

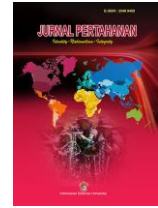


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REDEFINING INDONESIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY IN ENSURING THE SURVIVAL OF THE NATION

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Abstract

Indonesia's national security is still in debate since the separation of TNI-Polri's functions and is more likely to be interpreted as national security and order (*kamtibmas*)'s effort. Meanwhile, in several states in the world, national security emphasis more on a holistic approach. This study provides a point of view to redefine Indonesia's national security to be more holistic and comprehensive, using the analytical framework of Security Vortex. So that, Indonesia's national security is a national policy that has the goal of ensuring the life and death of the Indonesia nation-state in the aspects of international security, state security and civil security, with three basic capabilities that must build, namely knowledge-based security, skill-based security, and rules-based security.

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INTRODUCTION

Since the enactment of TAP MPR No. VI/MPR/2000 which separates the role of the TNI and Polri, the concept of national security in Indonesia is still under debate until now, especially regarding who and how Indonesia's national security should be carried out. Based on MPR Decree No. VII/MPR/2000 and Perpres No.17/2005, the roles and duties of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) and

Indonesian National Police (Polri) are increasingly clearer regarding the difference between the meaning of defense and security. Other regulations and laws also adjust to these changes, so it can be said that the issue of Indonesian national security has still not been resolved yet.

With the existing Laws and Regulations, a defense is perceived as an effort in facing attacks from other states' military aggression, or in other words to face the war, as outlined in the TNI Doctrine. While

security is more perceived as creating a sense of security for the community, so Indonesia's national security is more interpreted as explained in the National Police Doctrine or generally known as an effort to create national security and order (*kamtibmas*). With these different perceptions, another opinion developed, namely the meaning of national security with a lowercase letter of 's' which is more directed at the perception of security of the Indonesian National Police and with the capital letter of 'S' which leads to broader national security (Sulistyo, n.d.).

These differences of opinion cannot be separated from the long history of the Indonesian nation. Indonesia's independence was achieved through a war against invaders from the other states. Then, after the end of the 1945 War of Independence, Indonesia also had to face another state's aggression twice. Therefore, during the Old Order, Indonesia was more outward looking in looking at its national security by building military strength and its international relations. After the era of the War of Independence, Indonesia was preoccupied with acts of rebellion and separatism in several regions which could destroy the unity of the Indonesian nation, so that during the New Order period, Indonesia was more inward looking at its national security.

With these differences of perception, there is a need to redefine Indonesia's national security, which is to reformulate the true meaning of national security (Hurley, 2006). With the current advances in science and technology, the meaning of defense and security is becoming increasingly abstract and difficult to separate, so that the meaning of national security becomes even more complex. The impact is that the Indonesia's national security paradigm becomes even more complicated to formulate when it requires determining who is responsible for creating the sense of security (political approach) because it involves who determines the national situation and who leads in creating

national security in Indonesia. Without this clarity, the emergence of chaos and even the destruction of Indonesia can possibly happen in the future.

This redefinition is very much needed so that Indonesia could truly able to overcome the challenges of the present time, and even more so that Indonesia can progress and develop rapidly into a great state or even become a global player, like other states. This redefinition will redefine some of the elements that need to be the subject of Indonesia's national security, such as what is the real meaning of national security for Indonesia? What should be secured for a state? How to create a sense of security? Who should make efforts to create a sense of security for a state?

LITERATURE REVIEW

With the complexity of the national security issues, this paper aims to provide a perspective on how the concept of Indonesia's national security should be in an anarchic international system. This is based on the idea that every state must continue to have the best national security policy to overcome any existing threats of its state and nation, while at the same time it can also place its state in a safe position that able to take strategic advantage for its national interests in the condition of rivalry between nations, both at the regional and international level.

To discuss this issue, the author places the issue of national security as an integral part of regional security (international security). Regional security issues are analogous to a whirlwind model that has quite high complexity in actions and reaction among existing actors (state actors and non-state actors), both at domestic, regional, and global levels, and also has a 'whirlwind' that can drag other actors, both from within the region and from outside the region on the national security issues of a state (Larosa, 2016). That is, the problem of national security will impact other states' national security (security dilemma).

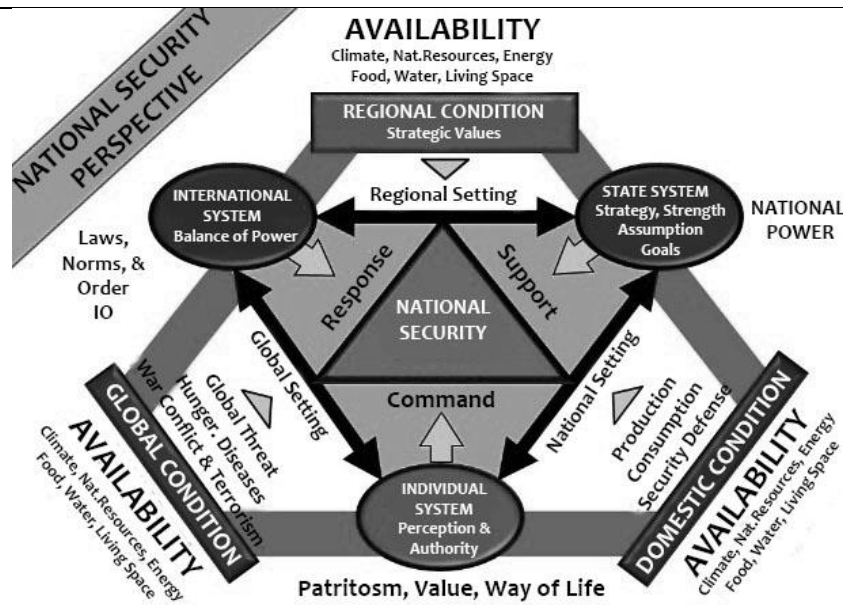


Figure 1. Indonesia's National Security Perspective

Besides, with the existence of certain political interests, these actors can be dragged into or out of other national security issues. If they have significant political interests in a particular state, then certain actors will respond directly to the policy. Conversely, if their political interests are not significant, then certain actors tend not to respond to the policy. Therefore, certain actors will wait and see other states' national security policies, which depend on their strategic calculations (threat assessment).

Actions and reactions among actors in an issue of regional security is a rivalry among actors in order to ensure the survival of their nation-state so that with the increasing number of actors involved, it can lead to increased tension in relations among actors. Under these conditions, the national security problem is closely related to the relations among actors in the regional and global levels in the state of peace, dispute, crisis, conflict, armed conflict or war on a small scale (limited war) or large (national survival war). These conditions are caused by the aggressive behavior of certain actors or any actors involved and are driven by a

precursor of war factors at the domestic, regional and global levels.

Referring to the framework and the state-centric international relations's realism, where the state is identified as a man who likes fighting (Hobbes in Mansbach R., 2007) and also Ratzel's view that the state is like living organisms (Djalal, 1996), the state also needs a sense of security so that the state can grow and develop into a great and strong state. As explained above, the Indonesia's national security needs to be prepared holistically and consistently by always considering various important aspects, especially the goals and objectives of the national security policy itself, the international system (global and regional) where the Indonesian nation lives, and the global, regional, and domestic physical environment. These aspects influence one another (see Figure 1).

The above perspective provides a model framework in redefining Indonesia's national security, namely Indonesia as part of a community of nations in the international arena full of threats and risks, which is a community of international actors (state and non-state state actors) who

react with each other in order to ensure their national security.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Understanding National Security

Understanding the meaning of national security means that we first need to understand the meaning of security itself. Security has many perspectives, even abstract and conflicting (Treverton, 1992; Tickner, 1995; Matthews, 1989; Romm, 1993; L. Brown, 1977). Security is defined as conditions free from threats or worries or fears (Evans, Graham and Newnham, 1998); Treverton, 1992; Knopf, 2009; Neilson, William A., Knott, Thomas A., Carhart, 1952). Security is also closely related to the feeling of fear or concern of the actor (state) or individual (Art, 1993) because of a real threat to certain objects related to their survival. Therefore, the actor is in an emergency condition, so it has the right to take certain actions by using his power to overcome or control the real threat or prevent the development of the threat (Barry Buzan, Waever, Wilde, Wæver, & Wilde, 1998; Morgan, 1997; Maoz, Landau, & Malz, 2003).

Likewise, the understanding of national security has many perspectives (Wolfers, 1952; Barry Buzan, 1984; Schlesinger, 1960; Knorr, 1973; Berkowitz, 1966; Smoke, 1975; Wolfers, 1962), but the main principle is the same, namely creating safe conditions, only the object is specific to a state. The main concern is relatively the same, namely the existing threats, because they can harm a state. The debate is only in providing definitions of perceived threats, the maximum use of power for domestic interests and for controlling domestic and foreign conditions, the military's ability to protect national interests, state security issues, up to issues related to military security, namely problems regarding border security, intelligence, command and control concepts, etc (Paleri, 2008).

The basic view of security is based on the realist underlying thoughts that the

nation-state is the center of its analysis which is driven by its national interests, and therefore the concept of national security is closely related to the state itself and its external environment (international system). Thus, the issue of national security will be related to the characters of the anarchic international system (conflictual conditions), so that national security is a self-help effort of a state in the midst of a world full of conflict (Walt, 1997). The realists also argue that national security will be related to national safety, sovereignty, and territorial integrity issues and are based on perceptions of the existing threats through an accurate threat assessments (B. Buzan, 2008) process.

A different view was expressed by the liberals who believe that in the international system there would always be opportunities to create better conditions, and not always conflict, but could work together because of the interdependency in various fields, such as the economy, culture, etc. Therefore, national security is a very complex concept, because each state will face a situation of conflict or cooperation with other states, or both, and also must be able to provide welfare for its people.

Another view explains that national security is domestic problems rather than international problems so that the domestic process becomes more important than international mechanisms. Often national security emphasizes domestic stability, so in handling every threat in national security, states always use military power and diplomatic efforts to ensure the sovereignty and the territorial integrity, as well as the domestic stability. All views emphasize that a state's national security will always face international characters of an anarchic system (Buzan, B, 1993; Keohane, 1986).

A more specific understanding of National security was explained by Harold Brown:

...the ability to preserve the nation's physical integrity and territory; to maintain its economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms; to protect its nature, institutions, and governance from

disruption from outside; and to control its borders.” (H. Brown, 1983).

However, National security is not only related to the state's safe conditions but also more related to the issue of stability of international security, especially the problem of the existence of great power and small power, nuclear ownership, etc (Turner, 1960).

National Security Perspective of Several States in the World

As independent sovereign states, they develop their own national security policies, according to their respective assessments of their environment (nation-state environment). Albania, a state in the Eastern European region, views that national security is state policy for the security of citizens, the people and the state of Albania from all risks and threats originating from within and outside the state. The fundamental mission of national security is ensuring the sovereignty of Albania, protecting the independence and territorial integrity, protecting the survival and wealth of the nation, ensuring democracy and economic prosperity, protecting the values and dignity of the nation, and securing the position in international security arrangements.

France formulates national security which is related with issues concerning national borders, terrorist attacks, tensions in the Euro-Mediterranean region since the end of the Cold War, up to problems caused by issues of globalization, such as demographic pressure and migration, climate change, health, energy, organized crime, and geopolitical issues such as the problem of the European Union, rivalry with Russia, China's global ambitions, threats in cyberspace and the negative impact of technological progress, threats of nuclear weapons, chemistry, etc (DICO, 2017). Meanwhile, the European Union is related to other problems, such as interactions between individuals or communities, cooperative relations between transnational corporations, etc.,

which impact the national security of European countries. Russia formulates its national security by focusing on the issue of its territorial integrity on the Arctic continent, as well as the issue of protection for individuals, society, and the state, carried out by the Russian Security Council (A.A.Prochozhev, 2005); Hoogensen & Stuvøy, 2006).

Israel's national security is strongly related to the survival of the nation-state of Israel from all threats originating from other states, especially from states in the Middle East region (Inbar, 2007). The national security prioritizes the principles of war, meaning the formulation of policies applies the principles used to win a war. Everything that has a deteriorating impact on the role and objectives of the State of Israel is a perceived threat in its national security so that the principle of balance of power or balance of force or balance of threat is very important. Therefore, military superiority is the main strategy of Israel's national security in order to be able to attack optimally, so that the Israeli military is an offensive force as a form of deterrence strategy. (Tal, 2000).

China defines its national security policy as ‘Overall National Security: maintaining state security’ in the fields of politics, military, territory, economy, culture, society, science and technology, information, ecology, resources related to security (energy, food, water, etc.), and nuclear power (Xi Jinping, 2014); Lam, 2015). President Xi Jinping explained that Overall National Security covers internal and external security, including territorial, individual, and prioritizes the issue of domestic political affairs and the achievement of The Chinese Dream (Xi Jinping, 2014; Lam, 2015).

Regarding the national security issue, President Xi Jinping emphasizes a holistic approach that must always be prepared to face potential dangers and enemy threats at any time. The issue of national security is a top priority because it is the main prerequisite for achieving a modern

propulsive society in all respects and realizing the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. With this holistic approach, national security issues will cover all aspects of the nation and state, whether political, economic, military, social, cultural, technological, information, ecological, and nuclear security by building a strong military (Xi Jinping, 2014).

To strengthen the handling of every national security issue, China builds its military capabilities and strengths by modernizing and standardizing its military power (Xi Jinping, 2014) so that it has high preparedness on all scales of war threats, conducts better simulation exercises, strengthens the fighting spirit of its officers and its soldiers to be confident and able to win every existing battle, and also strengthens the understanding of China's socialism (Swaine, 2015; Xi Jinping, 2014). The development of China military power is also closely related to the wider national interests. China's national security will be in line with its national interests or in other words, the wider the national interest of China, the more complex and wider the problem of China's national security (Xi Jinping, 2014); Lam, 2015; Sun, 2013).

Therefore, China established its own institution to formulate its national security problem, namely The Central National Security Commission (CNSC), which is similar to U.S. National Security Council (Xi Jinping, 2014); Lam, 2015), with its function to handle China internal security, neutralizes challenges from hostile anti-China forces from abroad (Lam, 2015; Sun, 2013), dealing with spy problems from hostile foreign countries and fighting any infiltration efforts carried out by other countries.

The United States has also formulated a national security policy that is relatively similar to China, even wider, assuming that every event in other regions can affect U.S. national security. The U.S. Secretary of State, John Kerry, gave an explanation that Iran's possession of nuclear weapons could endanger U.S. national security. U.S.

national security is also affected by the issue of the Korean Peninsula because of the presence of nuclear weapons and North Korean cyber warfare attacks (Smith, 2013).

The main problems in U.S. national security are closely related to issues regarding national defense, homeland security, the threat of terrorism, conflict prevention, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, climate change, global health, economic progress, poverty, access to any regions, American values and democracy, geopolitical issues in the Asia Pacific, alliances with Europe, stability in the Middle East, investment in Africa, and economic and military cooperation (Watson, 2008; The President of the United States, 2015; Renshon, 2009).

The U.S. national security policy often changes its goals or objectives, in accordance with the regimes at that time. However, these goals became the U.S. national interests since the first time the national security policy was set in 1947. During the Barack Obama administration, the concrete goals of U.S. national security policies were mentioned to achieve or to realize enduring national interests, namely security, prosperity, values, and international order. Security according to the U.S. is for countries, people, alliances and U.S. partners; Prosperity is aimed at a strong U.S. economy; Values are aimed at values in the U.S. and in the world; The International Order is aimed at an international order led or directed by the U.S. (U.S. leadership) in facing global challenges (Executive Office of the President of the United States, 2010; The President of the United States, 2015).

The growth of economic power is the foundation of U.S. national security and a strong military is a bedrock for U.S. national security (The President of the United States, 2015). Therefore, since the 9/11 terrorist attack, the problem of U.S. national security has become increasingly complex, not only focusing on other countries' threats, but also on transnational

and non-state threats, as well as not only a threat to U.S., but also to its alliances and partners (Cronin, Patrick and Ghani, 2007). U.S. developed its military policy with Military Operation Others Than War, as it did in Afghanistan, to attack sources of threats to U.S. national security.

National security issues are also the subject of UN discussions. Most UN member states worry about the existence of nuclear weapons possessed by the great power to build nuclear deterrence capabilities. States that do not have nuclear weapons consider the existence of nuclear weapons a potential threat to human survival, and therefore there is a contradiction between national security and international security and peace (Department for Disarmament Affairs, 1986).

Small powers have a high vulnerability to national security if the great power conducts aggression or intervention in all forms, for example, a rebellion supported by a great power, economic and political pressures, propaganda to try to create domestic instability. Moreover, the small powers also have weaknesses in ensuring the integrity of their territorial area, maintaining their natural resources, etc.

With the complexity of the national security problems, the small powers expect UN to become an instrument for them in ensuring their national security, because all states, both small powers, middle powers, and great powers, have the same rights and responsibilities in ensuring international security and world peace. This can be interpreted that the national security of states in the world is very dependent on the conditions of international security and world peace as well so that the ability to overcome the threat from the use of military force from other states is important in the national security policy.

In addition, these groups of countries have also developed various security concepts whose main goal is to build mutual trust among countries not to use their military forces against each other, including

security regimes, security communities, collective defense and collective security (Acharya, 2001).

The development of various security concepts to ensure national security in every state in the world is driven by differences in the strength and capability of each state in all fields, especially military and economic strengths, so that the role of international organizations becomes very important to merge or unite all existing countries so they won't attack each other. In other words, enhancing cooperation among countries, both bilaterally and multilaterally, is a must, so that high mutual trust among countries in the world can be realized.

This further requires a balance between the efforts of the national security and international security, and also between the military and non-military policy. The development of the security concept makes the national security issues are becoming increasingly complex. National security of the state will affect international security as a whole. Therefore, the condition of insecurity in certain states will have an impact on the security conditions of other states in the world, so that each state does not easily formulate its own national security policy, but needs to pay attention to security conditions for other states. More broadly, small powers' national security can be important issues for the national security of great powers, and vice versa.

The Concept of Indonesia's National Security in the Future Policy

National security is often referred as state security. However, there are quite clear differences between national and state meanings. In accordance with the provisions of the Montevideo Convention, December 27, 1933, it was emphasized that the main element of the state was that there were permanent residents and territories, there was a sovereign government, and there was the capacity of the state to relate to other countries. But, national is more interpreted as matters related to nationality,

statehood or nation (Ministry of Culture and Education, 2019) so that the elements are wider than the state. Therefore, national security and state security are two different issues. State security is more focused on the security felt by the people, the security of the sovereignty in accordance with its territorial boundaries, the security of the legitimacy of the existing government, and the security of its existence in the international system.

While the national security has a wider scope of problems, including economic, social and cultural, political problems of the state, even in terms of defense and security, up to the problems of foreign relations capabilities. In other words, national security is more suitable defined as creating secure feelings for the nation-state (Yuvaldavis, 2003); UNESCO, n.d.). National security is better interpreted as creating a sense of security for the nation-state, namely everything that covers all aspects of nation and state. So it can be said that state security is a part of national security. Meanwhile, national security is a national policy formulated to create a sense of security for all aspects of the life of the nation and state, or in other words, national security is closely related to the life-death of a nation state.

Life-death of a nation state can also be interpreted as a condition of being a fragile state, crisis state or failed state ("Crisis States Workshop," 2006), and/or not experiencing conditions of state succession, as stated in The Vienna Convention on Succession of the State in Respect of Treaties 1978. With this understanding, the main problem that is always associated with national security is the survival of the nation-state, which consists of two main elements, namely the continuation of the descendants or generations of their people, and the maintenance of their nation-state in the future.

Ensuring the continuation of the nation's generation means that the national security policy must be able to maintain the values, identity, and existence of the Indonesian

people in the future. While ensuring the maintenance of its life means that it must be able to provide its own needs and protection from any form of threat in the future. Therefore, the national security policy is a national policy that must build three national capabilities to ensure the life-and-death of a nation state, namely the ability to provide for the necessities of life, the ability to manage existing natural resources to meet the needs of the nation-state, and the ability to protect and or preserve the life of the nation that exists today and in the future.

The indicators of the two main problems are the Indonesian nation that is getting bigger and well-accepted by other nations, and able to overcome the existing threats and challenges. The indicators include the level of well-being (not living in poverty and suffering), great national power (national development has succeeded in achieving great national power), an increasingly important role in the international system (regional player or global player), and higher leadership of the Indonesian nation in the world (regional leader or global leader).

National Security Objects

With the definition of national security above, the things that become objects for safekeeping will relate to the problems of the continuation of the nation's generation and the maintenance of their lives in the future. If we analyze, then these objects are closely related to the power resources of a nation state, both physical and non-physical. Physical resources include government organizations, experts, natural resources, large industries, educational institutions, residents and state financial institutions. Non-physical resources include the spirit of nationalism, the legitimacy of national leadership and government, and its military capability.

These objects are still debatable, especially in perceiving and providing abstract interpretations of whether all objects are resources of national strength or ability. One example is the 9/11 case, where

the physical object of the WTO building was destroyed but did not weaken the U.S. economy or the U.S. as a whole. But on the contrary, the nationalist spirit of the U.S. people is increasing and the US applies a war on terror strategy in securing its nation-state from every form of terrorist threat. Even the U.S. can mobilize world support to attack countries that are perceived as supporting terrorism.

Seven important physical objects, including lighting (light), seasons (weathers), land (sovereignty/living space), water (drinking water, etc.), air (oxygen, etc.), flora-fauna (food) and humans (fellow social beings). Without the availability of these objects, a nation-state can be considered paralyzed or in a state of life or death. Other objects, the non-physical, include institutions (government and civil), human resources (citizens, especially scientists and highly capable), natural resources (raw materials, energy and other strategic materials), high technology (national equipment and industry, etc.), mastery of science (educational institutions, research and development / R & D, etc.), national economy (trade, employment, etc.), and state finance (foreign exchange reserves, national financial institutions, etc.).

These objects include objects that are related to the provision of the nation's necessities, and objects that are useful in efforts to manage and to exploit existing natural resources to meet the needs of the nation's life, both within and outside the territory of sovereignty, as well as objects that are useful in efforts to protect and to preserve the life of the nation for today and for the future. Often these objects can be objects that have important roles in playing the leadership and the legitimacy of national governments, objects that have national systemic functions, especially objects that are strategic to the condition of the nation-state, which are generally placed in the depth position of other parties, and other time-dependent or strategic conditions. Thus, objects that must be the

target of national security policy protection are objects that have the greatest effects on the survival of the nation-state, both direct and indirect effects, cumulative effects, subsequent effects on the entire national system, as well as spillover effects which can affect the life-death of the nation-state in the future.

National Security Challenges

As stated above, national security always faces the problem of the survival of its nation-state in the future. The main challenge always faced by all nations in the world in ensuring its survival is the availability of important life resources, especially food sources, drinking water, energy, living space, natural resources, even a suitable climate at the current time to the future. The problem is that the availability of elements or material is very dependent on the physical condition of the environment (both global, regional and domestic), and to obtain or access to material sources is very dependent on the international system where nations are located, because not all of these materials owned by only one state, as well as their respective domestic conditions.

The current physical condition of the environment is much marked by the chaos of natural conditions (natural chaotics), since the changes are increasingly unpredictable, the number of natural disasters that are increasingly frequent (such as earthquakes, floods, hurricanes) and world climate change, especially the increasing temperature of the earth's surface and frequent droughts and the degradation of arable land, so that many food crops fail to harvest. As a result, food ingredients are increasingly limited and the price becomes more expensive (food security). Besides that, important natural resources are also decreasing, especially the energy sources of petroleum (energy security) and other important materials.

The other problem related to the increasing population of the world with various ways of life, values, cultures,

religions, and thoughts, has created its own challenges because the availability of these resources has become increasingly limited. But, what is also important is the shift in values and ways of life that increasingly lead to actions that do not respect human dignity (dignity chaotic) which poses a danger to others with the crimes and the violence, as well as environmental damage due to water, air, and land pollution, and the world ecosystem (environmental security). As a result, environmental conditions are increasingly not feasible to support the lives of all nations in the world.

These conditions have triggered the emergence of various things in the arrangement of the world economy. Various policies and agreements have been made but the problems of the world economy still occur (economic chaotic). These problems are increasingly difficult to solve, and also dealing with environmental damage and violent actions (terrorism), have made it increasingly difficult for world leaders to handle and resolve thoroughly, thus encouraging the existence of world political chaos. The various efforts made by world leaders cannot solve the existing problems, further encouraging an increase in world security problems. In the end, many of these security problems trigger the occurrence of disputes among nations, up to the emergence of conflict and war (military chaotic).

Another problem, the national security policy must be able to deal with problems in the international system, namely the rivalry among countries in ensuring their survival, both at the regional and international level, especially with the great powers rivalry. In this case, the national security policy must be able to not only overcome all forms of threats of the use of force, but also can put Indonesia in a safe position that can take strategic advantages to achieve its national interests, and be able to anticipate any power shift in the region or in the world. Even, if possible, to influence the existing balance of power.

With these various problems, the Indonesian National security policy must be holistic in nature, including the problems of international security, state Security, and human security, which are able to overcome any form of threat that endangers the survival of the Indonesian nation-state, namely all diseases, hunger, crimes/violence, and wars. The forms of threats and challenges to national security have five main objectives, including destroying the total life of a nation state, crippling every national power source, crippling and/or weakening its military power, intimidating or causing fear and or concern for citizens, and weakening the legitimacy and authority of state/government institutions in various fields, especially economy, politics and the military.

International Security

This problem is always related to the international system, where there is frequent friction among states in ensuring the survival of their nations. In this aspect, a holistic national security policy is needed to deal with actions and reactions of other states or rivalry among actors in ensuring the survival of their nation (Mearsheimer, n.d.). The problem that needs attention is the response from other actors or states to the applied national security policies, both from states in the region (especially Southeast Asia and Asia) and in the world. The responses can be in the form of an aggressive perception of Indonesia which can lead to disputes, crises or conflicts, especially in the Southeast Asia region. These negative perceptions arise because of the provisions agreed upon in the existing international laws. In this case, inevitably, Indonesia's national security policy needs to consider or adopt the provisions contained in applicable international law.

The challenges and threats that will also be included in each national security policy are perceptions of absolute sovereignty. But in reality, the state sovereignty can be

considered not absolute, because other states may intervene in other states, including Indonesia itself. One example is the problem of Iraq and Libya, as well as the possibility of a crisis in the Venezuelan state. This is driven by the application of the provisions of responsibility to protect (R2P) by the United Nations, cooperation with great powers that can give it the opportunity to intervene, the existence of international law which can provide other states opportunities to intervene, as well as with the existing international organizations in the region and in the world.

The international security aspect has a wider problem in drafting national security policies. As explained above, if a state is identified with men or living organism, then the national security policy will deal with the life-death condition of a nation state, meaning that the state is no longer recognized as a state (for example Yugoslavia) and the existence of the nation is no longer in the world or in the current world civilization, for example, the Mayans. One of the reasons is the threat of violence from military forces that have considerable weapons and destructive technology.

The current weaponry technology that possibly threatens the life-death of a nation-state is the presence of nuclear weapons with ballistic missile capabilities. The event of atomic bombs on Nagasaki and Hiroshima is one example of how Japan being paralyzed by the Allies. Likewise, with the ability of fighter aircraft, bombers and submarines that can launch nuclear missiles, even modern acts of terrorism that use nuclear bombs can make a state destroyed or paralyzed, even though the nation has not been lost. Other types of weapons are cyber weapons that can damage the current computerized work system so that a state becomes paralyzed. Not only that, the rapid technological advancements have become a threat to the live-death of a nation state, range and speed of aircraft or air objects (unmanned aircraft), satellites that can direct nuclear

missiles to destroy certain objects on the earth's surface, up to biological and chemical weapons.

With the existence of these weapons, the nations developed a more complex weaponry system by combining existing equipment to be able to reach other countries far enough from their sovereignty areas, namely equipment through the ocean and air. The impact is that there are thoughts about naval and water superiority. In essence, these thoughts are the way a nation ensuring its survival by subduing other nations in other regions which may be far enough away, but the main purpose is to get the material resources needed to continue the generation of their people and to maintain their lives for the future.

State Security

The disintegration of Yugoslavia into new independent states is a sign for disappeared and shifted national values, identity and the existence of Yugoslavia with the new values, identity and the existence of new states. The problem of state security began with a domestic crisis that had grown big, that triggered the intervention of external actors, so that the new states established or made new identities, like Macedonia. Another example is the current Venezuelan crisis, which began with a domestic crisis that developed into a domestic security crisis, thus attracting the intervention of outside actors who support opposition figures. Reformation is one form of change in identity or values, for example from an authoritarian regime to a regime that respects human rights. With these changes, the values of the nation-state change into new values.

In this aspect, the national security policy will be more focused on the issue of domestic stability to overcome any form of threat that arises within the state, especially the problem of protecting the values, identity, and the existence of the nation-state of Indonesia. Threats that may arise consist of three forms, namely: first, threats in the form of actions that affect or interfere

with people's lives, such as when people's nationalism is weakened, new ideologies are changed, the spirit of national patriotism is eliminated. Second, threats in the form of actions that can cause domestic political chaos, for example when the effectiveness of national leadership is weakened or also eliminated, the legitimacy of government is weakened, the democratic process is weakened or eliminated, political legitimacy is reduced, etc.

Third, decreasing roles and function of the military, such as reduced professionalism of soldiers, undermined or weakened military unity or solidity, disrupted military doctrine, reduced supports for national resources of the military and terminated commands and controls of the military. The military is the object of national security because the existence of the military is one of the elements of the recognition of a state. Without the existence of the military, a state will not be recognized as a state. Besides that, the national security policy will also face the problem of the availability of food resources, natural resources, sources of drinking water, up to the very important living space in the national production and consumption.

Therefore, the national security policy is also very dependent with the support of national forces, especially with the applicable national security strategy and the strength that will be used in the strategy, and assumptions to formulate the best strategies and strengths to be developed, as well as the main objectives that must be achieved. The assumptions that will be used are very important because this is the result of the last assessment of the situation, which is very important to define the meaning of national security to be achieved. However, all of that depends on the availability of national power, especially the support of the national management system, the quality of human resources, materials, national industry supports and mastery of technology and science, a strong national economy and strong state finance.

Civil Security

The last problem that has become the focus of the national security policy is public security. In Indonesia, this problem is more appropriately called security and public order (kamtibmas), meaning that domestic security can be realized if the order in the way of life of society is achieved. This order indicates that the community is obedient and complies with the applicable laws and regulations in Indonesia. If the way of life of the people does not comply with the applicable laws and regulations, then domestic conditions can be considered chaotic, and there will be casualties or losses for the community itself, because they will not be able to carry out their activities properly, such as the emergence of criminal acts, violations of signs traffic, etc. All of these events can affect the lives of all existing community members.

In this aspect, the issue of law enforcement is the dominant aspect, because if people do not obey the law, then order in people's lives will not be realized. Every member of the community can endanger each other, resulting in internal turmoil. Finally, the community does not believe in national leadership, and the government possibly lose the legitimacy, and there can be a replacement of national leadership and a system of government. This is a source of insecurity for a nation-state.

Indonesia's National Security Strategy

With the broad meaning of national security, the Indonesia's national security strategy must be prepared in a comprehensive and holistic manner, covering aspects of international security, state security and civil security, which face every form of threat and challenge that may endanger the survival of the Indonesian nation-state. From those three aspects, the main priority aspect depends on perceptions of threats possessed by each nation-state,

including Indonesia itself. Until now, Indonesia tends to prioritize civil security, then the state security aspect, the international security aspect.

Even though Indonesia is a nation state, the perception of threats is highly dependent on what is known, what is heard and what is believed by Indonesian national leaders. Therefore, Indonesia's national security is highly dependent on sources of information received by national leaders, or in other words, the role of national intelligence institutions is crucial in shaping the perception of the threat. Therefore, The national security strategy developed by Indonesia must have three basic capabilities, namely knowledge-based security, skill-based security, and rules-based security.

Knowledge-based security is based on the ability of high national intelligence institutions to present accurate, fast, complete and correct intelligence information to national leaders about all potential sources of threats that may arise. Skill-based security is based more on tangible physical strengths, such as the posture of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) and Indonesian National Police (Polri) strength and its reserve components. Meanwhile, rules-based security is based on the application of strict and correct rules and regulations in the national management system, such as the issue of national law enforcement by the Indonesian National Police (Polri), natural resource management regulations, up to licensing and work procedures on all state and civil institutions.

On international security aspects, Indonesia's national security strategy is realized by building national intelligence institutions that are able to monitor and collect data regarding movements and signals of all international actors, both from state actors and non-state actors, just like how America built the CIA. The role of the Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) and Indonesian National Police (Polri) needs to be built to support national intelligence institutions. The ability of skill-based

security is realized by building a modern Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) power posture with five main objectives, namely, first, the balance of power, which means that the Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) has roles in supporting national diplomacy in forums or international battlefields. This requires a revision in the system and pattern of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) education that can build defense diplomacy, to be able to face any attempt by other parties to exercise containment of Indonesia in international forums.

Second, the balance of force, that is, the development of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) operational strength posture development is directed towards the quality and quantity of defense equipment better than other actors who are perceived as threats to Indonesia's national security in the present and the future. The quality of defense equipment means high technology and high morale compared to other actors, while quantity means that the number of defense equipment owned is more or balanced.

Third, the balance of threat, that is, the TNI's operational strength posture can make or cause threat perception for other actors. The posture is a posture as a deterrent power with adequate capabilities as the first strike and second strike, and can show high credibility in delivering threats, and can be shown to the enemies (Paul, 2009). This means that the posture of TNI forces can lead to the assumption of other actors to attack Indonesia or prevent them from taking the initiative to attack and or influence other actors to make decisions to attack Indonesia. In other words, TNI posture can provide psychological effects for other actors who have the desire to destroy, to cripple, and/or to weaken and to disrupt Indonesia (Knopf, 2009).

Fourth, the balance of interests, that is the TNI posture can be utilized for special tasks related to efforts in achieving national interests, such as MOOTW tasks, both combat, and non-combat. Fifth, security, the TNI posture can provide protection or

create a sense of security for all elements of the nation-state, especially for all Indonesian citizens wherever they are, the integrity of Indonesia's sovereignty, the legitimacy of the government and Indonesian state institutions while working anywhere, and also give a role for Indonesia's capabilities in conducting international relations with other countries and in international forums.

The ability of rule-based security can be realized by building a military posture that can support law enforcement and national policies in all fields wherever problems occur, especially abroad. Today, the great powers and middle powers have used their military to protect their public and economic interests, and can even be useful in supporting the cultural and social interests of their countries (national instruments) in diplomacy. Besides that, strengthening national diplomacy in international forums by maximizing and synergizing military diplomacy and police diplomacy into comprehensive and holistic defense diplomacy in the future.

On the state security aspect, knowledge-based security capabilities are built by synergizing the posture of TNI and Police forces in building and strengthening the role of national intelligence institutions, including other state institutions. The objective is to prevent actions that possibly weaken the people's nationalism, change the ideology, reduce or destroy the spirit of national patriotism, create domestic political turmoil, weaken the effectiveness of national leadership and government legitimacy, weaken national democracy, weaken the professionalism of the Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) and Indonesian National Police (Polri), disrupting TNI doctrine, weaken national support for the TNI, and eliminating or weakening command and control functions of TNI.

The ability of skill-based security and the ability of rules-based security can be realized by building a TNI posture that can carry out MOOTWs and support the Polri in

creating a sense of security in the community. That is, the posture of the TNI was built to carry out special tasks which were to strengthen civil society and domestic stability, one of which was the ability in the city war. This is done by redefining the duties and functions of the TNI in strengthening state institutions, as well as revising the system and pattern of TNI education in the future.

In the aspect of civil security, knowledge-based security capabilities can be realized by strengthening national intelligence institutions which prioritize the role of the Polri maximally and are supported by the strength of the TNI in protecting Indonesian citizens wherever they are, both at home and abroad. Skill-based security capabilities are realized by the TNI posture that can support the tasks of the Polri in creating community security. One example is the ability of the Indonesian Navy to carry out investigations of criminal cases in the sea, the ability of TNI soldiers to handle riots, etc. The rules-based security capability can be realized by empowering TNI personnel, specifically the TNI military police in assisting national law enforcement or legal counseling actions, especially within the TNI itself.

To implement this comprehensive and holistic national security policy, a number of things that need to be done, first, the elements of the organization, there is a need to strengthen the National Security Agency or Council, just like U.S. and China, and other major countries. The institution or council is supported by several expert staff and institutions as well as other think tanks that always analyze the development of security environment in the aspects of international security, state security, and civil security. These institutions have a role in deciding threat perception which is the main contingency.

The next step is to optimize or restructure existing intelligence institutions that play roles in three fields, namely international security, state security, and civil security. Next is synchronization,

integration, and simplification of all these institutions by carrying out interdependency analysis, especially the linkages in the operational chain, both the goals and objectives of the main tasks, up to the budget. This National Security Agency or Board may act as a decision maker and executor of the national security strategy by formulating the appropriate focus of objectives and targets of threat sources, developing other coordinated actions to overcome the emerging ripple effects, and synchronizing budget use to achieve effectiveness and high efficiency in the organization.

Second, the element of human resources professionalism. An important step is to educate, to train and to equip existing human resources to be able to carry out their main tasks in the fields of international security, state security, and civil security. Revision of curriculum and education patterns needs to be conducted by including the subject of national security as a subject of study or separate study. Research institutions focusing on the issue of international security, state security, and civil security need to be maximally empowered and put together in the existing National Security Agency or Security Council.

Third, material elements and objects of national security. This needs to be determined by the agency or council, which is related to the greatest effect on the survival of the nation-state. We often call these objects as vital national objects, but now these objects still need revisions to be able to create a level of security appropriate for the nation-state. Fourth, technological and industrial elements. Current developments increasingly show that the national security of a nation-state is closely related to the ability of their national industries in creating various high-tech equipment to be able to meet the needs of their nation states and to manage existing natural resources to meet the needs of the nation-state.

Fifth, elements of science and educational institutions. This is often unnoticed, even though educational institutions are an important factor in realizing a high level of security because to create a sense of security or the security itself, everything starts from existing thoughts. The thoughts come from science learned and developed in all existing educational institutions. Sixth, the element of mastery of the security sector. It already explained that the problem of national security can cover all aspects of the life of the nation and state. Therefore, how wide and many aspects that can be secured will be an important factor in securitization.

Seventh, the final element, budget. To ensure national security, all aspects of the life of the nation and state must be secured. Whatever the object, which can provide direct or indirect effects, up to further effects on the survival of the nation and state, must be secured. Thus, the national security strategy will require many actions and efforts that always require a lot of costs. Without sufficient budget support, it is not possible for these security measures to be carried out properly. Therefore, the institutions or councils must be able to become institutions that can realize the efficient use of the national budget.

CONCLUSION

National security is a national policy whose main object is the survival of a nation state. Whereas the goals and objectives that must be achieved are to create a sense of security for the nation-state by avoiding destruction, or in other words, national security is closely related to the death-life of a nation state. The indicator for the life-death of the nation-state is the continuation of the next generation of generations and the level of maintenance of their existing life up to the future.

The best indicator that can be used to measure the level of national security of a nation state is the level of national welfare, the level of national strength (the success of national development programs embodies

large national powers), the role of the state in the international system (regional player or global player), and Indonesian leadership in the world (regional leader or global leader). This means that it will determine the values, identity, and existence of the nation-state of Indonesia in the midst of the world community today and in the future.

To make it happen, it requires the ability to fulfill the needs of the national life, the ability to cultivate and manage existing resources, as well as the ability to protect and preserve the life of the nation-state that exist today up to the future. These three capabilities are manifested by building three basic capabilities, namely knowledge-based security, skill-based security and rules-based security on aspects of international security, state security, and civil security.

Therefore, there is a need for an institution or council that has a direct role in handling and formulating National security policies. Without these institutions or councils, it will be difficult to realize the level of security needed for the survival of the nation-state. One of the best steps that can be taken is to build operational strength of the TNI and the Polri. As with other countries, the national security policy is more focused on the issue of how to use their military operational power to create a sense of security for their nation state.

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