

## The Empowerment of Defense Areas in a Changeover Perspective

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**Abstract**

*In accordance with the keyword in this article, "contextualisation", this article examines the problem of state defence system in the dynamic and contextual perspective. Taking in consideration the existing structural environment changes, related legislations and their implementations should be updated from time to time. This is very important not only for decision makers but also for all related stakeholders.. When non-military power plays a greater role in determining the country's defence posture, defence planners would have to shift their attention from hard power calculations to diplomacy and the development of other elements of soft power.*

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Sesuai dengan kata kunci dalam artikel ini, "kontekstualisasi", artikel ini membahas masalah sistem pertahanan negara dalam perspektif dinamis dan kontekstual. Mengambil dalam pertimbangan perubahan lingkungan struktural yang ada, peraturan perundang-undangan terkait dan implementasinya harus diperbarui dari waktu ke waktu. Hal ini sangat penting tidak hanya bagi para pengambil keputusan, tetapi juga bagi semua pemangku kepentingan terkait. Bila daya non-militer memainkan peran yang lebih besar dalam menentukan postur pertahanan negara, perencana pertahanan harus mengalihkan perhatian mereka dari perhitungan hard power diplomasi dan pengembangan unsur-unsur lain dari soft power.

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**Introduction**

“That the state defence starting points are the philosophy and the way

of life of the people of Indonesia to ensure the national integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of

Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution; That the state defence as one of the administrative functions of the state, which is the efforts to realize a unitary state defence to achieve national interests, which are to protect the nation and Indonesia's territory, to improve public welfare, to educate the life of the people and to participate towards the establishment of a world order based on freedom, perpetual peace and social justice.

That in the enforcement of state defence each citizen has the right and obligation to take part in the effort of state defence as a reflection of the nation's way of life, which ensures the right of citizens to live equally with one another in peace and just environment and prosperous.

The set of fundamental values and interests are the same for all citizen, either as human being or as member or citizen of a liberal democracy, independently of the sex, race, religion, ethnic origin, etc. These postulates explain why certain interests have a special normative status and why they deserve to be

protected as constitutional rights. They would have normative priority, not primarily as legal norms, but as moral "entities" or "moral rights" that each citizen would possess against the state. Accordingly, these interests would be prior and superior to the state: rights would not be conferred; they would be recognized by the constitution (Tremblay, 2014).

Whichever term that would be used in practice, Defense System of the People's Security of Universe (Indonesia: Sistem Pertahanan Keamanan Rakyat Semesta (Sishankamrata)) or – the one used today – Universe Defense System (Indonesia: Sistem Pertahanan Semesta (Sishanta)), both involves the role of the people. In accordance with the "considering" part of the Law Number 3/2002 on State Defence, quoted above, our state defence gives special attention to the role of the region to prepare reserve and supporting components.

Besides the main component, which is the Indonesian Army (Indonesia: Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI)), state defence is also

strengthened by two other national components outside the military; human, natural and manmade resources.

That interactions between community groups and the military clearly served as a promising start in establishing democratic civil-military relations over the long term. The trend is indeed encouraging. The TNI headquarters are also now more open to working together with elements of civil society (Sukma, & Prasetyono, 2003).

What becomes the next issue is whether it is like that. How far has these two components been prepared? How about their empowerment? If they have not been prepared, what are the obstacles in doing so? These are the issues this article will elaborate. Based on the writer's belief on changeover, the issue of *Sishanta* could not avoid a country's defence "iron law".

Political and social development of contemporary security defense requires the development of national security paradigm that is not centered on military security and

territorial. Threats that disrupt stability and national integration more from domestic sources with the causes not only from the military. Hence, need to expand the national security paradigm to be comprehensive security, based on the style of the national defense and military security, in relation to human security (Susetyo et al., 2008).

Supriatma (2013) stated that military reform is also supported by the publication of two laws, namely Law Number 3/2002 on National Defense and Law Number 34/2004 on the Indonesian Armed Forces. Both law aspects affecting the military as an institution (political role of military and society), place the TNI under the authority of a civilian-led Ministry of Defence (Sebastian and Gindarsah, 2013). Defense reform can be important in ensuring compliance and military cooperation (Barany, 2015).

Furthermore Buzan (2008) stated that five dimensions of security issues, namely political, military, economic, social, and environmental. The security dimension where each unit has security, value and characteristics of viability and the

different threats. It means that the security related to the environment, the viability and considered a threat that would directly impact the security of the country.

Given the uncertainty of international relations, military organizations must be able to adapt to the opportunities and challenges that arise in the strategic environment. Therefore, the key to maintaining military effectiveness is its ability to innovate and keep up with technology and strategic context (Stulberg and Solomon, 2007).

### **Research Method**

Qualitative is a method used in this research with descriptive approach. The qualitative research focused on the processes that occur in the study. This suggests that quantitative research can not be limited (Creswell, 2013). The qualitative research can be termed as the interpretative approach for attempting to analyze systematically the social phenomena that emerge from research conducted directly with the natural environment background (Neuman, 2013). While descriptive

approach used to describe a variable, symptoms, or conditions (Creswell, 2013).

The research data were collected through library research and observation. Describe in detail the data analysis and interpret data acquired or symptoms during the study on contextualization of state defence system (Indonesia: Sistem Pertahanan Negara (Sishanneg)).

### **Result and Discussion**

#### ***Contextualisation of State Defence System***

From such understanding, contextualisation or re-actualisation becomes an urgent need. In any field, including state defence system, we need to look at it through a contextual perspective. When changeover becomes a necessity, on one hand, and the desire to maintain intrinsic values is very strong, on the other, the best possible way is to take on re-actualisation or to ensure our value system remains current and relevant. As a consequence, it is better to view a value system through a dynamic perspective rather than a static one.

As the foundation of all

defence and security policies, the *Sishanneg* remains to be a system we need to preserve. Although there have been significant and rapid changes in the security environment, both legal and operational, *Sishanneg*, particularly Defence Areas Empowerment, is still relevant. The concept of Defence Areas Empowerment is closely related to the characteristics of Indonesia's defence policy history, which is *Sishankamrata*. When many of the 1945 Constitution's articles were amended, this concept remains the same, implicitly. A little revision was made along with People's Consultative Assembly (Indonesia: Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (MPR)) Decree Number VI and VII/2000 on the Separation of TNI and the National Police and their respective obligations, and through the new Law on Defence it became *Sishanneg*, or Total Defence in a more comparative terminology.

Article 1 paragraph 2 of the Law Number 3/2002 on State Defence explained that "State defence system is a total defence system that involves all citizens, territory and other national

resources, and all would be prepared early by the government and managed in a total, united, as directed and continuous manner in order to uphold sovereignty, territorial integrity and the safety of the nation from all kinds of threat."

This formulation seems to be quite similar to the *Sishankamrata*. According to regulations during the New Order time, *Sishankamrata* is defined as "a united and directed system of all State defence and security power, which comprises of the basic component that is trained people, the main component that is the Indonesian Armed Forces. (Indonesia: Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia (ABRI)), the special component that is society protection and the supporting components that are natural and manmade resources and national means".

Therefore, it can be said that the nature of our defence politics' value system has not changed, even though the 1945 Constitution has been amended along with the separation of the military and the police, which then also separates 'defence' and 'security'.

What distinguishes these two concepts is that no longer trained people become the state's basic defence component. The new Defence Law only acknowledges three defence components; the military or TNI as the main component, followed by reserve and supporting components.

The transition towards democratic civilian control of the military, however, is still far from complete. It is too early to conclude that the military has ceased to be a significant force in Indonesia's internal politics. In this regard, it has been noted that 'despite its attempts at reform, the Indonesian military continues to be politically omnipresent and still wields significant political clout within the country' (Lee, 2000; Sukma, & Prasetyono, 2003)

In regards to the topic of this article that is the role and empowerment of the regions to improve the effectiveness of the defence system, the state has the authority to undertake empowerment while taking into consideration the rights of the people living in the areas. "Indonesia's territory/regions could be

used to develop defence capabilities by considering the rights of the people and national regulations".

Also, "state defence is formulated by heeding Indonesia's geographical character as an archipelagic state". This paragraph emphasizes the importance for defence management to pay attention to Indonesia's geographical realities. As an archipelagic state, Indonesia for sure has commitments to consider areas beyond its lands as the basis of its defence planning.

What remains to be the issue is how these regulations are implemented and how effective? In the past, with a strong state and a weak society, the state easily dominated the interpretation. Though the realization was not satisfactory, the state could force its will in implementing *Sishankamrata*.

Without having to go through a democratic, transparent and accountable process in the past, the state was able to interpret how to run the defence system. When things turned around, where the state is weak and the society strong, we can now

criticize the implementation of *Sishankamrata*. It is well known that this concept is mostly used as a mere jargon, and has never been truly implemented. The people was only an object; a political claim. While the realisation would be determined by the will of the person in power.

As a consequence of the state being weak, arise the needs to take on changes, including on national law and regulations. In line with the spirit of reformation, defence policy took a different course. It started with the separation of the National Police from the ABRI through MPR Decree Number VI/2000, followed by a new designation of responsibilities for the two institutions under MPR Decree Number VII/2000. It was then completed with a number of implementation regulations that defined the military for defence and police for security.

From a normative perspective, current defence regulations are in accordance to the needs of the reform as well as the essence of state defence. The state would not be able to defence its own existence, its people and its

territory without power. "State defence is the efforts to defend state sovereignty, the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Indonesia: Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia (NKRI)) and the safety of all its people from threats and interference against the state and the nation's integrity".

In the execution of state defence each citizen has the right and obligation to take part in the effort of state defence as a reflection of the nation's way of life, which ensures the right of citizens to live equally with one another in peace and just environment and prosperous".

The two paragraphs from Law on State Defence underline the importance of state defence, on one hand, and the involvement of citizens in the efforts of state defence, on the other. This means that, even though there have been some reformations in the area of state defence, in line with the amended Article 1 of the 1945 Constitution, citizens still have the obligation to defend their country. Hence, it would not be absurd, as said by Sayidiman himself, that Indonesia

has left *Pertahanan Keamanan Rakyat Semesta* to face the future.

What is really important is how to implement the mandate of the 1945 Constitution consequently. It is, therefore, untrue that the spirit of state defence within the new Defence Law has deviated from the value system of the 1945 Constitution. It would be true if we only relied on the military as the state's single defence component. Without the support of the other components, reserve and supporting components, our defence would be very limited.

With such a small defence budget compared to neighbouring countries, it would be hard to expect TNI to be able to take on its functions optimally. Let us not imagine too far to take on deterrence function or to make the first strike over another country's military power, even to ensure Indonesia is free from those stealing its national wealth (Minimum Essential Force or MEF) is a hard to do.

In this case, it seems that we need to have further explanation on the difference between 'defence areas and 'territorial command'. The first means

Indonesia's territory. Not only it should be guarded but it is also the basis for Indonesia's defence. The state should be able to mobilize all of its resources to run the state defence function. The latter, on the other hand, has ignited controversy if the meaning is the same with the one in the past, which is exclusively belongs to the military. This is particularly true when faced with new form of defence – non-military – where the existence of a territorial command in a law-abiding society has lost its meaning and urgency.

Looking at Indonesia's history, it would be impossible to separate the people and the territory or region. The role of the region, according to Sayidiman, is very important to support the preparation of both the reserve and supporting components.

"Indonesia would have never received its acknowledgment of sovereignty from the Netherlands or any other country, if it practised *Pertahanan Semesta*." He also mentioned the experiences of other countries in defending their countries. "Vietnam", he said, "could not have



defeated France and the United States with *Pertahanan Semesta*".

### ***The Reserve Component***

Perhaps no one would mind with the above argument. If a state only depends on its military power, then military considerations would govern it. The fear of being killed during battle or combat would usher maximum efforts to strengthen oneself to kill. As a result, the main consideration would be to increase military capacity.

There are two things that should be considered. First, increasing military capability has strong relations with the desire to master sophisticated and devastating warfare technologies. If this is the chosen option, defence budget must be increased significantly.

For any country – rich or poor – it would be a matter of gun or butter; which should be prioritised. For Indonesia with limited capabilities, priorities must be made. In fact our defence history, in particular the last three decades, has always been faced by rational choices. Due to financial limitations, priority has always been

given to development budgeting. Compared to Malaysia and Singapore, our defence budget is very much under these two countries. They are capable of funding their defence above three percent from their state budget, while Indonesia under 1 percent.

Second, defence threats have experienced rapid changes. Along with the development of science and technology, so have the characteristics of threats upon a state. In the past, a threat would always mean enemies from outside a country with a distinctive level of weaponry; now is very much different. Non-traditional threats have brought about a new breed of numerous non-conventional weapons.

Therefore military readiness is not the only thing a state should prepare, but also other areas outside of military threats, from ideology to economy. In short, the battlegrounds have expanded, from physical warfare (hard power) to diplomacy (soft power). As threats become more complex and TNI capabilities remain weak, the role of the other two defence components must be increased.

It is the very reason that the national legislation requires the Reserve Component to be ready and prepared for battle anywhere and at any time. “The reserve component is a national resource that has been prepared to be deployed through mobilisation in order to expand and strengthen the capabilities of the main component”.

As a national resource, the reserve component is comprised of human resources, natural resources, manmade resources and means and infrastructure located anywhere in Indonesia. This would imply that if they are all meant to be part of the reserve component, they should all be developed and trained as one so to be able to defend the territory of Indonesia as part of a single defence system.

The question here is how far has the government prepared what has been mandated by Article 7 para 1 Law Number 3/2002 on State Defence? The writer believes that until now we have yet to see a serious implementation of the role of the reserve component within Indonesia’s

state defence system. The reason is the dominance of sectoral approach in terms of the development of defence resources, especially natural resources. Each technical department remains to see this issue through its very own sectoral view. When in fact it should be seen as a united effort.

Hence, there has been no legal efforts to diminish such differences of point of view. In terms of human resources, the government has yet to formulate basic regulations. Legislation on reserve component so far has not become a priority in its formulation. Another issue that has become an obstacle is the influence of globalisation and free market into the lives of people nowadays. A very strong market logic has pushed away the national interest logic from all economy players, including the government, but particularly those outside of the administration. Thus, rhetoric is more evident than reality.

### ***Supporting Component***

Such rhetoric can also be seen in the preparation of the Supporting Component. One could imagine, with the definition such as this: “Supporting

component is the national resources that can be used to increase the power and capabilities of the main and supporting component”, that the urgency to develop this component is below the Reserve Component. The perception of all decision makers are hardly different to this.

Supporting component comprises of citizens, natural resources, manmade resources as well as national means and infrastructure that could increase the strength and capabilities of the main component and the reserve component, both direct and indirectly.

In regards to the obligation of every citizen to defend their state, for example, we have not seen concrete actions to realize it. There is not a single legislation to regulate the mobilization of these citizens. How could a citizen understand that he or she should follow special education, basic military training, for example, if there are no regulations as reference?

The President, the one in charge and responsible of the management of the state defence system has been, so far, preoccupied

with other urgent matters of the state outside the realm of defence. In the past few years Indonesia has been repeatedly hit by natural disasters along with the ups and downs of national economic situations thanks to the sentiment of global market. These factors have dominated the President’s focus on defence issues.

Another issue is that an agency that should have the capacity to assist the President in matters of state defence has not been established. Article 15 para 1 on State Defence mandated that “In making State Defence policies, ... the president is assisted by the National Defence Council”.

The function of this council is as the President’s advisor in formulating policies on defence and the deployment of all state defence components. Unfortunately, although this council is very strategic, we have not seen its realization. The current council Indonesia has – National Resilience Council – is very marginal. During the New Order regime, it was tasked to collect opinions on a national level and formulate the State Policy

Guidelines (Indonesia: Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Negara (GBHN)). The council is rarely heard nowadays, particularly after GBHN no longer existed; its nature more peripheral. There has been efforts to gather experts and stakeholders to discuss defence issues, but the outcomes have never been socialised to the people. The President himself, so far, has yet to use it as one of his “ears” in formulating state defence optimally.

The problems of developing national resources for state defence include the phenomenon of democracy from “the ground”, particularly in the context of government decentralisation. During the New Order regime, the government was very dominant in determining decentralisation. Today it is very much different.

The central government maintains its authority to govern five main state issues. Nevertheless, with the direct election of heads of local government as well as a more opened legislative election, central government has lost some of its legitimacy to undertake its centralism

politics. “The empowerment of all natural and manmade resources should adhere to the principles of sustainability, diversity and productivity of the environment”.

Although defence is an issue dominant to the central government, the resources are available in the regions. In order to deploy or use them would need to consider two things. First, the interest of the regions. As stated in Article 22 Law on State Defence that “Indonesian territory can be used for the development of defence capabilities by considering the rights of the people and national regulations”. Second, in regards with the latter, the required regulations are not available. It is no secret that in this country that a new law would tend to be mismatched with other existing ones. It would be even harder for issues that have yet to be regulated by law to be resolved.

The last problem that clearly points out the discrepancy between rhetoric and reality is the message written in Article 23 para 1. This article states that “In order to improve state defence capabilities, the

government must conduct research and development of defence industries and technologies". How far has the government showed its interest in this matter?

In the past there is the policy to develop strategic industries, which are none other than state defence industries. But as time progresses, so are the priorities in this matter. Without the development on the areas that support the enhancement of means and infrastructure of defence in this area, empowerment of defence regions could never be organized optimally. No wonder the level of Indonesia's national deterrence level to be worrisome.

### **Conclusion**

It has been clearly identified that our defence posture is in a worrisome state. It would be hard to regain the strength Indonesia had during the 1960s, let alone to catch up with neighbouring countries such as Malaysia and Singapore. Therefore we would need to consider a number of things:

First, national regulations on defence reform should be continued

and become a priority. In order to show the leaders' commitment for democracy and good governance, the reform must follow the values of democracy.

Second, the formulation of the above regulations must refer to the contextual changes of the defence paradigm. State defence should be viewed in a dynamic and holistic perspective. This is an important step to ensure that these regulations are applicable and not just good on paper.

Third, reformation on state defence bureaucracy should start. Without the changes of bureaucracy attitude and behaviour, it will all be business as usual. Unlawful practices in budget management and state budget dissipation would be contra productive to the conditions of national resources, which must be used effectively and efficiently.

Fourth, decrease ego sectoral, if it is not possible to be eliminated. Since state defence is a matter of nation and state, it should be viewed by the decision makers as integrated.

Fifth, the government decentralisation process should

continue by adhering the inevitability of state defence centralisation. State defence exists to defend state sovereignty, territorial integrity and the safety of the nation. On the other hand decentralisation is to provide opportunities for provinces and regencies. There should not be a choice, zero sum game, would harm everyone.

Sixth, the development of defence industries is also important in the empowerment of defence regions. Without any concrete efforts in this development, we will remain dependent on foreign powers, which would only create further security dilemmas. Cutting such dependency without developing national defence industries would only weaken Indonesia's defence posture and capabilities.

### **Recommendation**

In past experiences, the understanding of the state defence system was exclusive to the elite, but now such monopoly could no longer be maintained. Today, democratisation in all aspects of running a government is a necessity.

On the other, issues of the state defence system could not be viewed as in vacuum. It is highly determined by a number of factors surrounding the system. The issue of weapon system development is one of these factors, as well as the evolution experienced from time to time. Another issue that is also crucial, however, is the engagement of other defence components, including human, natural and manmade resources. Therefore, further research could be evaluate effectiveness of other defense components involvement (human, natural and manmade resources) on Sishanneg.

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