

CORRUPTION AS PART OF PROXY WAR: EFFORTS TO ERADICATE THE DANGER OF CORRUPTION IN INDONESIA

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Abstract – Corruption is the main enemy of the nation. However, corruption is a totally different battlefield from the regular terminology of war that we understand. This type of war is a war without weapons, without an army and territories. This war is a battle that does not attack with a rifle, but attacking the human conscience with the temptations of materialism. Corruption can harm the development of the Indonesian economy, and impoverishing our people. Corruption resulting in the destruction of the national order in Indonesia, in almost every sectors. That is why the writers considers that corruption is part of a proxy war. Enforcement measures only not enough to combat the corruption, it require preventive action so that these threats will not become an embedded culture. Therefore, the civil defense program may be used as an effective means to eradicate corruption. In this paper, the writers wants to elaborate that corruption is part of a proxy war, and also how the civil defense program could be used to eradicate corruption in Indonesia.

Keywords: Corruption, poverty, proxy war, state defense and defending the country

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Background

In several occasions, the Chief of the Indonesian National Army (TNI) Gen. Gatot Nurmantyo has mentioned that Indonesia is currently facing a new war threats, which he called as the proxy war. The term proxy war itself is not a new terminology because it has long been used. However, the variance and coverage of the war today as referred by the army commander is very different from of the past. Today's proxy war is a war without solid form, it is unclear who is the enemy or ally. The commander mentioned some examples of proxy war as armed rebellion, mass demonstrations, adverse regulatory, as well as intergroup conflict.³

On another occasion, the commander also said that the next war is a war for food, water, and energy. According to him, there are many ways performed by foreign country to dominate Indonesia's natural wealth. He also added that the proxy war has been felt because it has already infiltrated into the joints of the state and nation. The trick is by controlling the media in

³ Merdeka, "Proxy war, the war dreaded by General Gatot has happened in Indonesia", in <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/proxy-war-perang-yang-ditakuti-jenderal-gatot-terjadi-di-indonesia.html>, accessed on 20 January 2017.

Indonesia, provoking the military and police, social engineering, cultural change, pitting the political party against each other, and the drug smuggling have been long operated. State opposition will finance all the needs required in return for the opposing forces destruction. The third parties, that is non-state actors, can take form as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), mass organizations, community groups, or individual.⁴

In theory, war does have many forms, some of which are symmetrical and asymmetrical. Proxy war itself is a war using a third party who is involved in a war or armed conflict.⁵ J. Suryo Prabowo set a good example in his book about the use of third-party in a war to destroy the government of a country is a much cheaper and effective war, for at least damaging to a sovereign country.⁶

According to military experts from the University of Defense, Yono Reksodiprojo, a proxy war is a term that refers to the conflict between the two

⁴ Rappler, "Food prices rise, the Army Commander remind Proxy War", in <http://www.rappler.com/Indonesia/134,777-food-price-rise-and-the-commanders-of-the-military-proxy-war>, accessed on January 20, 2017.

⁵ J. Suryo Prabowo, *Operation against Insurgence: Not just a military operation*, (Jakarta: National Strategy Research Center, 2013), page. 7.

⁶ *Ibid*, page. 19.

countries, where the state is not necessarily directly involved in the war because it involves a proxy or representative or accomplice. Proxy war could also be considered as part of asymmetric warfare mode. Different types conventional war, irregular and asymmetric warfare is not limited by the extent of the amount of combat power or combat zones. Tendency of war in the future will make it possible to be done covertly, and can cause fatal paralysis. Utilizing third parties to pave the interests of a country is seen as more effective than face to face in diametric war.⁷

With more understanding about the proxy war, writer will discuss about corruption. Corruption is the actions and decisions on the financial manipulation that harms the economy. Corruption is defined as abuse of government power for personal benefit⁸ The definition or origin of the word corruption itself comes from the Latin *corruptio* or *corruptus*, which in English defined as

⁷ CNN, "Soekarno Predicting the Threat of Proxy War in Indonesia", <http://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20151220194759-20-99440/soekarno-sudah-ramalkan-ancaman-perang-proxy-di-indonesia/>, accessed on 12 Januari 2017.

⁸ Karlina Helmanita and Sukron Kamil (ed), *Anti-Corruption Education in University*, (Jakarta: CSRC UIN, 2011), page. 28.

corruption. Definition of corruption literally means evil, rotten, corrupt, and can be bribed.⁹

Observing the trend of war today as an invisible war, formless, and not a direct war, the writer argue that proxy war is a form of war carried out by the party with different interest. We can observe the current world political constellation which likely lead to the characteristics of war that are consistent with the nature of proxy war. War was conducted covertly (pseudo) therefore anyone who has a strategic importance in the war is still not directly involved, nor being noticed.

The conditions is closely related with the corruption situation in Indonesia. Because corruption disrupting the formation of state and nation's life in Indonesia, in almost every sectors, thus the writer consider that corruption is part of a proxy war. If it happens continuously, the nation's sovereignty and security will be seriously threatened. Upon that rationale, in this paper the writer wanted to elaborate that corruption is part of proxy war, and also

⁹ Ermansyah Djaja, *Eradicating Corruption with KPK: Normative Judicial Review on Law No 31 of 1999 juncto Law No 20 of 2001 version Law No 30 of 2002*, (Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2009), page. 6.

how the state defense program can be used to defend the country in combating the danger of corruption in Indonesia.

Corruption is Impoverishing

Corruption is the main enemy of this nation. Many young people are impoverished because of corruption, where on the other side of the perpetrators are enjoying abundant wealth. Corruption is an invisible war. Conventional warfare requires a large-scale conflict between (some) countries or within the country, on issues related to sovereignty and territorial integrity of a country; hostility between the two countries or nations; great armed battle between the two armed forces (army, troops, rebels, and the like) or more; fights or conflict; and how to express hostility.¹⁰

However, corruption is a far different battle from the usual terminology of war that we understand. This type of war is a war without weapons, without an army and without territories. This war is a battle that does not attack with rifles, but attacking the human conscience with temptations of materialism. The difficulty in fighting on

¹⁰ Jerry Indrawan, *Strategy and Security Study*, (Depok: Nadi Pustaka, 2015), page. 95.

this kind of war is that we are fighting our own people.

Furthermore, the related question is whether corruption is a kind of proxy war, the writer would clearly said yes. Corruption has negative impact on the Indonesian economy. In this case, one of the reasons why Indonesia's economic growth is difficult to increase from 6%, especially after the reform, is due to the high level of corruption in the country. According to the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) released by Transparency International in 2015, Indonesia's score is 36 and occupy rank 88 from 168 being measured. The range of CPI score is 0-100. 0 means that a country is perceived as very corrupt, while score of 100 is perceived as very clean. Average score this year was 43. That means, Indonesia still has score below the average score of global perception. In Southeast Asia, Indonesia is ranked under Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand.¹¹

On this basis, the writer argues that poverty arises, and also remains in Indonesia, because the economy is not

¹¹ Transparency International Indonesia, "Corruption Perceptions Index 2015: Improving Law Enforcement, Strengthening KPK, Improving Public Service", in <http://www.ti.or.id/index.php/publication/2016/01/27/corruption-perceptions-index-2015>, accessed on 21 January 2017.

improving. Then, the level of our economy does not improve because of the high level of corruption. That was the close tied between the economy and corruption. Corruption may jeopardize the economic development of a country. That is why corruption can impoverished the people in Indonesia. This argument is supported by a number of empirical studies indicating that corruption can undermine a country's economic performance.

First, corruption reducing the level of investment, both domestic and foreign. Second, corruption caused distortion in the company's development and growth in the non-formal sector of the economy. Third, corruption led to distortions in production and public investment, and worsening physical infrastructure. Fourth, reducing public revenues and hinder the opportunity to enforce the law in the public interest. And fifth, corruption would hurt the poor.¹²

Why corruption can result in enormous losses on the Indonesian economy? There are some basic

explanation that could explain it. First, as already mentioned, the loss of investment opportunities in the country has resulted in the deterioration of per capita growth rate of about one percentage unit. In some cases there has been a decline in the number of direct investments caused by corruption practices.¹³

Second, sometimes it also happens that "advonturir" investors are kicking out the good investors. (Bad investors drive good investor out phenomenon). According to the new growth theory, this phenomenon will reduce the effect of the increasing change in total productivity of the production factors (the combination of capital, labor, technology in production activities in the real sector) in Indonesia, which in turn will reduce the long term growth per capita.¹⁴

Third, corruption can also reduce the quality of physical infrastructure, which in turn can raise transaction costs and reduce the competitiveness of the private sector in the global market. This condition as seen in five category of infrastructure including roads, blackout turn, telecommunications disruption,

¹² Hamid Basyaib, Richard Holloway, and Nono Anwar Makarim (ed), *Stealing the People's Money: 16 Corruption Analysis in Indonesia, Book 3: Foreign Aid, Private, SoC*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Aksara, 2002), page. 2-3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp.180. 17.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, page. 17-18

leakage in water supply, and the use of diesel for railways. A country with rampant corruption usually has poor infrastructure. Moreover, countries with high corruption levels typically have low budget allocation for operational and maintenance expenditures. This eventually decrease the productivity of public expenditure and the resulting in the declining quality of infrastructure.¹⁵

Fourth, corruption tends to reduce spending in the social sector, including spending on health and education. The decline in the budget for this two budget items will consequently limiting the growth potential, especially in increasing productivity. According to the new growth theory and the experience of industrial countries, and newly industrialized countries, the quality of human capital play an important role not only in the growth process, but also in reducing income inequality. This practice is also taking place in Indonesia, where spending on social sector was smaller than the average for similar posts in the industrialized countries, as well as in new countries just entering the industrial era.¹⁶

¹⁵ *Ibid*, page. 18.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, page. 18-19.

Fifth, corruption also reduces potential tax revenue, mainly due to the growth in the sector of informal economy. Oversize retribution cost and the practice of buying and selling positions of authority within the formal economy has encouraged more companies to shift their business to the informal sector and pay less tax. The fall in tax revenues related to the reduction of key public services, such as law enforcement, low income of government officials.

These conditions increase the range of the informal economy and increase the incentives for corruption. These symptoms indicate a negative relationship between the ratio of public incentives, as well as personal and corruption. Corruption practices have resulted in the difference between the rate of actual and potential economic growth in Indonesia by 0.81 to 1.2 percentage units. The corruption cost is likely to grow due to the doubling impact and performance degradation of Indonesia in taking action against corruption practices.¹⁷

The five explanations above proves the writer's initial assumption whereas corruption is highly influential on a

¹⁷ *Ibid*, page. 19.

country's economy, which in turn lead to poverty. The effort in eradicating poverty has become increasingly difficult because of corruption issues. This is because the poor do not have money to bribe government officials, including the lack of access in the political world. Following are the five adverse impact of corruption on the poor.

First, corruption makes them receiving less social service. Second, investment in infrastructure projects tend to neglect projects for supporting the poor people. Third, poor people can be exposed to a regressive tax. Fourth, the poor face difficulties in selling their agricultural produce due to high marketing costs, particularly those associated with retribution, both legal and illegal. And fifth, decreased ability to break out of poverty chain due to the intergenerational transmission of poverty caused by the inability to increase competitiveness capacity.¹⁸

The impact of corruption is very obvious for the case of Indonesia. Most of the state expenditures in Indonesia tend to be anti-poor. For example, subsidies which were originally intended for even income distribution for the poor people proved to favor only the wealthy

¹⁸ *Ibid*, page. 19-20.

people. For example, fuel subsidy has been 70% - 90% enjoyed by the wealthy, which in turn lowering the share of expenditure on economic activity dominated by the poor groups.¹⁹

Corruption as part of Proxy War

Reflecting to the argument conveyed by the writer on the previous section, the writer feel the urgency to brought up the theme of corruption as part of proxy war on this paper. Corruption seems to be having a major impact on the survival of a nation. In fact, Indonesia's per capita income could rise 1.5 times higher than the current value if we are able to reduce the level of corruption at least to the level of corruption in Malaysia, which ranked at number 88 on International Country Risk Guide Index (ICRG).²⁰

Only a few people were able to enjoy the benefit of the natural wealth of this nation. The rest just enjoy the crumbs, like in the economic theory "trickledown effect" of the New Order, which assume that a handful of wealthy people will distribute their wealth to a larger group of people. Obviously this is not in accordance with the principles of

¹⁹ *Ibid*, page. 20

²⁰ *Ibid*, page. 21

Pancasila that this country was built on the basis of social justice for all Indonesian people, not just a group of selected people.

Power has turn human being vulnerable against the instinct to dominate. In many cases, no moral is able to control the desire for power, conversely it might turned everything upside down for the sake of power lust. It is quite obvious, that the holders of power are very powerful agents of decay, and of course very corrupt because corruption in Latin language is *corruptio*, which means decay. So, corruption is not just a matter of embezzlement and robbery of state money. People will be seriously damaged if the extent of corruption is too malignant that it might destroy the ethics of living together as community. Clarity, wit, and sensitivity to coexist as community will be vanished.²¹

The army commander clearly stated that proxy war is intangible and formless war. In proxy war, we cannot identified our ally and enemy, in fact it was controlled by other country. There are many countries that want to dominate Indonesia's natural resources through

proxy war. This happens because the fertile land of Indonesia, with a very strategic geographical position, and immensely rich with natural resources and biodiversity.²² Corruption is a "war" without form, which is not clear who is the opponent or the ally. Civilian could kill each other just for gaining profit obtained through corruption act.

The Army commander also added that Indonesia is a country rich in natural resources with a vast population.²³ With its huge size of population and abundant natural resource, Indonesia has high potential to become a great and influential country in the international community. Therefore, there are many countries outside Indonesia that wish to inhibit Indonesia from reaching its potential progress. We all know that the natural resources of this nation has been exploited by foreign nations for hundreds of years, even to this day. These conditions has turned our nation

²¹ Maria Hartiningsih (ed), *Impoverishing Poverty*, (Jakarta: Kompas, 2011), page. ix.

²² Unpad, "Alert, Proxy War Striking Various Aspects of Life in Indonesia", in <http://www.unpad.ac.id/2016/03/waspada-proxy-war-menyerang-berbagai-aspek-kehidupan-di-indonesia/>, accessed on 12 January 2017.

²³ Okezone, "The Army Commander Requesting Public to be Aware of Proxy War", in <http://news.okezone.com/read/2016/08/27/337/1474391/panglima-tni-minta-masyarakat-waspada-proxy-war>, accessed on 9 January 2017.

to be highly dependent on foreign support because we are not able to process our own natural resources.

The attitude of always relying on others, or nonetheless not self-sufficient has been cultivating the corruption culture of the nation. History of the state bureaucracy in this country is associated with the Dutch colonial system, where bureaucracy is set up to serve the interests of the Netherlands. Bureaucracy does not operate for the benefit of community, but for serving the ruler. As a result, the corruption, collusion, nepotism, extortion, abuse of office, and others will occur when the bureaucracy has to work with the community.

Compounded with the “Anything to Please the Master” culture among the bureaucrats in serving the ruler, with the consequence of people losing their rights. Such behavior is contagious to the whole society and might eventually become a culture.²⁴ If one sought to destroy a nation, then it must destroy the values. According to Sun Tzu, the good war is if we are able to defeat the enemy without battle.²⁵

²⁴ Gatot Soedarto, *Sun Tzu and the Modern War Art In Ocean Mandala*, (Jakarta: Aksara Karunia, 2003), page. 45.

²⁵ *Ibid*, page. 32.

The writer argues that these conditions must have been engineered by the Netherlands at the colonial time. Dutch obviously do not want the Indonesian people to be smart, educated, and aware that they have only being manipulated. Although Sukarno and other Indonesian independence fighters finally managed to liberate this country, but the corrupt culture is still brought to this day. Moreover, in the era of President Soeharto, the corruption, collusion, and nepotism has been widespread, resulting in a culture of corruption that continue to be preserved until the current reform era.

Aggravated with the ongoing dependencies toward foreign nations on natural resource management. The writer believe that these conditions are deliberately created by parties outside Indonesia so that the country will never developed to its full potential as develop country. Various party are afraid that Indonesia could be major state power like the United States or China. To that end, the culture of corruption was indirectly sustained by those party. The more corrupt a nation, the poorer its people will be.

This condition does not only happen in Indonesia. In some other

countries in the world, especially those having abundant natural resources, also suffer from poverty, one of which is caused by the corruption. According to research of ICRG from 1991-1997, Iraq, Gabon, and Sierra Leone ranked as number 1-3 countries with the highest corruption index. Iraq and Gabon is petroleum-producing countries, while Sierra Leone is renowned as the biggest diamond and crystal in the world. While Indonesia ranked at number 28.²⁶

Thus, the writer argue that a country with abundant natural resources tend to have high levels of corruption. Of course, it is difficult to rule out the fact that this is just a coincidence. Small countries with abundant natural resources, seems to be engineered so as not to develop into industrialized countries, despite the substantial capital to achieve it.

Natural resources sector has great potential to be corrupted. Corruption vulnerabilities in the natural resources sector which are caused by the technical management of natural resources is way too complex, ranging from exploration, licensing, contract, regulation, pricing, distribution, and sales. Natural resource industries tend to be centralized and not

²⁶ Basyaib, *op cit*, page. 26-27.

engaging many players. Control over natural resources is also become the right of the state or local governments. In corrupt countries, this sector become a tool to achieve the goals of ruling political party or individual. On the other hand, most extractive industries have actually benefited from the corruption climate in countries rich in natural resources. Therefore, they can get lucrative contracts, simply by bribing the local officials.²⁷

In connection with this title, the writer then stated that corruption is part of a proxy war that could threaten the defense and security of our nation. As was mentioned earlier, corruption impoverishing the poor people of Indonesia because it inhibits the economic growth. However, on the other hand the consumptive culture of our society is increasing. Indonesia is a market for foreign goods, while not equipped with the capacity to develop mass-produced the local product for export to foreign countries.

The consumptive culture is the root of corruption in Indonesia. This is due to

²⁷ Indonesia Corruption Watch, "Why Country with Rich natural Resources become Poor?" dalam <http://www.antikorupsi.org/en/content/mengapa-negara-kaya-sumber-alam-miskin>, accessed on 21 Januari 2017.

the direct action of a proxy war. The more consumptive a society, the more they get caught in a capitalistic culture that is incompatible with the noble values and culture of the nation. And eventually, for the sake of obtaining something that actually beyond his ability, many people engage in corruption.

Although they might already have an average standard of decent living. However, because of the consumptive culture they had felt the need to get unimportant things, for the sake of prestige. This behaviour called as consumptive, and is part of a proxy war threats because of the selfish attitude and eliminating the patriotism, and generate social indifference.

Although there is no literature that clearly shows that there is a direct correlation between corruption and poverty, but the reality in Indonesia shows that corruption affects the alleviation of poverty. Corruption impedes economic growth as consequences for the abuse of budget allocation against its actual objective. This is ultimately associated with a lower rate of decline in the poverty level.²⁸ In accordance with the definition of

²⁸ Hartiningsih, *op.cit*, page. 26.

corruption as mentioned above, the corruption associated with the financial harm toward the economy.

According to the ICW, corruption spread in five sectors that directly related to the welfare of many people that is the local financial sector, followed by infrastructure, social, education, and land. Including the health, electricity, taxes, transportation, and sports as the top 10 most corrupt sector, it has made corruption become more significantly linked to poverty levels in Indonesia. Thus, corruption not only eroding the education budget or public health, but also damaging the capacity of regulatory, governance, and especially destroying the entire life order in the community.²⁹

Corruption is classified as an extraordinary crime. That is because the act of corruption has violated the social and economic rights of the people. The state financial losses inflicted by corruption is far greater than the explicit number of money being corrupted. This criminal offense is also great damage to society and state life.³⁰ That is why the writer categorize corruption as part of

²⁹ *Ibid*, page. 28-29.

³⁰ Aida Ratna Zulaiha and Sari Angraeni, "Implementing Social Charge as Financial Punishment on Forestry Corruption Case", *Journal Anti- corruption Integrity*, Vol. 2. 1 2016 002 3.

the proxy war. The corruption has a huge impact toward the community and the country as a whole.

In addition, if these people continuously suffer from the economic slowdown, the consequences are also felt by the defense sector, especially on our defense budget. The Indonesia's defense budget has struggle to adjust with the upcoming threat. One indicator in the determination of a country's total defense budget is how the country responds to the threats that arise, both in terms of volume and form. If the state continue to be poor, then Indonesia's defense development in the future will be threatened. The defense budget should be above 2%, at least according to the limitations imposed by NATO in order for a state to defend itself, or else it will never be achieved. Until now, the defense budget allocation is in stagnation on the range of 1% and below.

As in the matter of proxy war, the writer observe it as the outside party attempt to prevent Indonesia from developing its national defense power. They were afraid that Indonesia would be able to return its glorious era of military power as in the era of Sukarno. That is why corruption will continue to thrive, because it is engineered to remain

as such. With more state budget being corrupted, there will be less budget allocated for defense. This affected the decrease in the ability of all components of the nation, not just the Ministry of Defense and Armed Forces, to counter the defense and security threats from the outside, and from within the country.

Efforts to Eradicate Corruption

In developing countries like Indonesia, the wide gap between the rich and the poor has increased the rampant corruption. This is because in these countries corruption has been ingrained, and eventually entrenched in the community. Unfortunately, our culture in Indonesia these days has been co-opted by the culture of corruption, which includes collusion, nepotism, extortion, gratification and others, which already categorized as the abuse of authority.

That's why, in a country where corruption has been implemented by almost all levels of society, a threat to national security is no longer coming from outside, but from within the country itself. This is the threat of a proxy war which the military commander referred in his speech, that the war we face today is a formless or intangible war. Corruption is not a threat that can

be addressed by adding the number of defense and security equipment, but by changing the structure of society, to create a cultural change.

Thus, it require not only military readiness in preparing the defense of a country, but also beyond the military threats, ranging from ideology to economic issues. Speaking of the economy, as already discussed earlier whereas corruption is closely related to the economy, then it is only proper if the defense system in Indonesia is started to be designed in adjusting with this kind of threat.

Non-military threats or non-conventional threats such as the above is a new challenge for the military. On one side, the military has to maintain its neutrality in the realm of civil social in order to avoid political involvement as in the New Order era. However, the threat to the national security and defense is now very complex, as already elaborated above by the writer. Relying on police force only would be impossible. Army has to establish itself as the vanguard of the nation's protector, work in coordination with the police to solve this issue.

Regarding corruption, the problem should be viewed as a threat to the unity

of our country. With the adverse effects that corruption impoverishes people, and also have a direct impact on the level of our economy, then it is only appropriate that the military shall take it stand. The Army cannot carry out tasks such as KPK (Commission for Corruption Eradication), the Police and the Attorney in law enforcement against corruption, but the military can play a role in combating corruption.

National defense system should be aligned with the Holsti opinion above, that the defense is considered as the most vital national interest or a core value for the state and related with the existence of a country. In addition, the interests of national security is a form of the wishes and needs of a state in order to protect its people, territory, lifestyles, institutions, and values.³¹ The noble values of Indonesian nation was incompatible with corruption.

Corruption during the post-reform era is regarded as the main enemy of the nation. Therefore, corruption is opposed to the core value of a nation, opposing the national interest, threaten the

³¹ T. Hari Prihartono and Yandry Kasim, "Defense Intelligence: Literature Study and Indonesia's Historical Perspective", in Andi Widjanto (ed), *State, Intelligent, and Fear*, (Jakarta: PACIVIS, 2006), page. 44.

existence of the nation, and not in accordance with the noble values of the Indonesian nation. Therefore, corruption is a threat to our national security and defense. Corruption is part of a proxy war because it is formless, intangible, and difficult to identify the actors (foreigners) behind it.

The military should be involved in the measures to combat corruption, as well as in building an effective national defense system to counter this threat, through the state's defense program. The program is expected to change the public culture to avoid corruptive behavior. The program was proposed by the Ministry of Defense and needs to be implemented seriously and comprehensively, and involving every components of society. An effective national defense can be realized if all components of the nation has followed the national defense program. They will place the state at their foremost interest, thus eliminating any corrupt behavior.

Based on that rationale, the writer presents the argument that in order to face the dangers of rampant corruption in Indonesia, we need a program that could change the community culture to put the nationalism or love for their country as the foremost. Given the

widespread of corruption virus in this country, which resulted in poverty, the state's defense program is an effective tool to be used as part of efforts in eradicating corruption.

Before discussing how the state defense program could be exercised as an effort to deal with corruption, we must understand the definition of national defense in the existing law. According to the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No 3 of 2002, Article 9, Paragraph 1 of the National Defense, to defend the country is the attitude and behavior of citizens who are animated by the love toward the Unitary Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 National Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, in ensuring the survival of the nation, not only as a basic obligation of citizens, but also an honor for the citizen as a form of devotion and willingness to sacrifice for the nation.

The state defense program conducted by the citizens is part of the right and obligation to defend and safeguarding the independence and national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and security of the entire nation from any threat. Defenses manifested through participation in national defense is the responsibility and honor of every citizen.

Therefore, citizens have a duty to participate in the defending the country, except otherwise provided by law.

Thus, it implied an understanding that national defense should be based on awareness about the rights and obligations of citizens, as well as confidence in our own strength. It is stated in the law of national defense, in article 1, paragraph 1, that "the state defense and security is any efforts to defend the nation, the Homeland territorial integrity, and security of the nation from threats and disruption against the integrity of the nation and country".

Former Deputy Minister of Defense Sjafrie Sjamsoeddin had said that manifestation of defending the country can be interpreted in terms of combating corruption. He said that in defending the country, we are not thinking selflessly for our personal benefit, but for the entire nation. Corruption is usually done for the benefit of individuals and groups. So, with our national defense we are erasing any individuals and groups interests. He hopes that all level of society can instill a sense of national defense, to create a sense of belonging and respect.³²

³² Tribun News, "Eradicating Corruption as Form of State Defense", in [http://](http://www.tribunnews.com/nasional/2012/12/19/pemberantasan-korupsi-termasuk-wujud-bela-negara)

Sjafrie then added, that defending the country demanded every citizen not to think selflessly. Corruption is a form of action which is against the effort to defend the country. The attitude of defending the country should continue to be cultivated in order to manifested the sense of belonging and love to the country. The state defense does not only the military liability, but also the responsibility of Indonesian people to fight for the nation. Finally, Sjafrie said that the attitude of defending the country should also be strengthened on the intellectual aspects. This is because the urgency for national defense has been increasing. It can no longer rely on military force but also with intellectuality.³³

Corruption should be prohibited if a country wants to achieve its goal, because if it continuously ignored, people will get used to it and flourished everywhere as well as creating an official mentality that always look for shortcut and will justifies any means to achieve their goals. Therefore, corruption must

www.tribunnews.com/nasional/2012/12/19/pemberantasan-korupsi-termasuk-wujud-bela-negara, accessed on 10 January 2017.

³³ Evening News, "Deputy Minister of Defense: Defending the State Spirit to Suppress Corruption", dalam <http://beritasore.com/2012/12/19/wamenhan-sikap-bela-negara-tekan-korupsi/>, accessed on January 17, 2017.

be addressed comprehensively and responsibly. Corruption would also hampers development, because it harms the country and damage the principle of togetherness and betrayed the ideals of the nation struggle. Here is why the role of state defense becomes important to defend or to protect the homeland from the corruption perpetrators offense.

There are 4 preventive measures that can be implemented to tackle the corruption act within the state defense approach. First, by building and deploying a good work ethics among the government officials and staffs as well as in private sector regarding the clear and poignant separation between personal owned and company-owned or state-owned. Second, work on improving income (salary) for officials and civil servants in accordance with the economic development and the progress of the private sector, so that officers and staff could uphold their dignity and integrity in serving for their position and did not succumb to the temptations and opportunities provided by their authority.

Third, cultivating the sense of pride and self-dignity toward their position and job. The pride for officials and staff is not determine by their abundant wealth, but

instead they were honored for their services to the community and the country. Fourth, to foster understanding and political culture that is open to control, correction and warning, because the powers tend to be misused.³⁴

In practice, according to the civil defense program that has been implemented by the Ministry of Defense, as well as by the military, the indoctrination of nationalism and patriotism values will be more widely applied in the program. The national defense program does not necessarily replacing the actions exercised by Commission for Corruption Eradication in eradicating the corruption instead this program will focus on the dissemination of those values to the learners, tailored with their situation in combating corruption. The values instilled in the nation's defense program is also expected to prevent corruption culture being distributed to all members of the community.

Therefore, the material presented in the course of national defense will share more of the above topics.

³⁴ Journal Patroli News, "Eradicating Corruption as Part of State Defense", in <http://jurnalpatrolinews.com/2015/05/07/pemberantasan-korupsi-sebagai-wujud-bela-negara/>, accessed on January 10 2017

According to the writer, the process of delivering such material will be effective because the target of the state defense program is youth in Indonesia, ranging from high school level to university. The understanding against corruption culture should be started from that level because young children usually are not widely affected by the corruption culture.

In fact, the Ministry of Defense or the military would possibly started applying the state defense program from elementary school since it is the most appropriate age to teach students about materials related to the values of nationalism and patriotism. Children at this age resemble an empty paper for starting to use our ink at. If we teach them good behavior, they would practice until adulthood. Surely civil defense program for such age will be adjusted so that the material is appropriate to be implemented to elementary school children.

State defense has difference approach with conscription. Conscription is a concept of engaging citizens involuntarily to join military institutions that aims to mobilize military forces during war or crisis. Conscription is compulsory to all citizens, especially

men, with average age of 18-45 years old. One summoned for military service usually serve for 1 to 3 years.³⁵

On the basis of the conscription definition above, eliminate the notion that defending the country is similar with conscript program where the participants will be taught how to fight like a soldier. The state defense program have not yet reached that stage. Moreover, we must remember that the greatest threat to this nation is not a military threat, but non-military, thus it is no longer appropriate if we continue to sharpen our battle skills only. As part of a proxy war, corruption must be faced by all Indonesian people, not only by those who have the ability to combat it.

Since the threat of corruption has damaged all the elements of nation's life for decades. The state defense program would be an appropriate approach against such threat in our beloved nation. The materials being delivered in the state's defense program will help the campaign in eradicating corruption which has been voiced by KPK, police, the attorney, and all anti-corruption civil

³⁵ Beni Sukadis, "Developing TNI'S Capability and Conscription", in Beni Sukadis and Eric Hendra (ed), *Total Defense and Military Conscript: Indonesia's Experience and Othe Democracies*, (Jakarta: LESPERSSI, 2008), page. 61.

society. However, the campaign is not enough. It needs a formal and distinguished program with capability to cover all elements of the nation, so that its application will be comprehensive and effective.

Finally, the writer thought that the state defense program is the most effective program to be implemented in Indonesia today. Moreover, with the diversity of threats and challenges toward the nation, has required all its component to be ready in dealing with the upcoming threats. Corruption as part of a proxy war made the eradication measures can no longer be done using the traditional approach, but rather should be contextual. The national defense programs can be the appropriate means to fight it.

Conclusion

Corruption is the manipulative financial actions and decisions that harms the economy. Corruption is also defined as an abuse of governance power for personal gain. Therefore, corruption is the main enemy of this nation. Many young people are impoverished because of corruption, where on the other side of the

perpetrators are enjoying abundant wealth.

Corruption is a battle that is entirely different from the usual terminology of war that we understand. This type of war is a war without weapons, without an army and not limited by territories. This war is a battle that does not attack with rifles, but attacking the human conscience with temptations of materialism. The difficulty in fighting on this kind of war is that we are fighting our own people.

Corruption is part of a proxy war because it has a huge impact on the survival of a nation. Corruption is one of the largest non-conventional threat that this nation is currently facing. With a large population and abundant natural resources, Indonesia has an enormous potential to become a large and influential country in the international community.

Therefore, there are many countries outside Indonesia that wish to inhibit Indonesia from reaching its potential progress. We all know that the natural resources of this nation has been exploited by foreign nations for hundreds of years, even to this day. These conditions has turned our nation to be highly dependent on foreign

support because we are not able to process our own natural resources.

The attitude of always relying on others, or nonetheless not self-sufficient has been cultivating the corruption culture of the nation. The history of the state bureaucracy in this country is associated with the Dutch colonial system, where bureaucracy is set up to serve the interests of the Netherlands. Bureaucracy does not operate for the benefit of community, but for serving the ruler. As a result, the corruption, collusion, nepotism, extortion, abuse of office will occur when the bureaucracy has to work with the community. That's why, in a country where corruption has been implemented by almost all levels of society, a threat to national security is no longer coming from outside, but from within the country itself.

The state defense program conducted by the citizens is part of the right and obligation to defend and safeguarding the independence and national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and security of the entire nation from any threat. The manifestation of national defense can be interpreted in fighting corruption. The national defense program will emphasize on the dissemination of the nationalism and

patriotism values to the learners, tailored as to combat corruption. The values instilled in the nation's defense program is also expected to prevent corruption culture being distributed to all members of the community.

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