fundamental foundation for national security (Yani & Mair, 2007). To address both military and non-military threats as well as future challenges, Indonesia must develop an efficient defense and security system. The noble ideals of Pancasila as the supreme legal authority must serve as the foundation for formulating all laws and regulations related to national defense and security. According to research by Fuad (2013), Pancasila has long served as the main reference and foundation for the formulation of various laws and the hierarchy of regulations beneath them. Pancasila is elaborated as the cornerstone of Indonesia's legal system, particularly in facing modern transformations.

The government must harmonize legislation with the principles of national and state life to adapt to the changing dynamics of globalization (Setiadi, 2002). The pursuit of justice and balance should underpin the growth of the legal sector, ensuring it aligns with progress in other domains. This study aims to explain the ideals of Pancasila within the context of non-military threats in Indonesia and to describe its relationship with the legal norms that form the foundation of Indonesia's security and defense. Pancasila functions as the philosophical basis for integrating the implementation of national security as protection against non-military threats in the future.

RESEARCH METHODS

The research method employed in this study is qualitative, utilizing a literature review as the main research approach, with the researcher serving as the primary instrument for data collection (Sugiyono, 2014). The research materials include scholarly articles, journals, and studies relevant to the topics of Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution (UUD 1945), as well as defense and security regulations in Indonesia. The focus of analysis lies on the philosophical, legal, sociocultural, and historical aspects that influence Indonesia's efforts to prevent non-military threats. The sources are drawn from research and publications produced within the last ten years to ensure that the data used are relevant to the research objectives (Arikunto, 2010).

According to Notonagoro, the general synthesis method is used to identify and analyze the values of Pancasila. This method allows the researcher to formulate Pancasila's values in an integrated manner as a guiding foundation in the study of law and national security (Budisutrisna, 2016). Such synthesis provides a strong foundation to affirm that Pancasila can be regarded as a legitimate and appropriate basis for the formulation and implementation of the national security legal order. This analysis offers a comprehensive understanding of Pancasila both as an ideology and as a normative foundation for policies and the legal system in the fields of defense and national security in Indonesia.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Values of Pancasila as the Foundation for the Formation of Law and the National Security System of Indonesia

The concept of values is often interpreted as a complex and abstract construct encompassing ideas that may vary in meaning and application. In social and legal contexts, values function as the basis for evaluating various actions and policies (Syaiful et al., 2016). Values also help shape a nation's identity, goals, and the norms necessary to sustain and develop its social and legal systems (Anggraeni Dewi, 2021). Fundamentally, values are core beliefs that guide the behavior, goals, and vision of individuals and society as a whole. Essentially, values not only guide decisions but also determine ethical standards and accepted methods in daily life (International Panel on Social Progress [IPSP], 2018). To determine what is considered important and relevant in national life, the state requires a set of values as standards and guiding principles. These criteria are used to assess the feasibility of various initiatives and to engage multiple stakeholders, including people, policies, and activities (Rasyidin et al., 2016).

Moral values serve as criteria or teachings used by individuals to determine whether a person's goals and actions are right or wrong (Toker Gokce, 2021; Vuorela, 2020). According to Driyarkara, morality represents the ideal condition of human nature and serves as a measure for evaluating actions and behaviors (Sukmono, 2013). Moral principles are crucial in the creation and implementation of law, especially within the continuously evolving legal and security frameworks. The application of law must be aligned with prevailing moral values, which are viewed as fundamental principles to be upheld by law enforcement officers and legal subjects (Shalihah, 2019). Hart posits that law is a manifestation of morality; the two have independent yet mutually influential relationships, where law should reflect ideals rooted in the moral values of society. Meanwhile, standards of morality evolve alongside changes in societal norms (Bello, 2017). Law and moral values are expected to coexist symbiotically, where law serves as a mechanism to realize moral principles internalized through the legislative process (Faturachman et al., 2022).

The application of moral principles within law acts as a guide for law enforcement, ensuring that regulations function not merely as legal norms but also as reflections of prevailing ethical values (Putri & Eko Maryana, 2021). The legislative process that incorporates Pancasila values is essential in drafting laws that support order, welfare, and security as fundamental principles for establishing a sound legal order (Fadhlan, 2023). Pancasila serves as the moral foundation underlying the development of legal and security systems, providing not only an ethical framework for lawmaking but also ensuring that the state can protect itself from external and internal threats while safeguarding national survival through an effective and just legal order (Deputi IV Bidkor Hanneg, 2023).

The implementation of legal rules encompasses aspects such as welfare and security, which are closely related to the principle of justice (Pramono, 2017; Fadhlan, 2023). Therefore, the application of Pancasila values within Indonesia's legal and national security systems ensures that the regulations in force reflect not only legal aspects but also moral ones, contributing to the achievement

of sustainable order and security (Widjojo, 2021). The organization of national defense focuses not only on preparedness for conflict but also on efforts to achieve peace, ensure integrity, protect national interests, and support sustainable national development. To achieve these goals, it is crucial to ensure legal certainty in both the content and implementation of relevant legislation (Ministry of Defense Regulation No. 20 of 2014, 2014). In addition to justice, legal implementation also requires legal certainty.

The notion that state administration must be grounded in laws firmly based on moral and ethical norms prevailing in society is reflected in the ambiguity of law (Parsaoran, 2017). Thus, legal certainty in the field of defense and security must be balanced with the magnitude of challenges and the instability of the sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) (Khaerudin, 2017). The roles of morality and law in national defense and security are akin to two inseparable sides of the same coin: the moral principles serve as the primary benchmark in addressing safety and security issues, while legal ethics embody justice and legal certainty (Bintang Alfarras, 2023).

A value system is a set of ideas or beliefs reflecting what individuals or groups in society consider good, meaningful, and beneficial (Murjani, 2021). Therefore, Pancasila functions as a set of ideals underlying ethics and morality that embody universal principles timeless and applicable across generations (Amri, 2018; Musarovah, 2017). Spirituality, humanity, solidarity, justice, and respect for truth, beauty, ethics, and religion represent some of the core values of Pancasila (Habeahan, 2021; Manurung et al., 2023). Recognized internationally, Pancasila's ideals are both subjective and objective they are dual in nature. For instance, humanism is a common term used to describe similar humanistic values in other countries. The fundamental principles of Pancasila are eternal and can be applied in both historical and modern contexts (Riadi & Dewi, 2022). However, as the nation's philosophy and identity, Pancasila's principles are also subjective, as they are embraced and upheld by the Indonesian people, state, and nation (Widjojo, 2021). The conscience of the Indonesian nation is reflected in Pancasila, which originates from the nation's identity itself (Constitutional Court, 2015).

As the foundation of law, Pancasila serves as the primary reference in drafting legal regulations in Indonesia (Wijayanthi, 2021). The purpose of embodying the noble values of Pancasila is to create a unified legal standard for Indonesia (Pratiwi, 2022). Within the Indonesian legal system, Pancasila functions as the general standard and basic rule of the state (Romli et al., 2023). Legislation, choices, policies, and government initiatives are among the various legal products that currently reflect Pancasila's ideals. The primary objective of lawmaking and other regulations is to uphold and strengthen the core ideals of Pancasila (Sutoyo et al., 2020). The Preamble of the 1945 Constitution establishes Pancasila's status as the legitimate constitutional foundation, emphasizing the importance of upholding Pancasila's principles as the nation's fundamental standard. These principles must be applied, transmitted, developed, and preserved continuously (Latif, 2015; Eleanora, 2012). Therefore, all legislation must integrate Pancasila values as their foundational basis.

The principles of Pancasila have been confirmed as the foundation of Indonesia's legal order and the source of all sources of law, as stipulated in the General Framework or statutory provisions (Provisional People's Consultative Assembly Decree No. XX/MPRS/1966, 1966). Law No. 20 of 2004 on the Establishment of Legislation further regulates this, stating that Pancasila is the source of all national laws. Every policy must represent Pancasila's values as the source of law. Moreover, Notonagoro asserts that Pancasila is the "fundamental norm of the state", serving as the basis for the evolution of Indonesian law (Mustansyir, 2006). The implementation of protective and security laws must therefore return to these values and ideologies. Legal products must reflect the factual realities of Indonesian society. The ideology of Pancasila itself encapsulates the inherent characteristics of Indonesia a nation whose diversity poses both challenges and strengths in maintaining national security as an archipelagic state with multiple ethnicities, races, and languages (Pramunita, 2023).

This diversity, while capable of triggering instability, can also serve as a source of strength in addressing social security challenges. This requires comprehensive collaboration across various institutions by leveraging Indonesia's diversity (Syarifuddin, 2010), through defense and security policies focused on achieving national defense strength and applying a national legal approach. Policies integrating Pancasila's ideals are necessary for the military and national security systems (Ministry of Research and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia, 2006). In addition to preventing the emergence of ideologically motivated non-military threats, such policies also contribute to the government's responsiveness in addressing non-military threats influenced by the rapid evolution of security dynamics and technological advancement.

Integration of Pancasila Values in Addressing Non-Military Threats

Pancasila, as an ideology, has demonstrated its capacity to adapt to every era of change, allowing the evolution of practical values without altering its essential and foundational principles due to its open and inclusive nature (Irawan, 2020). Thus, ideological resilience can be optimized by embedding the core of Pancasila within legislation and policy implementation (Aris Wardhani et al., 2022). Furthermore, the evolution of Pancasila's values as a fundamental element of national security is reflected in the projection of both military and non-military threats in the future. Therefore, the integration of Pancasila values must be continuously incorporated into every stage of policy formulation.

The first principle of Pancasila is grounded in religious morality, which implies that religious and moral values underlie the substance of national defense and security regulations. In the implementation of security and defense, the government acts as the main driver in fostering a system of religious morality. Within the dimension of non-military threats, religion becomes one of the most vulnerable elements to potential radicalization.

According to the BNPT I-Khub Outlook 2023, women, youth, and children constitute the three demographic groups most at risk of radicalization. The Radicalism Potential Index supports this finding, showing that women and younger generations especially Gen Z (ages 11–26) are more likely to be exposed. In 2023 alone, there were 2,670 social media posts containing extremist, terrorist, or intolerant content. The rise of radicalism is inseparable from technological advances, particularly the influence of social media, which also challenges the second principle of Pancasila the principle of just and civilized humanity. This principle embodies justice and civilization as the essence of humanity. As stated in the principles of defense and security legislation, these foundations are built upon democracy, human rights, public welfare, environmental protection, national and international law, and peaceful coexistence (Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 3 of 2002 on State Defense, 2002). However, the complexity of enforcing justice, as embedded in the second principle, reflects the persistent challenges of unresolved human rights issues.

Nine topics related to non-military threats have been prioritized by the National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) for 2022–2027. These include prominent human rights violations with the potential to cause social unrest. Human rights issues in Papua, for example, are often exploited by certain groups to provoke anti-government sentiment or separatist agendas. Agrarian disputes frequently generate social pressure and regional instability. Neglect of marginalized groups such as the poor, migrant workers, indigenous peoples, and domestic workers can further damage the government's international reputation. Other focal issues include the protection of human rights defenders, freedom, business and human rights, the National Human Rights Action Plan (RANHAM) 2022–2024, and the 2024 general elections.

In the Indonesian context, the doctrine of the Total People's Defense and Security System (*Sistem Pertahanan dan Keamanan Rakyat Semesta*) must serve as the foundation for protection and security systems. This doctrine fundamentally calls for national unity, corresponding to the Third Principle of Pancasila. The strength of the entire populace is required to formulate strategic plans and to overcome non-military challenges effectively. According to Law No. 3 of 2002 on National Defense, unity and integrity are indispensable in confronting non-military threats and are vital to achieving defense and security objectives.

Furthermore, deliberation and consensus serve as the foundation of the Fourth Principle of Pancasila—democracy guided by the wisdom of representative deliberation. However, abuses of power, coercion, disregard for others' opinions, unilateral decision-making, and the lack of deliberative practices in local elections indicate weak implementation of this principle (Yusdiyanto, 2016). These problems are closely linked to non-military threats, as they can undermine the nation's social and political integrity from within. Non-military threats generally involve non-armed forms of danger, such as corruption, social conflict, political manipulation, injustice, and social fragmentation. These issues can escalate into horizontal conflicts, diminish trust in the political system, and make society more vulnerable to radical or separatist ideologies. Thus, non-military threats not only disrupt democratic processes but also weaken national unity and endanger national security.

The application of the Fifth Principle of Pancasila continues to face serious challenges that hinder the realization of true social justice. One of the most persistent violations of this principle is corruption, in which officials abuse their power for personal gain, neglecting the rights of citizens. Corruption not only harms the state but also widens the gap between the rich and the poor. This

social inequality is exacerbated by unequal access to economic opportunities, education, and public services, further marginalizing vulnerable communities. Moreover, ongoing discrimination based on ethnicity, religion, gender, or social status deepens societal divisions.

Such discrimination generates social tension that obstructs unity and shared prosperity. Equally significant is the problem of unjust law enforcement, where the law is often applied unequally, especially in favor of those with power. Consequently, this erodes public trust in the legal system and hinders the achievement of social justice for all citizens. To ensure justice is experienced fairly and equally across all social strata, Indonesia must significantly improve its legal, economic, social, and governance structures to realize the Fifth Principle of Pancasila.

Threats may emerge on national, regional, or international scales, and their impacts extend across ideological, political, economic, sociocultural, and security dimensions (Indrawan, 2016). As a unifying national identity, Pancasila provides a framework for identifying both tangible and intangible threats (Sarjito et al., 2024). Tangible threats require immediate response as they involve open conflict or conventional warfare with armed forces, while intangible threats do not have direct impacts but can endanger national integrity and sovereignty (Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, 2015). As a nation exposed to significant non-military threats, Indonesia must remain vigilant, as such threats are dynamic and may escalate into tangible ones when national interests and sovereignty are jeopardized (Pedrasan, 2021).

The complexity of non-military threats can be illustrated through Indonesia's response to the COVID-19 pandemic in 2021. COVID-19 emerged as a major non-military threat, endangering the nation's health, economic, and social sectors (Prayuda et al., 2022). The pandemic overwhelmed hospitals, caused shortages of medical equipment, and led to significant economic disruption through rising unemployment and widening inequality. The government deployed extensive fiscal resources for stimulus and social assistance, yet long-term socioeconomic challenges persisted (Kaye et al., 2020). The pandemic also triggered political and social unrest, including public distrust in government policies and protests against restrictive measures or aid distribution, further polarizing society (Christian & Kosandi, 2021). The COVID-19 crisis demonstrates that national security threats are not limited to physical or military aggression but can arise from health crises, economic shocks, and sociopolitical tensions that endanger national unity.

COVID-19 represents just one of many potential non-military threats the nation may face in the future, requiring collaborative responses across institutions to mitigate and manage such crises effectively. Although the state declared a "war" against the pandemic, political mechanisms stipulated in Articles 10, 11, and 12 of the 1945 Constitution typically applied to military threats were also utilized for non-military contexts. The President, as the supreme authority, enacted emergency policies through Presidential Decrees, including the establishment of the COVID-19 Task Force. However, policy inconsistencies and weak interagency coordination revealed gaps in the implementation process. These issues underscore the need to refine interagency strategies to enhance the effectiveness of future non-military threat responses.

Efficient and coordinated responses to non-military threats require comprehensive collaboration among relevant institutions. Pancasila serves as a crucial guiding framework in shaping policy direction to confront such challenges. Moreover, it functions as a preventive foundation by engaging the entire citizenry in safeguarding national resilience. This delegation of collective responsibility is essential not only during crises but also in stable periods, ensuring the protection of national interests and the continuity of development as mandated by Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

Effective national development to achieve Indonesia's goals requires stable national security. According to the Ministry of Defense (2008), national security constitutes a dynamic national interest. Changes in the strategic environment along with domestic factors such as public welfare, political dynamics, economic growth, education, and social relations directly affect security stability (Shodiq, 2023). Therefore, Pancasila must be applied continuously, as its values inherently prevent future threats (Lemhannas RI, 2020). Prevention through the application of Pancasila values as the foundation of national order requires early recognition of non-military threat indicators across ideological, political, and sociocultural domains, encompassing ontological, epistemological, and axiological dimensions (Rahayu et al., 2024).

Comprehensive application of Pancasila values functions as a preventive instrument to curb intolerance, extremism, and terrorism. The process of socialization serves as the initial phase of internalizing Pancasila values, which are then understood, practiced, and manifested in daily life. Considering that religion-based extremism does not originate from Indonesia's cultural and social

structures, this phenomenon can be mitigated through holistic and sustainable approaches (Rizal et al., 2022). Furthermore, the implementation of the second and fifth principles of Pancasila helps counter radicalism and other ideological movements that threaten national security (Khatimah, 2018). In addition to integrating Pancasila values into defense and security policy formulation, the government must also ensure public participation to produce legal and strategic frameworks aligned with Indonesia's social and cultural identity (Riskiyono, 2015).

The establishment of a National Security Law is expected to foster sustained commitment, awareness, and unity in facing threats to national stability. As a fundamental embodiment of the Total People's Defense and Security System doctrine, such regulation would create a conducive environment for national development, promote collective consensus in strategic policymaking, and ensure institutional alignment with Pancasila values that emphasize unity and national cohesion (Pianto, 2018). In maintaining Indonesia's integrity, public participation is crucial. Non-military threats that potentially disrupt social and political stability can be minimized through collective efforts emphasizing solidarity and social harmony. Thus, initiatives aimed at strengthening national unity represent strategic steps to anticipate increasingly complex threats in the contemporary era (Sajidin et al., 2019).

In facing the evolving dynamics of future defense and security systems driven by technological advancement, geopolitical shifts, and emerging non-military threats Pancasila must remain the fundamental foundation of national security policy. A comprehensive understanding of its values contributes not only to social harmony within the defense and security sectors but also to strategic threat mitigation. Therefore, building a resilient defense and security system requires a multidimensional approach capable of responding to diverse threats adaptively and effectively. The five principles of Pancasila serve as a normative foundation for shaping a just society and governance system within the framework of national defense and security law, emphasizing vigilance toward non-military threats as a strategic priority for Indonesia's present and future national development.

CONCLUSION

Pancasila holds a pivotal role as the moral foundation guiding Indonesia's social system, legal framework, and national policy. It functions not only as a state ideology that remains relevant amid changing times but also as a fundamental basis for confronting threats to national resilience. The values embedded within Pancasila support the implementation of laws that reflect ethical and moral standards upheld by society, while also providing guidance in formulating national policies particularly in the realms of defense and security. In addressing increasingly complex non-military threats, such as radicalization, intolerance, social injustice, and health or social crises like the COVID-19 pandemic, the application of Pancasila's values becomes highly relevant. Pancasila offers a comprehensive framework for maintaining national unity, strengthening social cohesion, and supporting an integrated defense system. An approach grounded in democracy, social justice, and inter-institutional collaboration is essential in shaping adaptive policies capable of responding to both military and non-military challenges. By integrating Pancasila's principles into the formulation of national legislation especially those related to defense and security Indonesia can ensure the creation of policies that promote unity, welfare, and national stability. Furthermore, Pancasila serves as a preventive instrument against future threats, both internal and external, ensuring that all elements of the nation actively contribute to sustaining a strong and resilient national security framework.

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