

THE STRATEGY OF DEFENSE DIPLOMACY IN STRENGTHENING PANCASILA IN FACING TRANSNATIONAL ISLAMIC IDEOLOGY

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Abstract

The diversity of ethnicity, culture, ethnicity, religion, and race makes Indonesia vulnerable to conflict. Thus, a strategy is needed to minimize conflicts in Indonesia. This study aims to examine the defense diplomacy strategy in more depth in strengthening Pancasila in the face of transnational Islamic ideology. This study uses a qualitative approach. Data was collected using FGD, interviews, and document analysis. Data analysis used thematic analysis. The results of this study indicate that Indonesia needs to create a Pancasila diplomacy strategy. Pancasila diplomacy is Indonesia's diplomatic strategy to achieve national interests in the form of people's unity, the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, and the nation's safety from the threat of transnational Islamic ideology. Pancasila diplomacy has three fundamental interests: absolute, urgent, and defense cooperation. The implication of this research is to support the government, especially the ministry of defense, in countering transnational Islam, facing the threat of terrorism, countering threats to national ideology, and creating global peace.

Keywords: Pancasila diplomacy, diplomacy strategy, national interest, transnational Islam

Introduction

Diplomacy is the choice of the state as the dominant way to achieve and secure the interests of the state. Diplomacy implements negotiations between countries through official representatives. The country itself elects official representatives without other parties or other countries (Kevany, 2016). Diplomacy between countries can cover the entire process of foreign relations, both informing foreign policy and related to its implementation (Aalto et al., 2017). Through this diplomacy, a country can build an image of itself. In relations between nations, diplomacy is generally carried out from the beginning when a country wants to establish bilateral relations with other countries until they develop further relations (Wilkinson & Wolfson, 2021). Thus, diplomacy is the primary tool in achieving national interests related to other countries or international organizations (Neal, 2021). In practice, the state can use its power sources, including military, economic, political, and intelligence power. Besides that, negotiation is the essence of diplomacy. Therefore, victory in negotiations can also be interpreted as a

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victory in diplomacy (Ruhe, 2021). Even so, to negotiate well, the strength of the bargaining position is an important requirement that a nation must own.

The essence of diplomacy is the willingness to give and take in order to achieve mutual understanding between two countries (bilateral) or several countries (multilateral) (Marinaccio, 2020). Research by Sime (2021) stated that diplomacy is usually carried out officially between state governments but can also be carried out informally through informal institutions or between residents, or between communities from different countries. Ideally, diplomacy should better understand or agree on a negotiated issue. In diplomacy, the negotiation technique is needed (Holm, 2020). Of course, this requires people who are experts in negotiating. In every moment of diplomacy, Indonesia can achieve the goal of foreign policy or Indonesia's interests with other countries and the Philippines (Scott, 2019). With negotiations, methods, or strategies that can be done to achieve good diplomacy, a country can carry out negotiations and sign agreements. Diplomacy can also be carried out bilaterally between the two countries or multilateral diplomacy where several countries are involved in the negotiations (Adamson & Tsourapas, 2019).

In carrying out diplomacy, strategy is an important thing to do. Research by Laksmana (2012) shows an increase in defense diplomacy in Southeast Asia. This is because they complement each other in carrying out defense diplomacy strategies. On the other hand, Australia's defense diplomacy strategy shows diplomatic activities that are not visible by using long-distance telecommunications cables under the sea (Fernandes, 2021). In addition, China uses a public diplomacy strategy with social media to carry out a defense diplomacy strategy through communication (Jia & Li, 2019). On the other hand, Sharma et al. (2021) explained that bilateral or multilateral energy diplomacy from Papua New Guinea allows for deeper contributions in other, more inclusive ways.

Indonesia places diplomacy as the first line of defense. This is also parallel to Indonesia's defensive defense doctrine, not offensive (Hoesterey, 2013). This is because Indonesia is committed to implementing world order and peace. In the Pancasila ideology adopted by Indonesia, it has been stated that the implementation of order and peace follows the third principle, namely the unity of Indonesia. Therefore, Indonesia avoids using hard power in dealing with threats from other countries (Huijgh, 2016). Based on Iskandar (2016), Pancasila is urged to continue to be actualized and integrated as a national identity that can inspire the behavior of the nation and state. Thus, the strategy of defense diplomacy aims to maintain and achieve national interests that cannot be separated from national power (Winger, 2014). In addition, the defense diplomacy strategy is also carried out to strengthen the values of Pancasila in Indonesia. This is because the diversity of ethnicity, culture, ethnicity, religion, and race makes Indonesia vulnerable to conflict. Thus, a strategy is needed to minimize conflicts in Indonesia (Bräuchler, 2017; Hasudungan, 2021). The state no longer understands security as only a threat from other countries and is military. Threats can also arise from conflicts within the country itself. In the non-traditional understanding of security, issues developing in security today start from food security, global warming, and the economy also influence

the instability in defense. According to Facal (2020), One of the conflicts that occur in Indonesia is the issue of intolerance. Therefore, the state is well aware that a defense diplomacy strategy is needed that involves state actors (such as politicians, armed forces or intelligence agencies) and non-governmental organizations, think tanks, and civil society (Sudarsono et al., 2018). Because, the nationalist philosophy of Pancasila in Indonesia has become a strong protector in the defense strategy.

The purpose of this study is to examine the strategy of defense diplomacy in more depth in strengthening Pancasila in the face of transnational Islamic ideology. This is because Defense diplomacy has become an important tool in a country's policy, security, and foreign policy (Gumay et al., 2018). However, defense diplomacy is also an important tool within the country itself. The majority of the population in Indonesia adheres to Islam. In Islam, some teachings prioritize their people to do good and fair deeds to fellow human beings (Donner, 2015). Tawhid (monotheism) in Islam emphasizes that only God can be worshiped – not groups, parties, or schools of thought (Hashi, 2013). It is just that, over time and in different geographical areas, this basic teaching of love is covered by a lot of sectarian conflicts (Maarif, 2018). This is undeniable because Indonesia is a country that has various ethnicities, religions, and races (Mackey & Dolven, 2021). This study analyzes how peaceful inter-religious life in a society will be realized if every religious community understands the actual teachings of their religion. (Fabrycky, 2005). Even though the Indonesian people are united in the Republic of Indonesia and hold the same principle of life, namely Pancasila, challenges to the sense of national unity are always found (Hamayotsu, 2014; Setiawan et al., 2020). The emerging challenge we currently face is transnational Islamic ideologies (Nashir, 2013; Bashirov, 2018; Hart, 2021).

According to Suharto (2018), transnational Islamic ideology is a political and cultural ideology that legitimizes itself with Islam and seeks to spread the teachings of the supremacy of the Islamic State and Islamic Shari'a to various countries. Thus, an in-depth analysis is needed to deal with transnational Islamic ideologies amid the diversity in Indonesia. Therefore, Maarif (2018) said that the essential problem in this group is not Islam as a religion, but its cultural and political tendencies that try to disrupt the harmony and unity of the pluralistic Indonesian nation. For this reason, the strategic steps of defense diplomacy are important in strengthening Pancasila as the nation's ideology that can maintain unity in Indonesia. Unfortunately, since the presence of transnational Islam, Indonesian Muslims have experienced inner turmoil (Schulze & Liow, 2019). Bruinessen (2014) feared that Indonesia is not a country that conforms to Islamic teachings, that Pancasila is a product of local culture, not Islamic culture, and that our laws are infidel laws, not Islamic law. This needs to be identified as an effort to strengthen Pancasila in the face of transnational Islamic ideology. This is a challenge for the Indonesian government, especially the defense sector (Allen & Barter, 2017).

Based on these social and empirical facts, through this research, using the perspective of diplomacy strategy and national interest, the researcher conducts a study related to the appropriate diplomacy strategy to maintain and strengthen ideological resilience in Indonesia. In addition, it also analyzes defense diplomacy strategies in

strengthening national interests in facing the threat of disintegration that comes from transnational Islamic groups.

Methods

This research was structured using a qualitative approach (Creswell, 2017). This approach is carried out to carry out the exploration process and understand the condition of defense diplomacy in Indonesia. In addition, qualitative research was conducted to analyze and interpret texts and interview results to find defense diplomacy strategies that can strengthen the country's resilience from the threat of transnational Islamic groups. Participants in this study were selected using a purposive sampling technique with the following criteria: understanding defense diplomacy, being staff of the state intelligence agency and being experts in defense strategy. Therefore, the number of informants in the study was 15 people (12 men and three women). Of the 15 participants, eight were the state intelligence agency staff, four were defense diplomacy experts, and three were defense strategists (see Table 1). The data collection process was carried out using a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) (Odimegwu, 2000). The FGDs were conducted to avoid misunderstandings related to defense diplomacy, Pancasila ideology, and transnational Islam.

Table 1 The Description of Participants

No	Name	Gender	Background
1	FZ	Male	the state intelligence agency staff more than 15 years old
2	SF	Male	the state intelligence agency staff more than 15 years old
3	RM	Male	defense diplomacy experts who worked in the University of Defense more than 10 years old
4	AR	Female	defense diplomacy experts who worked as a lecture more than 10 years old
5	JA	Male	defense diplomacy experts who worked as a lecture more than 15 years old
6	JK	Male	defense diplomacy experts who worked as a lecture more than 15 years old
7	FB	Male	defense strategists experts who worked as a lecture more than 10 years old
8	FA	Male	defense strategists experts who worked as a lecture more than 10 years old
9	FF	Female	defense strategists experts who worked as a lecture more than 10 years old
10	RR	Male	the state intelligence agency staff more than 10 years old
11	RO	Female	the state intelligence agency staff more than 10 years old
12	RD	Male	the state intelligence agency staff more than 10 years old
13	AJ	Male	the state intelligence agency staff more than 10 years old
14	AM	Male	the state intelligence agency staff more than 15 years old
15	AL	Male	the state intelligence agency staff more than 15 years old

Source: Research Data (2021)

The FGDs in this study were used as an initial data collection tool related to the ideology of Pancasila and Transnational Islam to ten participants. The ten participants were divided into two groups according to the characteristics of the study. The first group discussed defense diplomacy and Pancasila ideology (JK, FB, RR, FA, RO). At the same time, the second group discussed defense diplomacy and transnational Islamic groups (FF, RD, AJ, AM, AL). The discussion activity lasted for 90 minutes for each group. After transcribing the results of the FGD, the researcher collected data through in-depth interviews with five participants to explore information by asking questions that followed the interview guidelines (Creswell, 2017). Interviews were conducted repeatedly five times with an intensity of 45-65 minutes for each participant (FZ, SF, RM, AR, JA). Researchers conducted interviews in the participants' workspace and the canteen in the office. The interview aims to obtain information related to defense diplomacy strategies and transnational Islamic groups (see Appendix A). Data collection through the documentation of the State Intelligence Agency is also carried out to explore information related to transnational Islam.

Data analysis in this study used thematic analysis (Bowen, 2009). Researchers identify themes related to the threat of transnational Islamic ideology, the strategic interest of Pancasila diplomacy, and the implementation of the strategic policy of Pancasila diplomacy. Researchers use the results of interviews that have organized the data well to make it easier to understand. Thus, the analysis was carried out by recording important and relevant events based on the sequence of events during the interview process. In order to maintain the research code of ethics, the names of the participants who conducted the researcher interviews were withheld (see Table 1).

Results And Discussion

Overview of Transnational Islamic Ideological Threats

Based on FGD group two, there is a threat of transnational Islamic ideology in Indonesian society. The researcher found that the participants ordered that the form of intolerance that threatened the Indonesian state was the transnational Islamic movement. This is clarified by the results of an interview with FZ.

The transnational Islamic movement is a term that refers to Islamic organizations that move across countries, where their movements cross the territorial boundaries of each country (FZ, interview 2021).

In addition, the results of this discussion found that Islam, as a religion that is believed to be a revelation, only had one religious model. These models become diverse as the various interpretations of Islam. Thus, when the teaching is directed at the wrong interpretation, it will impact human social life. One of them is the added doctrine of the perfection and supremacy of Islamic Shari'a (Salvatore, 2018).

The doctrine of the perfection of Islamic Shari'a then developed into a discussion about the existence of Islamic politics. There are two camps in the debate on political and state issues in Islam (SF, interview 2021).

The results of interviews conducted with SF strengthen the results of the FGD, which show that Islam is not associated with any form of government. RM added that, unfortunately, this group that believes in Islamic perfection and the supremacy of Islam is called Political Islam (Islamiyyun). The research findings also show that apart from the structural injustice experienced socially, the doctrinal background and belief system are also the roots of the reproduction of political Islam movements (FZ, interview 2021). On the other hand, SF said that the belief in the authenticity and perfection of Islamic teachings based on the *salih* generation of salaf is the ideological basis of the political Islam movement. One of the characteristics of political Islam is the idea of an Islamic system that crosses the boundaries of space, time, and geography (FZ, interview 2021). On this basis, the ideology that carries the teachings of the supremacy of the Islamic State and Islamic Shari'a is called transnational Islam. However, the Republic of Indonesia and Pancasila are social contracts that we all agree on at any time; this social contract can disappear, disappear, and disband (JA, interview 2021).

The country of Yugoslavia can be an example for us. It is a modern unitary state which eventually disbanded and split into smaller states which often continue to fight. This is an important fact that should warn the Indonesian people not to share the same fate as Yugoslavia (SF, interview 2021).

The research findings show that the social contract can disappear if we cannot carry out a good defense. The example of a country revealed by SF is reflected on the global political map over the last ten years; Indonesia is a nation targeted by global political and economic forces. With a very large capital population, Indonesia is a very promising market for investors and international traders. Therefore, it is not surprising that threats to national defense often arise with various conflicts. On the other hand, the results of the second group discussion show that transnational Islamic ideological groups view Indonesia as a potential country to be included in their agenda. Unfortunately, Indonesia has managed to become a bone of contention for market gainers and transnational Islamic ideologues. In addition, AR added that Indonesian individuals only become commodities and materials they fight for, not infrequently. In the eyes of the market economy and transnational Islamic ideology, the value of a person is not in his humanity but his status as a potential consumer and ideological sympathizer (AR, interview 2021). At the end of 2016, the National Resilience Institute (*Lemhannas*) reported that the level of resilience of Indonesia's national identity and ideology was low (BIN, 2017). This means that it is very easy for Indonesian citizens to get caught up in the seduction of transnational ideologies that invite them to no longer be loyal to the Republic of Indonesia, Pancasila, and the national interest.

The most basic reason we must care about the resilience of the Pancasila ideological identity is the fragility of our national ideology from day to day in the face of transnational Islamic ideology (FZ, interview 2021).

The results of the interview add data that faced with this phenomenon, psychologically, the Indonesian Muslim community cannot run away from confusion. In addition, SF and FZ shared their experiences of conducting interviews with several terrorist prisoners. We find that their motivation for carrying out bombings, killings, terrorizing, or joining ISIS and Jamaah Islamiyah, is due to a deep belief that Islamic identity is contrary to Indonesian identity. What is also often taken less seriously by us is that such ideological and psychological beliefs do not exist without an evolutionary and accumulative process. Research of the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT) shows that schools, madrasas, Islamic boarding schools, and universities are strategic places where transnational Islamic ideology can be propagated, which calls for the first allegiance to Islam, Islamic State, and Islamic Shari'a.

The Strategic Interest of Pancasila Diplomacy

After realizing the real and urgent threat from the transnational Islamic ideology, as described above, the Indonesian state needs to develop a strategy to deal with this threat. By using the perspective of diplomacy strategy and national interest) this research seeks to map out an appropriate diplomatic strategy. The results of the first group discussion showed the same conclusion regarding the meaning of diplomacy, namely the method used by a country in cooperating with other countries and parties to achieve its national interests. The results of interviews conducted by JA explained that in the context of the threat of transnational Islam, our national interests that will be defended by diplomacy are national unity, the territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of citizens. Therefore, a country will establish cooperative relations with relevant parties in diplomacy.

I thought diplomacy carried out by Indonesia should cooperate with friendly countries, regionally and globally, to protect the country from the penetration of transnational Islam. Likewise, through international cooperation institutions, such as ASEAN, the OIC, and the United Nations, Indonesia must fight for its national interests (AR, interview 2021). Indonesia's national interest, in essence, is the desire to maintain the uprightness and immortality of the Republic of Indonesia, which is based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution (SF, interview 2021)

Thus, maintaining the Republic of Indonesia will ensure the smooth running of national development and the security of national life to realize the national interest. Three prerequisites must be met: the order of life, efforts to achieve goals, and the means used. Research of Huda (2018) added that The way of life of the Indonesian people comes from the values and beliefs of life based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as a social contract, which is carried out with a belief in God Almighty and respects the reality of

diversity by maintaining social harmony. Meanwhile, the group one discussion results show that national development works and efforts are carried out to achieve national interests. This effort is carried out sustainably, with an environmental perspective, and based on the attitude of the Archipelago Insight (the belief that the territory of the homeland of Indonesia is an area that must be protected and defended). Moreover, the means used to realize the national goals above are all national potentials and resources (natural, material, and social) used in a holistic and integrated manner (Gindarsah, 2016). In facing the threat of national disintegration originating from transnational Islamic ideology, Indonesia needs a type of diplomacy strategy that specifically pays attention to the resilience of the Pancasila ideology (AR, Interview Results 2021).

In other words, the interview results show that the need for a diplomatic strategy is important for the Indonesian state. This is what participants in Pancasila diplomacy call. The purpose of implementing Pancasila diplomacy is to meet the demands of the national interest in the form of upholding the Republic of Indonesia and preserving national unity based on Pancasila (FZ, 2021 Interview Results). Based on the results of the FGD, the Pancasila diplomacy function is an important strategy to maintain and protect the sovereignty of the state, the territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, national unity, and the safety of the entire nation from the threat of transnational Islamic ideology.

The main interests of Pancasila diplomacy are those related to world peace and national, regional, and global stability. The strategic environment in implementing the Pancasila diplomacy action is national, regional, and global in all its dynamics. The awareness of Pancasila diplomacy arises because Indonesia cannot be separated from the abundance of conflicts that occur in the world (RM, interview 2021).

Therefore, Pancasila diplomacy was born, which guarantees Indonesia always to take an active role together with other nations through dignified efforts in realizing world peace and global, regional, and national security from the severe threats of transnational Islam. The results of the first group discussion concluded that Pancasila diplomacy is a new diplomatic strategy (new diplomacy) that has a core in diplomatic activities that are limited to formal relations between countries and between governments but begin to involve non-state non-state actors. Government, such as NGOs, non-governmental organizations, mass organizations, civil society, transnational companies, the media, and civil society. In other words, In the Pancasila diplomacy strategy, diplomatic activities are not solely the responsibility of diplomatic representatives, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or heads of government but are also supported and implemented by non-state actors to maximize diplomatic efforts. SF adds that the perspective used by Pancasila diplomacy is the perspective of multi-path diplomacy, which combines government and non-government channels which are considered to have great capabilities in supporting the achievement of Indonesia's national and foreign interests.

These findings are reinforced by the statements of AR, JA, and RM that Pancasila diplomacy is carried out to realize the national interest. The strategic importance of Pancasila diplomacy is part of the national interest in ensuring the eternal establishment of the Republic of Indonesia with all its interests. Pancasila diplomacy has a role and function to defend the existence of the Indonesian nation from any threats and disturbances. Based on the estimated threat from transnational Islam to Indonesia's national interests, the strategic interests of Pancasila diplomacy can be categorized into absolute strategic interests, urgent strategic interests, and strategic interests in the field of defense and security cooperation. The strategic importance of Pancasila diplomacy, which is absolute, is the realization of unified diplomacy to maintain and protect sovereignty. This strategic interest is achieved through efforts to build and foster the resilience of the Pancasila ideology.

According to Bouchier (2019), fostering national ideological resilience is a form of proving the honor and dignity of the Indonesian nation as an independent and sovereign nation to align itself with other nations, states, and ideologies in the world. In carrying out the absolute interests of Pancasila diplomacy, the Indonesian nation always holds the principle as a nation that fights for global peace but still prioritizes its sovereignty and national unity. The principle of maintaining global peace is manifested in free and active international relations and coexistence with other countries. Therefore, to ensure the implementation of absolute interests, the implementation of Pancasila diplomacy is carried out through the universal diplomacy system, which involves all elements of the nation and social resources and national facilities and infrastructure as a unity of Pancasila resilience.

The participation of people in national diplomacy is positioned in the context of the rights and obligations of the 1945 Constitution. Which is reflects the honor of this nation as an independent, united, and sovereign nation. It is confident in its abilities (RM, Interview 2021). In my opinion, the potential for national division carried out by transnational Islam requires the readiness of diplomatic powers to prevent and deal with it quickly and appropriately (JA, interview 2021).

These findings indicate that the threat of disintegration, division, social conflict, and civil war due to transnational Islamic infiltration must immediately receive serious attention. For this reason, the superiority of the strength of the Pancasila national ideology, which is cored in the Pancasila diplomacy process, must be carried out to provide maximum repercussions for any transnational Islamic ideological efforts that disrupt Indonesia's national stability and security.

Implementation of the Strategic Policy of Pancasila Diplomacy

The results of group discussions one and two show that Pancasila diplomacy aims to maintain and protect national unity, the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the Indonesian nation from all forms of disintegration threats originating from the penetration of transnational Islamic ideology. Meanwhile, JA explained that to achieve this goal, the Pancasila diplomacy strategy is implemented with the universal

diplomacy system, which combines diplomacy in a government-to-government cooperation with other broader fields and more diverse actors, as a unified national diplomacy system that is universally independent. The independent management of Pancasila diplomacy starts from the attitude of the Indonesian people, who are confident in their national ideology and want to embrace other countries to create global peace and protect them from the threat of transnational Islam (AR, interview 2021).

I thought four interrelated strategic objectives had been set to implement Pancasila diplomacy in protecting national unity, the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, and the nation's safety (JA, interview 2021).

The interview results show that the vital and absolute national interest of Indonesia is to maintain the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. In realizing these national interests, Indonesia's diplomacy is carried out to ward off and prevent all forms of threats from the penetration of transnational Islam.

Global conditions that various transnational Islamic ideologies have infiltrated require the Indonesian people to prioritize deterrence and prevention. The conception of deterrence in Pancasila diplomacy is built and implemented with the universal diplomacy system, which combines government-to-government diplomacy with actors outside the government (RM, interview 2021). As a unified whole and comprehensive diplomacy. The application of Indonesia's deterrence to transnational Islamic ideology is realized by building the ideological strength of Pancasila and the unity of the Republic of Indonesia as a solid and dynamic figure of national ideological strength, which is respected by the whole world (SF, interview 2021).

Based on the interview RM and SF described that for the Indonesian people, the greatest spectrum of threats to the integrity of the state is acts of violence in the form of terrorism using armed force carried out by several transnational Islamic groups that directly and openly endanger state sovereignty, national unity, territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of life and property of all citizens. As an independent and sovereign nation, Indonesia must not allow itself to be threatened, intimidated, and attacked by transnational Islamic radicals.

Discussion

This study concludes that the strategic importance of Pancasila diplomacy, which is urgent, is a continuation and logical consequence of absolute interests. In absolute terms, this nation needs to strengthen the Pancasila ideology to maintain its national unity. Moreover, the need is urgently increasingly felt with the emergence of threats and dangers of disintegration triggered by transnational Islamic ideology. The real danger brought by transnational Islam requires the awareness of all elements of the nation to participate, feel the obligation and demonstrate a commitment to safeguarding the national interest. Indirectly, this commitment to protect national unity is related to Indonesia's commitment to a free and active foreign policy to create regional and global peace (Pesurnay, 2018).

From the dynamics of Indonesia's interaction with other nations and the implications of geostrategic developments, global, regional, and national security conditions are formed that are full of turmoil and uncertainty. At the same time, there is the threat of national disintegration from transnational Islamic groups, which requires an immediate response from the diplomatic function. This research shows that the function of state diplomacy must realize that the threat of disintegration and division of the nation must be addressed immediately so that it does not develop into a major threat, which can disrupt the existence and interests of the Republic of Indonesia (Grayman, 2016).

In line with Nakissa (2020), the mainstreaming of Islamic moderation and the prevention of terrorism must continue. Transnational Islamic ideology and terrorism crimes in the name of Islam have threatened the unity of our nation and harmed national security, and reduced international trust in Indonesia's geopolitics. This study shows that various efforts across departments and ministries in an integrated manner must continue to be developed to improve national identity and the spirit of defending the country and the real capability of Pancasila ideology resilience which is supported by the conditions of a democratic, participatory, and dynamic Indonesian society. Non-military and ideological threats from transnational Islam are closely related to our national stability, so it is fundamental to be placed as one of the main priorities of Pancasila diplomacy targets.

A safe and peaceful world and a stable regional environment are Indonesia's national interests that are being fought for at all times. Indonesia cannot live in a global and regional environment filled with conflict (Viartasiwi, 2018). The threat of conflict currently comes from several transnational Islamic groups. As a country with a strong commitment to creating lasting peace, Indonesia must actively participate with regional and neighboring countries in facing the penetration of transnational Islam. Indonesia's activity is a national commitment to maintain world order based on independence, eternal peace, and social justice. Besides that, this study gave the alternative of the strategy in defense diplomacy by holding Pancasila Diplomacy. Indonesia will develop state defense cooperation with other countries as a forum for jointly promoting the Indonesian government's steps in realizing world peace and regional and global stability based on the values of Pancasila.

In addition, this study illustrates that National ideological resilience and national unity are held based on belief in one's strength. Indonesia does not rely on the safety of its country and nation to other countries. Therefore, in line with Pesurnay (2018), in the Pancasila diplomacy strategy to strengthen national ideological resilience, deter and prevent potential threats from transnational Islam becomes the focus and priority. Thus, the results of this study strengthen that the Pancasila diplomacy strategy is held with the universal diplomacy system by prioritizing deterrence capabilities that rely on the power of government-to-government diplomacy and are supported by all Indonesian people (Gindarsah, 2015). Therefore, the implementation of Pancasila diplomacy aims to protect national interests and national unity. In dealing with it, an effective diplomatic strategy is needed to protect the Republic of Indonesia with all its interests (Facal, 2020).

Indonesia will always prioritize diplomatic efforts, negotiations, and cooperation between countries in building a national defense against ideological threats and armed threats from transnational Islam (Gumay et al., 2018). The national commitment that underlies Indonesia's diplomatic stance in the national interest to maintain the country's sovereignty, territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, and national unity will not allow transnational Islamic groups to move freely. In the face of the threat of transnational Islam, Indonesia will develop a free and active Pancasila diplomacy strategy. Freedom in Pancasila diplomacy is realized through efforts to prevent armed radicalism with political, social, and cultural approaches. Therefore, this study, in line with Anton et al. (2021), diplomacy as the front line of national ideological resilience and unity, is a modality that is effectively developed to prevent the entry of transnational Islamic ideologies and the growth of their followers in Indonesia.

One of the threats to the resilience of national ideology and national unity is the threat that has an ideological dimension from transnational Islam. Efforts to deal with or counteract this threat are through appropriate and intensive political policies and measures to prevent the spread of the influence of other ideologies on the Pancasila ideology, and the concept of handling it can be placed within the framework of efforts to defend the state (Nanda et al., 2019). The results of this study indicate the defense diplomacy strategy carried out by the government in strengthening Pancasila such as the departments and government elements in charge of foreign policy mobilize their staff spread across every country to strengthen diplomatic steps and efforts in countering the efforts of other parties that threaten the Pancasila ideology. The government element in charge of information and communication dynamics is the national power in the information sector to carry out counter-narrative operations. The government element in charge of education provides teaching and awareness of the Pancasila ideology in stages and continues to students and students at all levels and levels of education (Huda, 2018). The government element in charge of religion empowers religious leaders to become government partners in synergizing strategies to fortify society from the threat of penetration of transnational Islamic ideology that endangers and destroys the harmony of national national unity and endangers state security (Susilo & Dalimunthe, 2019).

The results of this study also analyze that the strategic importance of Pancasila diplomacy, which is urgent, is also directed at preventing and handling threats and disturbances with ideological and security dimensions. Regarding these security issues, the implementation of diplomacy prioritizes the function of prevention. However, preparedness must still be built to be moved to the right place and target (Scott, 2019).

Although Indonesia develops an independent national defense not to rely its defense interests on other countries, it still adheres to establishing relations with other countries through defense cooperation. This is due to strengthening Pancasila in the face of transnational Islamic ideology. As a country that fights for lasting peace, Indonesia will continue to develop diplomatic relations with other countries worldwide. Indonesia's interests in the field of defense cooperation with other countries in the future are increasingly important to increase, along with the spread of transnational Islamic

ideology, regionally and globally, which requires joint handling (Burchill, 2005). Indonesia can demonstrate a defense diplomacy strategy by using Pancasila diplomacy to deal with transnational Islamic ideologies that threaten the country's integrity. Law No. 3 of 2002 concerning national defense in the Republic of Indonesia stated that national defense is based on the Indonesian people's philosophy and way of life to ensure and maintain the establishment of the unitary state based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. From this statement, three things that must be maintained are the sovereignty of the state, the territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, and the nation's safety, and these are vital interests for the Indonesian nation. To carry out this defense, Indonesia decided to use a deterrence strategy. However, a deterrence strategy alone is not enough for the threat of intolerance.

Apart from particular diplomacy in the government to government scheme, efforts to maintain national ideological resilience and national unity in the face of transnational Islamic penetration are also carried out with a universal diplomatic approach. Realizing that terrorism has an international network, Indonesia must cooperate with other countries to deal with the problem of terrorism. This cooperation is manifested in exchanging intelligence information, developing security capabilities, and holding meetings to discuss the development of the threat of transnational Islamic terrorism and steps to overcome it. Handling the threat of terrorism (including those coming from transnational Islam) is part of the Indonesian army duties as mandated by Law no. 34 of 2004 concerning the Indonesian National Army. The Indonesian army carries out this task with a preventive and coercive approach. Handling a preventive pattern is prioritized by intensifying the intelligence function and using special units prepared as a responsive force.

In the regional scope, Indonesia's defense interests are the realization of the Southeast Asia region as a safe and stable region from the threat of transnational Islamic religious radicalism and as an area free from conflicts among fellow members of the region. This is because the defense diplomacy strategy uses three Pancasila diplomacy strategies in dealing with the conflict. Thus, the results of this study indicate that in this regional scope, Indonesia encourages every joint effort to make a solid and united entity in facing the threat of transnational Islam (Arifin & Rohmah, 2019; Hart, 2021).

Conclusion

In a broader scope, Indonesia places the security of the surrounding area as an inseparable part of Indonesia's defense interests as a whole from the infiltration of transnational Islamic ideologies. Indonesia will not live a peaceful life if there is a conflict of religious radicalism in the surrounding area. At any time, the conflict can spread to Indonesia because the surrounding areas that are not safe and stable always drain the waste of security and disintegration issues, either directly or indirectly. Geographically, Indonesia is side by side with several countries, both fellow ASEAN members and outside ASEAN. In terms of interests, because of our geographical position bordering the territory

of Indonesia, we must also prioritize the stability and security of our neighboring countries

This study concludes in the form of recommendations to all elements of the nation and government to create the right diplomatic strategy to deal with the threat of transnational Islamic ideology. For that purpose, we offer a concept of Pancasila Diplomacy. The function of Pancasila diplomacy in dealing with the threat of armed radicalism places the Indonesian army and police as the main components. A multi-layered diplomacy strategy can meet the threat of armed radicalism originating from several transnational Islamic groups to undermine Indonesia's security and unity. Although the Indonesian army and police are the main components of deterrence against armed threats, in facing the negative potential of transnational Islamic radicalism, cross-departmental and inter-ministerial diplomacy and non-government diplomacy remain the options in the first tier much as possible prevent the emergence of perpetrators of armed radicalism.

From the perspective of diplomacy strategy and national interest, Pancasila diplomacy is an Indonesian diplomacy strategy to achieve national interests in the form of people's unity, the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the nation from direct or indirect threats from transnational Islamic ideology. Pancasila diplomacy has three basic interests: absolute interests, urgent interests, and defense cooperation interests. It also has four goals, countering transnational Islam, facing the threat of terrorism, countering threats to national ideology, and creating global peace. In its implementation, Pancasila diplomacy is carried out through three layers of diplomatic elements: universal and defense diplomacy. The implementation of Pancasila diplomacy also consists of three strategic steps: (1) dealing with transnational Islamic terrorism threats, (2) dealing with transnational Islamic ideological threats, (3) organizing the internationalization of Pancasila.

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