SECURITY AND DEFENSE IN NATIONAL RESILIENCE STUDIES TO REALIZE A NATIONAL SECURITY SYSTEM

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Abstract - *Security comes from Latin, secures which means free from danger, fear, and threats which consist of traditional and non-traditional security approaches. Defense is defined as the main instrument of a country to create national security. National defense is defined as a dynamic condition of a country that covers all aspects of national life to deal with threats. National security encompasses the security of the state, society and individuals. There are still several definitions from several experts regarding the concepts of security and defense to date. This article analyses the forms of contemporary threats related to security and defense and explains their similarities and differences in the study of national resilience aimed at realizing a national security system and development of the national security system in other countries. This article uses a descriptive qualitative research design through literature study and interviews. This article explains that the forms of threats that occur in Indonesia include problems at the border area, SARA intolerance, inequality in bureaucratic reform, not optimal law enforcement, and transnational crime. Similarities and differences in the concepts of security and defense can be seen from the regulations, the concepts used, the institutions and the constitution. This article shows that national resilience is influenced by national defense and security. The safe condition of a country is inseparable from the security and defense factors alone but is synergized with each other factors such as economic, political, legal, social, cultural, ideological, geographic, demographic and natural resources.*

Keywords: *defense, national security, national resilience, security*

Introduction

After the World War II, state is considered to be the main actor in creating security that aims to ensure the welfare of its people through the provision of economy, social service, health, education, law, order, jobs, and infrastructure. Thus, the state continues to maintain its main role in the economic, political, social and cultural life for its citizen.[4]

Security comes from Latin *securus* which means freedom from danger, fear and threats.[5] There are two approaches to define security: the first is traditional definition, namely the security of a state that can be intervened by military forces

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[4] Christian Fjader, "The Nation-State, Nation Security and Resilience in the Age of Globalization", *Journal Resilience,* Vol. 2, No.2, 2014, pp. 114-129.
[5] P.H. Liotta, "Boomerang Effect: The Convergence of National and Human Security", *Security Dialogue,* Vol. 4, 2002. pp. 473-488.

Table 1. Security Concept Matrix

	Traditional	Non-Traditional
Source of Threat	Enemy State	Non-State: domestic and transnational
Nature of Threat	Military capability	Non-military: geography, population, natural resources, ideology, politics, economy, sociocultural, defense and security
Provider of Security	State	State, international organization, individual
Core value	National independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty	Economic welfare, human rights, environmental protection

Source: Academic Draft of National Security Bill, 2016

from other countries and must be protected by the country with its military power. In this approach, the state is both a subject and an object in creating security; the second is non-traditional definition, namely security which is focused on the security needs of non-state actors.[6]

Defense can be argued to be state's main instrument to create national security, even though the term national security has developed since late 1940 that takes territory, sovereignty as well as citizens into account. State's duties and authorities to create national security makes defense one of the key elements in public sector. Funding for national security has special status because it is a prerequisite for national stability, economic and social advancement, politics, health and democratic system.[7]

Bambang Pranowo argues that national security is a dynamic condition of a nation that includes all dimensions of national life and is integrated in dealing with threats, challenges, interferences and obstacles (ATGH). The concept of national resilience is a manifestation of Pancasila and 1945 Constitution, in this case, the third principle of Pancasila is translated in the 1945 Constitution as unitary state.[8]

[6]Al A'raf, "Dinamika Keamanan Nasional", *Jurnal Keamanan Nasional,* Vol. 1, No.1, 2015, pp. 28-29.

[7]Vladan Holcner dan Drazen Smiljanic, "Sustainability of Defense Sector and Stability of Defense Expenditure", in Proceedings of the 22nd International Conference Current Trends in Public Sector Research, (Brno: Faculty of Economics and Administration Department of Public Economics, Masaryk University, 2018), pp. 124-131.

[8]M. Bambang Pranowo, "*Multidimensi Ketahanan Nasional*", (Jakarta: Pustaka Alvabet, S2010), p. 6.

As a condition, national resilience is defined as a national condition that is integrated and synergic as well as continuously nurtured by developing national power to implement national goals. As a conception, national resilience is a strategic foundation to deal with national strategic issues through the 8 aspects of national life approach (astagatra) which consists of 3 natural aspects that are static (trigatra) and 5 social aspects that are dynamic (pancagatra). The explanation is as follows:[9]

1) Natural Gatra (static)
   a) Gatra of Geography
      Indonesia's position according to its intersectional geographic location provides strategic contribution in dealing with global issues.
   b) Gatra of Demography
      Demography in relation to population, whether in terms of quality, quantity, growth, composition, welfare and distribution of population.
   c) Gatra of Natural Resources
      Indonesia's natural resources from all sources, including earth, ocean and air, within the jurisdiction of NKRI. Natural resources is classified into three groups, namely renewable resources, non-renewable resources, and fixed resources.

2) Social Gatra (dynamic)
   a) Gatra of Ideology
      Factors that influence ideological resilience, including the diversity of Indonesian people, development of global ideology, and national development
   b) Gatra of Politics
      Politic is one the social life dimensions related to power, government and democratic process as a form of people's sovereignty.
   c) Gatra of Economics
      Economy is part of national life that is related to the fulfillment of people's needs, consisting of production,

[9]Lemhannas, "*Modul Bidang Studi Geostrategi dan Ketahanan Nasional*", (Jakarta: Lemhannas, 2016), pp. 63-64.

distribution, as well as consumption of goods and services.

d) Gatra of Sociocultural

Sociocultural resilience can be defined as the ability to prevent the influence of foreign culture that is incompatible with the national identity of the people of Indonesia.

e) Gatra of Defense and Security

Defense and security resilience are defined as the ability to maintain defense and security stability, protect state sovereignty, and deal with Threats, Challenges, Obstacles and Interferences (ATGH) from within the country and abroad.[10]

The definition of national security can be seen from two different perspectives. The first is domain perspective which views national spectrum as consisting of external defense, internal security, public order and disaster management. The second is national security perspective which must include state security, communal security, and individual security.

Human security complements state security in four main aspects, namely state's attention to individual and group; threat against communal security which includes threats and conditions that are not always categorized as threat against state security; several other security actors outside the country; as well as human security that does not only protect the people but empower them to be able to fight for themselves.

The United Nations define human security as a comprehensive approach to deal with challenges, causes of inconveniences that are the root of the following problems:

1. Economic insecurity: poverty, unemployment, lack of access to credit and other economic opportunities;

2. Food insecurity: hunger, sudden increases in food prices;

3. Health insecurity: epidemic, malnutrition, poor sanitation, difficult access to health facilities;

4. Environmental insecurity: environmental damage, depletion of natural resources, natural disasters;

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[10]*Ibid*, p. 102.

5. Personal insecurity: all forms of physical violence, human trafficking, and child labor;

6. Community unrest: clashes between ethnicities, religions, SARA, and terrorism;

7. Political insecurity: political tension, violations of human rights, and lack of legal discipline.[11]

A research conducted by Muwiya Bamidele Afolabi reveals that security is related to the presence of peace, security, happiness, and human protection which aims for the development and progress of society. As a concept, security is appropriate for use in psychology, economics, access to information, public safety, defense and military matters.[12]

Artur Victoria in his research discussed that national defense is very important for every nation in order to have state security to ensure security and public order for citizens. National defense is closely related to state security which is not only related to the armed forces/military. To produce state security, the government must have a national defense policy which is understood as the need for security that is owned by every country in dynamic international relations with the diplomatic activities of the Intelligence Agency.[13]

Yohanan Eshel and Shaul Kimhi describes the projection of a new definition of national resilience which is defined as the ability of a nation to successfully overcome its difficulties (poverty, terrorism and corruption) while maintaining the integrity of the social order. This article explains that exposure to terror can lead to high levels of patriotism in war experiences that can change the national interests of each nation.[14]

Elpeni Fitrah explained about the shift in view of security from traditional security to non-traditional security (human security). Indonesia has many considerations for implementing human

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[11]United Nation Trust Fund for Human Security, *"Human Security Handbook: An Integrated Approach for the Realization of the Sustainable Development Goals and the Priority Areas of the International Community and the United Nations System",* (New York: United Nations, 2016), p. 7.

[12]Muyiwa Bamidele Afolabi, "Concept of Security", in https://www.researchgate.net/publication/303899299, 23 July 2016, accessed on 4 July 2020.

[13]Artur Victoria, "Nation-National Defense and Security-Introduction", in https://zenodo.org/record/1296358#.X6gXyWgzZnK, DOI:10.5281/zenodo.1296358, 22 june 2018, accessed on 21 April 2020.

[14]Yohanan Eshel and Shaul Kimhi, "A New Perspective on National Resilience: Components and Demographic Predictors", *Journal of Community Psychology*, Vol. 44, No. 7, 2016, p. 833-844.

security in order to reduce poverty, low education levels, underdevelopment, natural damage, terrorism and death. With the passage of the National Security Bill, it is hoped that it can embody the view of human security in the security laws and regulations in Indonesia which aim to protect and guarantee the security of every citizen.[15]

The next research by Rizal A. Hidayat titled "Keamanan Manusia dalam Perspektif Studi Keamanan Kritis Terkait Perang Intra-Negara (Human Security under Critical Security Study Perspective regarding Intra-State War)" describes the approach to critical security studies with analysis of the security sector and the concept of securitization related to intra-state conflict/war, which can emerge from all aspects of human life. The threat to human security in intra-state warfare has various consequences in the economic, social, military, political and cultural fields. The critical security approach affirms the concept of security that is free from the pressure of opposing military security or non-military security.[16]

From the five studies above, it can be concluded that the purpose of security

has changed from traditional to non-traditional, which initially only included elements of sovereignty and territory towards human security to protect all citizens in economic welfare, protection of human rights and protection of the environment. Human-oriented security means that every citizen must be freed from threats, obstacles, challenges which include poverty, oppression, epidemics, poor education and economic crises.

In Indonesia, the concept of security and defense is still plagued by varying perceptions, which causes our country to not have a legislative policy related to national security, so sectoral egos often occur when facing security threats. This study aims to analyze the forms of contemporary threats related to security and defense in Indonesia as well as to analyze the similarities and differences between the concept of security and defense which are associated with the study of national security. This research will also review the development of national security systems in other countries, namely the European Union, Japan, and Turkey which already have a coordination structure with the

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[15]Elpeni Fitrah, "Gagasan Human Security dan Kebijakan Keamanan Nasional Indonesia", *Jurnal Insignia,* Vol. 2, No. 1, April 2015, p. 27-41.

[16]Rizal A. Hidayat, "Keamanan Manusia Dalam Perspektif Studi Keamanan Kritis Terkait Perang Intra-Negara", *Journal of International Studies,* Vol. 1, No.2, May 2017, pp. 108-129.

National Security Council which discusses the focus of handling threats in realizing a national security system. It is hoped that this research can provide input and study that can build a shared perception about security and defense to policy makers and regulations related to national security. This study on national resilience seeks to create a national security system that can protect and defend state sovereignty.

An approach that is in accordance with this research is Comprehensive Security which is described by Mely Caballero-Anthony as a broader security concept, but still centered on the state which is the embodiment of Indonesia's national resilience. Furthermore, the concept of Human Security according to the United Nations Human Security Handbook is an approach to assist countries in identifying and overcoming broad and cross-sectoral challenges for human survival. Human Security is expected to be able to bridge the security interests between military security and economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security. Human Security is a comprehensive approach to facing challenges, the causes of inconvenience which are the root of the problem. With the Comprehensive Security and Human Security approaches, this study will embody the doctrine of national resilience as described in the Astagatra approach.

Research Methods
The method used by the authors in this study is a qualitative method and the results of the study are descriptive. According to Neuman, descriptive research is research that provides a firm, detailed representation of a situation, social setting, or relationship.[17] This research explains the efforts made by the government in creating national security by determining who has a role and function in implementing security.

The literature review is conducted by searching 4 databases consisted of various journals and articles related to: 1) security, 2) defense, 3) national security, and 4) national security. The authors used primary data sources from 2 Echelon III level officials of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, while secondary data was obtained from literature studies, both books and

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[17]W. Lawrence Neuman, *"Metode Penelitian Sosial: Pendekatan Kualitatif dan Kuantitatif Edisi Ketujuh. Social Research Methods: Qualitative* *and Quantitative Approaches, 7th Edition",* (Jakarta: PT. Indeks, 2017), pp. 44-46.

electronic media. Data collection techniques were carried out by conducting interviews and literature studies that came from the results of studies and documents. The research questions are: What is the concept of security and defense in the study of national defense?; What are the forms of contemporary threats in Indonesia; and what are the similarities and differences in the concepts of security and defense?

According to Creswell, data analysis in qualitative research will go hand in hand with other parts of improving qualitative research, namely data collection and copying of findings.[18] The data validation technique is used as input data to get conclusions from the amount of data obtained. Wrong data will create wrong conclusions, and vice versa.[19]

Results and Discussion
Indonesia is an archipelago consisting of more than 17,000 islands and the largest in the world. Its strategic position which is intersecting with the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean greatly influences the world economic system. Indonesia's geographic location is directly adjacent to 10 neighboring countries in the Asian region; therefore, Indonesia is vulnerable to border disputes and security threats. In accordance with the National Defense Pancagatra, the efforts made by the government to provide security and defense protection are to increase the three main development targets in the security and defense sector through the Minimum Essential Force (MEF), the contribution of the domestic defense industry, and the prevalence rate of drug abuse.

President Joko Widodo mandated Deputy Defense Minister Sakti Wahyu Trenggono to develop a strategic domestic defense industry and also provided support to Minister of Defense Prabowo Subianto.[20] Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto stated that in order to advance the domestic defense weapon system (alutsista) main equipment

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[18] John W. Creswell, "*Research Design (Pendekatan Metode Kualitatif, Kuantitatif, dan Campuran Edisi Keempat),* (Jakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2016). Terjemahan dari *Research Design, Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches, Fourth Edition",* (SAGE Publication, Inc., 2014), p.261**.**

[19] A.C. Alwasilah, "*Pokoknya Kualitatif Dasar-dasar Merancang dan Melakukan Penelitian Kualitatif",* (Jakarta: Pusaka Jaya, 2008), p. 170.

[20] Andhika Prasetia, "Jokowi Tugaskan Wamenhan Trenggono Kembangkan Industri Pertahanan", *in* https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4759528/jokowi-tugaskan-wamenhan-trenggono-kembangkan-industri-pertahanan, 25 October 2019, accessed on 20 March 2020.

industry, cooperation must be held between state companies and private companies in accordance with Law Number 16 of 2012 concerning the Defense Industry (article 11) which stipulates that State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN) is the best industry producing the main equipment industry, and private-owned companies must support the defense industry by providing raw materials.[21]

Other threats related to security in Indonesia include intolerance (SARA), procedural democracy, inequality of bureaucratic reform, high levels of corruption, and inadequate law enforcement. Threats in the form of intolerance manifest in widespread rejection of leaders with different beliefs of 58.4%, then there is identity politics committed by several regional head candidates during the Regional Head Election. The democracy index still has procedural gaps as seen from the gap in civil liberties (78.75%), political rights (72.49%), mass demonstrations that ended in violence (29.22%) in 2015-2017.[22]

In his interview, Pudji Astuti, Associate State Defense Analyst at the Secretariat of the Directorate General of Defense Forces, said that the form of threats that occur in Indonesia is primarily a threat at the border that affects territorial integrity. Handling security issues is not only the domain of the TNI and Polri, but Intelligence also plays a major role in early detection information when a threat occurs.

The border issues between Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, Timor Leste, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Australia, China and Thailand have yet to find a resolution. The impact of the border dispute that occurred resulted in the loss of the islands of Ligitan and Sipadan. This shows that the Indonesian people are not aware of strategic environmental developments that have an impact on the threat of illegal logging, illegal fishing, illegal smuggling, illegal mining, and human trafficking.

The incidents of separatism that occurred in Papua were not much

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[21]Egi Adyatama, "Prabowo: Industri Pertahanan Swasta dan Negeri Bisa Jalan Bersama", *in* https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1279523/prabowo-industri-pertahanan-swasta-dan-negeri-bisa-jalan-bersama, 3 December 2019, accessed on 20 March 2020.

[22]Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, "*Rancangan Teknokratik RPJMN 2020-2024 Indonesia Berpenghasilan Menengah-Tinggi yang Sejahtera, Adil, dan Berkesinambungan*", (Jakarta: Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2019), p. 206.

different from other conflict-prone areas. According to Decky Wospakrik, the Free Papua Organization (OPM) is not satisfied with the policies made by the Indonesian government as long as Papua remains with Indonesia. The goal of the OPM's resistance to break away from the Unitary State of Indonesia (NKRI). The continuation of the resistance and struggle of the OPM took place in various regions in Papua which occurred from 1967 to 2001. Then it was followed by a series of shootings in mountainous areas that deliberately destabilized security in Papua, they were called the Armed Criminal Group (KKB).[23]

The dynamics of Indonesia's future defense threats are shown by the rapid growth of weapons and the increasing threat of non-conventional warfare. Tensions between the United States, China and ASEAN countries will trigger open conflict over the South China Sea. Meanwhile, domestic threats still deal with the threat of separatism from the Armed Criminal Group in Papua as well as natural disasters that have claimed many lives. Until now, defense equipment is still insufficient, including combat aircraft,

rockets, missiles, destroyers and radars. This is due to the limited mastery of technology and system integration.[24]

The next threat is the cyber threat to the development of digital technology which is known as the new hybrid of technology which can cause interference, government spying, economic decline and distrust of the government. Cyber-attacks that occurred between January - August 2018 period included: data theft (network trojan) by 31.71%; attack to take over the system (Access privileged user) by 22.91%; attacks to paralyze the system with a denial of service program (DoS attempt) by 13.98%; information leak by 10.79%; and information leak attempts by 12.62%.[25]

Similarities and differences regarding the concepts of security and defense can be seen from the regulations, institutions, and concepts used in their implementation. State Defense Analyst at the Secretariat of the Directorate General of Defense Strategy of the Ministry of Defense, M. Erni Sri Murtiningsih in her interview conveyed that the similarities in the conception of security and defense itself can be seen

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[23]BBC News, "Penembakan Nduga: Beda dengan teroris, gerilyawan Papua punya 'hubungan dengan warga'", in https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-

46498239, 9 December 2018, accessed on 2 January 2020.
[24]Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, *op. cit,* p. 223.
[25]*Ibid.*

from the regulations and concepts adopted. Based on regulations, the conceptions of security and defense are both based on Pancasila as the basis of the state by embodying all the principles contained therein. The concept of security and defense is based on the preamble of the 4th paragraph of the 1945 Constitution.

The difference between the conceptions of security and defense applied in Indonesia can be seen by looking at the regulations/constitution and organizational institutions. Based on the applicable regulations in Indonesia, the concept of security and defense has different meanings by each institution, on the basis of TAP MPR Number VI/MPR/2000 concerning the Separation of TNI and Polri, TAP MPR Number VII/MPR/2000 concerning the Role of the TNI and Polri, Law Number 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian National Police, Law Number 3 of 2002 concerning State Defense, and Law Number 34 of 2004 concerning the TNI. As an institution, the Police are directly responsible to the President, while the TNI is under the coordination of the Ministry of Defense.

Table 1. Similarities and Differences between Defense and Security

No	Similarities	Differences
1	Regulation: based on Pancasila Concept: preamble to the 4th paragraph of the 1945 Constitution "... protect all the people of Indonesia and their entire native land, and in order to improve the public welfare, to advance the intellectual life of the people and to contribute to the establishment of a world order ..."	Regulation: TAP MPR Nomor VI/MPR/2000 concerning Separation of TNI and Polri. TAP MPR Nomor VII/MPR/2000 concerning the Role of TNI and Polri. Law Number 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian National Police. Law No. 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense. 5. Law Number 34 Year 2004 concerning Indonesian Armed Forces.
2		Institution: TNI is under the coordination of the Ministry of Defense. The National Police is directly responsible to the President.

Source: author, 2020

The principles that are implemented to increase resilience include the principles of welfare and security, the principle of kinship, the principle of introspection, and the principle of comprehension. The essence of national resilience, namely to regulate and

Table 2. National Defense Index
2015-2019

GATRA	Yr 2015	Yr 2016	Yr 2017	Yr 2018	Mar 2019
Geography	2.41	2.68	2.56	2.73	2.71
Demographics	2.83	2.96	3.18	3.32	3.32
Natural Resources	2.77	2.56	2.58	2.78	2.78
Ideology	2.23	2.06	2.06	2.44	2.44
Political	2.39	2.43	2.43	2.67	2.67
Economy	2.63	2.73	2.76	2.86	2.86
Socio-cultural	2.20	2.14	2.16	2.30	2.30
Defense and security	2.82	3.08	3.08	2.79	2.75
National Resilience Index	2.55	2.60	2.63	2.69	2.69

Source: Labkurtannas Lemhannas, 2019

implement security and safety based on kinship which contains the values of justice, wisdom, mutual cooperation and responsibility, fosters living conditions based on the values of independence, and the scope is comprehensive and integral.[26]

Based on the national resilience index above, the condition of national resilience is quite resilient, although there are 2 factors, namely ideological resilience (2.44) and socio-cultural resilience (2.30) which fall into the less resilient category. According to Dadan Umar Daihani as Head of the National Resilience Measurement Laboratory of the National Defense Institute (Labkurtannas Lemhannas), ideological resilience is still not strong. This is due to several factors, including: the possibility of a group or community deviating from the basis of the state ideology of Pancasila and planning to replace it with another ideology, which is measured using 4 variables, namely: dialogue between religious communities, dynamics of conflict, dynamics of mass physical conflict, and tolerance. Socio-cultural resilience is still low, possibly caused by a lack of respect for others, discipline and a culture of discipline in the community that is still low in the public space, the rise of fake news or hoaxes which are measured using the conflict intensity variables of government officials, drugs, and education.[27]

[26]Hari Mulyono, *"Geostrategi dan Ketahanan Nasional, Bahan Ajar Matrikulasi Lembaga Ketahanan Nasional"*, (Jakarta: Lemhannas, 2018).

[27]Yopi Makdori, "Lemhannas: Indeks Ketahanan Nasional Indonesia Cukup Tangguh", *in* https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/3948215/lemhannas-indeks-ketahanan-nasional-

To realize a comprehensive and mutually supportive national security, it is not only the responsibility of the TNI and Polri as the main forces but also all relevant Ministries, Institutions, Central Government and Regional Government and community participation as mandated by the 1945 Constitution. the state is implemented through Sishankamrata, namely the people as a supporting force. The existence of state institutions including Ministries, Institutions, Central Government and Local Governments as well as Non-Governmental Organizations must be rooted in the national interest in order to achieve the goals and ideals of the state.

With the increasing number of threats that interfere with Indonesia's security and defense, it is hoped that a legal umbrella for the national security system will exist. Currently our country already has laws related to security actors but they have not synergized with each other in their implementation. Therefore, it is hoped that Indonesia will have laws related to national security such as those that have been enforced by many countries, namely the creation of

National Security Council. Following are developments in national security in several countries:

European Union

The security and defense strategies carried out by the European Parliament include: The European Commission proposes a European defense action plan on November 30, 2016 to play a role in the main power of the defense industry to meet Europe's current and future security needs and to improve the Union strategic autonomy and strengthening cooperation with related partners by proposing a defense fund to the European Defense Fund which was passed in June 2017. It is hoped that it can make a significant contribution to the strategic autonomy and competitiveness of the European defense industry, including small and medium enterprises (SME). Collaborative research in innovative defense technology and products are funded from the European Union budget, in the fields of metamaterials, electronics, software and robots.[28]

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indonesia-cukup-tangguh, 23 April 2019, accessed on 5 January 2020.

[28]Elena Lazarou & Alina Dobreva, "Security and Defense", *Journal European Parliamentary Research Service*, PE 635.533, June 2019.

The European Union currently has 16 Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) civilian missions and military operations on 3 continents, with multiple mandates and deploying more than 5,000 civilians and military personnel. Among other functions, the mission provides strategic advice on the development of a national counter terrorism and organized crime strategy. As part of efforts to improve European security and defense, the EU signed two joint declarations on cooperation with NATO in 2016 and 2018. There are currently 74 proposals for cooperation in areas such as the threat of a hybrid of operational cooperation, irregular migration, cybersecurity; defense industry, joint training; support for partner capacity building efforts, terrorism; women; peace and security; and military mobility.[29]

According to the European Commission, between 2015-2020, the European Union has 3 main priorities in the security strategy agenda, namely terrorism, organized crime and cybercrime. First, dealing with terrorism attacks in Europe (Paris, Copenhagen, Brussels) that pose a potential threat to internal security. Second, dealing with trans-border organized crime such as human trafficking, illegal firearms trafficking, drug smuggling, financial market infiltration and environmental damage. Third, dealing with cybercrime, which is a growing threat when commerce and banking shift online, has the potential to cause major losses. Cyber criminals can come from outside Europe to destroy critical infrastructure, cyber terrorism threats and hybrid threats can misuse anonymization techniques and anonymous payment mechanisms for illegal drug or weapons transactions, money laundering criminal transactions. Live broadcasting (streaming) also has potential to cause child abuse by sexual exploitation of children.[30]

Japan

Since losing in World War II, Japanese security and defense has been under the responsibility of the United States. Under Article 9 of the 1947 Constitution, Japan's military power is restricted. Doughlas MacArthur in 1950 ordered the formation of the National Police Force as the Japanese national security force which

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[29]*Ibid.*
[30]European Commission, *"Communication from The Commission to The European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social* *Committee and The Committee of The Regions: The European Agenda on Security"*, (Strasbourg: European Commission, 2015), p. 12.

later changed its name to Self-Defense Force (SDF) in 1954 as a military force. The military umbrella that the United States gave Japan was used to minimize its military spending and focus more on economic and social growth.[31]

Based on the National Security Strategy (2013), Japan's current threats are: 1) environment and global security challenges, 2) proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, 3) international terrorism, 4) conflicts of interest, 5) threats to human security, 6) global economic risks. Under the constitution, Japan has efficiently built up an effective and comprehensive defense force that is oriented exclusively to defense and does not become a military force that poses a threat to other countries. The defense function rests entirely with executive power.[32]

Japan established a security strategy called the National Security Strategy (NSS) with a Proactive Contribution to Peace policy to discuss important matters related to national security. Strategic approaches to national security include: 1) Strengthening and expanding Japan's capabilities and roles; 2) Strengthen alliances with the United States; 3) Proactive contribution to the peace and stability of the international community; 4) Increase cooperation in solving global problems; 5) Strengthen domestic and global understanding.[33]

Turkey

Turkey has a National Security Council (NSC) which in Turkish is named Milli Guvenlik Kurulu (MGK). It is a government agency used by the President of Turkey for national security considerations and an inter-agency coordinator regarding security policies. The first steps taken by Turkey regarding national security were based on the Supreme Defense Assembly in 1933 and it has gone through various changes in security perceptions that continue to develop. The NSC is the highest coordinating council that meets every two months on a constitutional

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[31]Aditya Handi Pradipta, *Kebijakan Shinzo Abe dalam Kebijakan Keamanan Jepang*, Skripsi, (Yogyakarta: Program Studi Hubungan Internasional Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, 2019), pp. 1-2.

[32]Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet. "National Security Strategy", in http://japan.kantei.go.jp/96_abe/documents/2013/, 17 December 2013, accessed on 20 January 2020.

[33]Ministry of Defense, "*Defense of Japan 2019*", (Japan: Ministry of Defense, 2019), p. 202.

platform that aims to exchange views on threats to national security.[34]

Turkey's National Security Council (NSC) was established under Law No. 2945 dated 9 November 1983 which refers to the 1982 Constitution. With an organizational structure consisting of 10 members led by the President with members consisting of the Vice President, Minister of Justice, Minister of Defense, Minister of Home Affairs, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, and Commander of the Armed Forces (Land, Sea and Air). Turkey's perception of security refers to the European Security Strategy in 2003, with a focus on the problem of terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, transnational crime, socio-economic threats, epidemics, and environmental problems. Turkey underwent several reforms with the aim of strengthening civilian control over the military which limited the military's role in politics.[35]

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Based on the development of national security in several countries above, it can be concluded that the types of threats related to security and defense for the time being are almost the same, namely terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, transnational crime, epidemics, socioeconomic, and cybercrime. Legislation related to national security is very necessary in order to determine the escalation of threats that occur and to create synergy and integration between institutions in dealing with multidimensional threats.

Conclusion

In principle, people want to feel safe because they want to protect their livelihood. Furthermore, people are social beings that want not only to protect themselves, but in a broader sense, they

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[34]Republic of Turkey Secretariat General of The National Security Council. "About the National Security Council", in www.mgk.gov.tr, 2018, accessed on 17 March 2020.

[35] *Ibid.*
[36] *Ibid.*

want to be part of a growing and respectable community, nation, and state.

Defense and security are the comprehensive manifestation of all of the potentials of national power which consists of human resources, whether military or non-military, natural resources, man-made resources, supporting facilities, knowledge, and territorial area used to achieve national goals. National defense is one of the main instruments to create national security. Relevance and capability of defense sector in carrying out its functions is based on defense budget created through long-term defense planning.

Forms of contemporary threats related to defense and security in Indonesia includes border dispute, South China Sea conflict, Armed Criminal Group separatism, intolerance (SARA), prevalence of corruption crime, illegal logging, illegal fishing, human trafficking, child labor, narcotics distribution, terrorism and radicalism, cyber-threat, as well as non-fulfillment of Minimum Essential Force in primary weapon system (alutsista), non-optimal legal enforcement and certainty, prevalence of layoff, and inequality in development.

Similarities between the concept of defense and security can be seen from its regulation and concept. Regulation concerning defense and security refers to Pancasila whereas the concept refers to the 4th paragraph of the Preamble to 1945 Constitution. The difference between the conception of defense and security can be seen from the constitution and institution. There are several laws and regulations that stipulate the duties and functions of TNI and Polri as security actor, as well as several laws concerning the implementation of defense and security. Institution-wise, TNI is under the coordination of Ministry of Defense while Polri is directly responsible to the President.

In some countries (European Union, Japan, and Turkey), there are laws and regulations concerning national security that function as cross-institutional coordination platform to deal with threats by establishing National Security Council. This council is expected to protect the nation from all threats and interferences, maintain security stability, and national development.

Recommendations

In an effort to create defense and security, it is necessary to stipulate rigid

definition about the concept of national security. This concept dictates the security actors involved in any threat according to the escalation of such threat.

With regard to the contemporary and future dynamics of threat, the government is expected to possess legal foundation that can mitigate national security-related threats. To create national security system, the National Security Bill should be immediately passed in order to formulate strategic policy about the implementation of national security that is integrated with all security-providing agencies that will eventually form into a National Security Council.

The author expects the result of this study to form the basis for a shared perception between policy-makers in the field of national defense and security. Furthermore, it is hoped that this study can provide input and in-depth study for the formulation of National Security Law.

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