

STATE DEFENSE EDUCATION AS A COURSE IN UNIVERSITY

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Abstract - Indonesia currently faces multidimensional threats, from small to large, concerning all aspects of the country's life, from ideology, politics, economics, social, culture, defense, and security. The nature of contemporary threat has a human security aspect rather than only state security. As such, a thorough effort is needed to deal with those Threats, Disruption, Obstacle, Challenge (TDOC). State defense can be the answer to such problems because state defense itself can be interpreted as an obligation and responsibility of citizens to maintain the existence and sovereignty of the state. State defense will be optimal if disseminated through formal education. In this case, the formal education in question is at the level of higher education. This paper proposes that state defense can be held at higher education level in the form of university compulsory course, and is organized under the name State Defense Education. This State Defense Education is not military education or conscription, but an education that is adjusted to the condition and nuance of higher education.

Keywords: Threat, Human Security, State Defense, and State Defense Education

Introduction

Since the era of President Joko Widodo, the government has been very active in socializing state defense (*bela negara*) throughout Indonesia. On the first commemoration of State Defense Day (*Hari Bela Negara*) during the era of President Joko Widodo on 19 December 2014, a commemorative ceremony was held lively to mark the increasingly intensified spirit of defending the country in Indonesia. Previously, the 19 December State Defense Day had been

established in the era of the Sixth President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in 2006.

19 December itself was commemorated as the State Defense Day to commemorate the history of the struggle of the Republic of Indonesia Emergency Government (PDRI) in Bukittinggi, after Yogyakarta fell to the Dutch. On 19 December 1948, Syafruddin Prawiranegara formed PDRI in Bukittinggi. The city finally became the temporary capital of the Republic of Indonesia, and

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raised the moral of all the people to fight back against the Dutch colonizers, who at that time once again tried to regain control of the archipelago through Dutch Military Aggression II.

President Joko Widodo's increasing enthusiasm for state defense is due to the increasingly complex challenges facing the Indonesian people in the era of globalization and millennials. Threats, Disruptions, Obstacles and Challenges (TDOC) that must be answered by this nation are no longer from the outside (external). TDOC that came from outside has transformed from exclusively military (traditional threat) to non-military (non-traditional threat).

Therefore, understanding threats as such requires a different approach, namely through the human security approach rather than state security.³ For this reason, a national movement is needed to raise the moral of all Indonesian to prioritize the interests of the nation and the state above personal or group interests. The state defense movement seems to be the answer to the nature of such threats. This is because state defense is not a method of solving problems through militaristic methods, such as

military education. However, state defense requires the awareness of every human being in the midst of this increasingly borderless world that nationalism and love for the homeland must remain dominant.

For that argument, the author is very interested in the concept of state defense movement echoed by President Joko Widodo. The movement to defend the country strongly uses the concept of human security, which currently has begun to replace the perspective of state security in security studies – a perspective that is highly centered on the power of the state, where the military becomes an essential part of any efforts to deter and resolve threats.

Security studies are currently concerned with the problems related to identity and culture of particular community. The idea of individual security as a collective security is more challenging today than conservative concepts such as state security. This is because security is not only a matter of survival, but also a matter of freedom from unwanted death. State defense is a concept that uses human security perspective because the material taught is not only related to the

³ Jerry Indrawan and Efriza, "State Defense as a Prevention Method of Radicalism Threats in

Indonesia", *Jurnal Pertahanan & Bela Negara*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 2017, p. 2

military, but also how to deal with non-conventional threats.⁴

In regard to state defense, the authors have been quite familiar with this concept since taking a master's degree at Universitas Pertahanan. Furthermore, the authors are permanent lecturer in Political Science department at UPN "Veteran" Jakarta, who declared itself to be the state defense campus. UPN "Veteran" is very concerned about the nation's problems where, as the writer stated at the beginning, TDOC of this nation is no longer from the outside, but from within, and it involves every Indonesian citizen. For this reason, many studies in state defense are carried out in the UPN "Veteran" campus in Jakarta.

Unfortunately, until now these type of studies are still in the form of conferences, discussions, projects, or programs that are ad hoc or temporary. While the authors believe that unconventional threats as explained earlier are real threats that have occurred today. Higher education must be able to become the solution to this problem, not just taking refuge behind the grandeur of the campus. Today's professional and modern tertiary institutions have

integrated themselves strongly with society, nation and state, including how to help them deal with problems that arise.

Temporal studies will not be enough to solve this problem. For this reason, the authors want to launch a new breakthrough, namely to formalize the state defense movement in a standardized and recognized avenue. The avenue is the university, where state defense will be taught as a compulsory university course, separate from Citizenship Education or Pancasila Education which has been a compulsory course in every university in Indonesia. The name of the course is State Defense Education.

As an educator as well as a citizen who loves this nation and country, the authors dedicate themselves to help this movement by disseminating state defense through writings and teaching materials that the authors use on campus. On this basis, this paper would like to propose a program that is related to the dissemination of state defense to the entire Indonesian nation, namely proposing that State Defense Education be included in the higher education curriculum throughout Indonesia as one of the varsity-level compulsory courses.

⁴ Jerry Indrawan, *Strategy and Security Studies*, (Depok: Nadi Pustaka, 2015), p. 3-4.

This paper will discuss academic arguments on how State Defense Education can be used as a compulsory course to be taught in every university throughout Indonesia, for undergraduate and diploma levels. After that, the author will also discuss ten teaching materials that will be taught as part of the State Defense Education curriculum.

Analysis of National Defense Education from the Perspective of Ontology, Epistemology, and Axiology

State defense will not be effective if the dissemination process is carried out in an ad hoc manner, such as conferences, discussions, workshops, or short education. State defense must be included in the education curriculum in Indonesia. The intangible nature of contemporary threat makes movements related to social movements must be carried out massively and structurally. Partially-implemented dissemination of state defense movement will not be effective or optimal. The authors are aware that changing the curriculum at every level of education in Indonesia does require considerable time and energy. For this reason, the authors propose for the state defense curriculum to be taught only at varsity level as the early stage.

State defense will thus be courses called State Defense Education (*Pendidikan Bela Negara*), which will be taught to every student at undergraduate, graduate, or diploma level. We may refer to the law to discuss the possibility of including State Defense Education as a varsity-level curriculum. In that regard, Law No. 12 of 2012 on Higher Education, specifically Article 5 paragraph 2, Article 8 paragraph 2 and Article 9 paragraphs 1, 2, and 3, reads as follows:

- Article 5 point b: “Produce graduates who master the Branch of Science and/or Technology to fulfill national interests and increase the competitiveness of the nation.”
- Article 8 paragraph 2: “The Development of Science and Technology as referred to in paragraph (1) is carried out by the Academic Community through learning and/or scientific research by upholding religious values and national unity for the advancement of civilization and the welfare of humanity.”
- Article 9 paragraph 1: “Academic freedom as referred to in Article 8 paragraph (1) is the freedom of the Academic Community in Higher Education to explore and develop Science and Technology responsibly

through the implementation of *Tridharma* (three principles of higher education).”

- Article 9 paragraph 2: “The freedom of academic speech as referred to in Article 8 paragraph (1) is the privilege of the professor and/or lecturer who has the authority and scientific mastery to openly and responsibly declare something that is in accordance with the science and branch of science it has an authority of.”
- Article 9 paragraph 3: "Scientific autonomy as referred to in Article 8 paragraph (1) is the autonomy of the Academic Community in a branch of Science and/or Technology in finding, developing, disclosing, and/or maintaining scientific truth according to rules, scientific methods, and academic culture. "

The author's interpretation of Article 5 point b is that State Defense Education as a science must be mastered for the sake of fulfilling national interest. Then, the interpretation of Articles 8 and 9 above is that it is possible to hold a State Defense Education course at the university level as a compulsory course. This is because the articles talk about the development of knowledge carried out by the Academic Community through learning that upholds

the unity of the nation for the advancement of national civilization.

The authors' proposal is also strengthened by the existence of academic freedom to develop this knowledge and the authority of the educator (professor/lecturer) to express openly and responsibly about something that is in accordance with the science and branch of science it has an authority of. Furthermore, there is scientific autonomy to develop scientific truth according to scientific methods. Ontologically, axiologically and epistemologically speaking, state defense can be seen as a concrete matter and has benefits to be studied as science.

Implementation of higher education must depart from the common idea that education needs to constantly develop. The same is also true for scientific discipline which must develop in accordance with the demands of the time. Rationality is highly emphasized in today's fast-growing era, hence it is not surprising that state defense can be epistemologically justified as it does have a rationality of belief. State Defense Education is an effort to make progress of this nation's civilization because of its ability to deal with non-conventional TDOC. For this reason, universities must be

willing to develop their knowledge to adapt to the situation and conditions of the times.

In addition, academic freedom to develop science and authority to develop scientific truth according to scientific methods makes the writer feel confident that State Defense Education can fulfill scientific aspects (ontology, axiology, and epistemology) so that it can be taught as part of university compulsory lectures. According to Article 35 of the same law, the higher education curriculum must include courses in Religion, Pancasila, Citizenship, and Indonesian Language. In political science and International Relations, state defense studies, which are related to threats, military presence, public policy, philosophy and logic, are a major part of it. In International Relations, studies on strategy and security also address issues related to state defense because they are considered as one of the nation's important study to deal with modern threats.

Moreover, if we refer to the Regulation of Minister of Research, Technology and Higher Education (*Permenristekdikti*) Number 44 of 2015 concerning the National Standards for Higher Education, the proposal to hold a State Defense Education can also be

accommodated. The spirit of the *Permenristekdikti* is to improve the quality of higher education in a planned and sustainable manner; one of which is by increasing the standards of higher education. If so, with the same argument that the author has expressed beforehand, increasing the national standard of higher education in Indonesia must depart from the understanding that science is constantly developing. Thus, strategic steps need to be made.

One of the provisions of the *Permenristekdikti*, specifically Article 3 paragraph 1 point a, reads: "Ensuring the achievement of the goal of higher education which plays a strategic role in educating the life of the nation, advancing science and technology by applying the values of humanity, and civilizing and empowering people of Indonesia in a sustainable manner"; and paragraph 3, which reads: "The National Standards of Higher Education as referred to in Article 2 paragraph (1) must be evaluated and refined in a directed and sustainable manner, in accordance with the changing demands at local, national and global level by the agency assigned to develop and formulate National Standard for Higher Education."

In accordance with the provisions in article 3, State Defense Education should be able to guarantee the achievement of the goals of higher education which play a strategic role in educating the life of the nation. State defense can be used to educate the entire people of Indonesia by providing awareness about the dangers of contemporary TDOC. In addition, the updating of the materials to be taught in State Defense Education will be in accordance with the changing demands at local, national and global level, given that state defense as science is a relatively new study, and appears in the study of security and strategies.

At UPN "Veteran" Jakarta, especially the Political Science Department, where the author is one of the teaching staffs, there will be a new concentration or major in Defense Politics next year (2019). In this concentration, courses related to State Defense Education will be formalized so that they become compulsory course. State defense will be our cornerstone in the Political Science Department of UPN "Veteran" Jakarta in designing the right curriculum for the defense politics major, where the big framework is study on security and strategies.

For this reason, the author is very confident that the nuances of science,

scholarship, concretism, nature, benefits, and rationality of state defense needs no further question because it has been scientifically tested in the academic field, even if there is no specific course that discusses state defense. In pursuant to Article 9 of the Higher Education Law, namely to develop a scientific study, the authors confidently propose for the establishment of State Defense Education as a compulsory university course. The following is a discussion of ten teaching materials that will be included as part of the National Defense Education curriculum if it will be held as a compulsory university course.

State Defense Education Material

This section will discuss the outline of any material that may be taught in the State Defense Education course. The author proposes nine materials to be used as part of the Semester Learning Plan (*Rencana Pembelajaran Semester/RPS*) which refers to Indonesian National Qualifications Framework (*Kerangka Kualifikasi Nasional Indonesia/KKNI*) according to *Permenristekdikti* Number 44 of 2015. The first material will be a lesson about the history of state defense, along with definitions and understanding of state defense.

The history of state defense, as mentioned in the introduction, arose from the incident of Bukittinggi as the capital of Indonesia under the Emergency Republic of Indonesia (PDRI) which was formed on 19 December 1948 by Syafruddin Prawiranegara, who was then a Minister of Prosperity. On 18 December 2006, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono issued Presidential Decree No. 28 of 2006 which stipulated 19 December, the date the PDRI was formed, as the State Defense Day.⁵

Next is about definition and understanding of state defense. According to Article 9 paragraph 1 of Law No. 3 of 2002 concerning State Defense, state defense is the attitude and behavior of citizens who are imbued with their love for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in guaranteeing the survival of the nation and state, not just as the basic duty of citizens, but also the honor of citizens as a form of devotion and willingness to sacrifice to the nation and state.⁶

In addition, the legal basis for the law on efforts to defend the state is in the 1945 Constitution, namely Article 27 paragraph (3), which states that all citizens have the right and obligation to participate in state defense; and Article 30 paragraph (1) which states that each citizen has the right and obligation to participate in efforts to defend and secure the state.

State defense carried out by citizens is the right and obligation to defend and maintain the independence and sovereignty of the country, its territorial integrity, and the safety of all people from all threats. The defense manifested by participation in the efforts of national defense is the responsibility and honor of every citizen. Therefore, citizens have an obligation to participate in the defense of the state, unless stipulated otherwise by the law.⁷

According to Sukzaya in Darmawan, state defense is an orderly, comprehensive, integrated and continuous determination, attitude, and actions of citizens, based on their love for

⁵ Djibril Muhammad, "19 December, PDRI, and State Defense Day", in <http://news.liputan6.com/read/2681707/19-desember-pdri-dan-hari-bela-negara>, 19 December 2016, downloaded on 24 February 2018.

⁶ Jerry Indrawan & Bayu Widiyanto, "Corruption as Part of the Proxy War: Efforts to Eradicate the Dangers of Corruption in Indonesia", *Jurnal Pertahanan & Bela Negara*, Volume 7, Nomor 1, 2017, p. 32-33.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 33.

the homeland, along with consciousness for the life of the nation and the state. Furthermore, state defense is a right, an obligation, as well as the responsibility of all components of the nation without exception. In other words, defending the state is an obligation and honor for every citizen to maintain the existence and sovereignty of the state. Defending the country is not only the duty and responsibility of the Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI), but it is also our responsibility.⁸

In addition, efforts to defend the country have a very broad, dynamic and contemporary spectrum. It is broad in the sense that state defense is concerned with the small things to the big thing. It also deals with all aspects of the country's life, from ideology, politics, economics, socio-culture, defense, and security. It is also dynamic in the sense that the dimensions of state defense move forward in line with the times and with various challenges. Then, it is contemporary in the sense that state defense has a contemporary context that is different from the past.⁹

The second material is the values in the state defense curriculum. The Ministry of Defense's Education and Training Agency (*Badiklat Kemhan*) has compiled a state defense curriculum, which was ratified in 3 May 2016. There are seven curriculum compiled by the *Badiklat Kemhan*, but only five curricula have been approved, namely for early education levels (PAUD/kindergarten and equivalent), Elementary, Middle School, High School and Higher Education. Five values in the state defense program are, among others, love for the country, awareness of the nation and state, belief in Pancasila as the national philosophy, willingness to sacrifice for the nation and state, and having the primary ability to defend the country.¹⁰

Love for the country, which is defined as recognizing, understanding and loving the national territory, safeguarding the land and grounds as well as the entire territory of Indonesia, preserving and loving the environment, contributing to the progress of the nation and country, maintaining the good name of the nation

⁸ Cecep Darmawan, "State Defense Education in the Context of National Security", in Muradi (ed), *Structuring National Security Policy*, Bandung: Dian Cipta, 2013), p. 115.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 116.

¹⁰ Agus Lukman, "The Ministry of Defense Version of the State Defense Curriculum for Early

Childhood Students to Higher Education", in http://kbr.id/nasional/01-2017/begini_kurikulum_bela_negara_versi_kemhan_untuk_siswa_paud_hingga_perguruan_tinggi/88285.html, 21 January 2017, downloaded on 24 February 2018.

and country, and being proud as an Indonesian by being vigilant and prepared to defend the homeland from any threat, disruptions, obstacles and challenges that endanger the survival of the nation and state that come from anywhere and anyone.

Awareness of the nation and state is made by fostering harmony to maintain unity from the smallest environment (family), community environment, educational environment and work environment, loving national culture and domestic production, recognizing and respecting the red and white flags, state symbols and the national anthem, carrying out rights and obligations in accordance with applicable laws and regulations as well as prioritizing the interests of the nation above personal, family and group interests.

Pancasila as a state ideology has been agreed upon as the philosophy and ideology of the nation and country in carrying out the life of the nation to achieve national goals. Pancasila is also the source of law as well as the framework to be referred to by the Republic of Indonesia because Pancasila has been able to unite the Indonesian people consisting of diverse religions, ethnicities, languages and origins. In the course of the nation's

history, Pancasila has been repeatedly assaulted by invaders as well as those who dislike Pancasila, but the Indonesian nation to this day remains intact as a united and strong nation towards a just and prosperous society. Pancasila values can also be used in conflict resolution. TDOC against the integrity of the nation can still be overcome using the principles of Pancasila which upholds kinship and cooperation.

Willingness to sacrifice for the nation and the state means willing to sacrifice time, energy and mind for the progress of the nation and state, prepared to sacrifice life and body to defend the nation and country from various threats, active participation in the development of society, nation and state, actively helping fellow citizens who have difficulty and always believe that sacrifice for the nation and the state will not be in vain.

Finally, having the primary ability to defend the country psychologically and physically. Psychologically means having emotional and spiritual intelligence, always maintaining the soul and body and having virtues of discipline, tenacious, hard work and endurance. Whereas physically means having the health condition and physical skills to support the

initial ability by way of loving exercise and always maintaining health.¹¹

For college students, *Badiklat Kemhan* designs a state defense curriculum for a period of five days, with 45 minutes for each day. The state defense short course is carried out during the orientation of new students, but the material is deeper. For example, in the subject matter of basic studies, in addition to the four pillars of nationalism, students were also given material on national, regional and global strategic developments, as well as threats to the Republic of Indonesia. Students are also taught about leadership in regard with state defense, including leadership *a la* statesmen in overcoming national problems. Students are also given insight into the principles of the rule of law and the enforcement of human rights in Indonesia.¹²

State defense program will emphasize the dissemination of these values to the students to equip them in dealing with the intangible non-traditional threats. It is

expected that these values will become guidelines for students in their daily social life. Thus, they will be able to filter out negative or bad influences that threaten the safety of the nation and state of Indonesia.

The third material is the objective of state defense. In relation to the state defense movement, President Joko Widodo stressed that the great challenge in history is how to maintain our survival as a sovereign nation in the political field, being independent economically as well as having personality culturally. Therefore, state defense has a very broad spectrum in various fields of life, ranging from politics, economics, social and culture. State defense can be realized in daily life by every citizen from various professional backgrounds.¹³

History also shows us all that defending the country is not only possible with the power of arms, but also by every citizen with their consciousness to defend the country and making political and diplomatic efforts. The challenges and

¹¹ Deden Koswara, "Implementation of State Values in Community Life, Nation and State for the Integrity of the Republic of Indonesia", in http://www.stai-siliwangi.ac.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=91:implementasi-nilai-nilai-belanegara-dalam-kehidupan-bermasyarakat-berbangsa-dan-bernegara-bagi-

[tegaknya-keutuhan-nkri&catid=42:islamica-vol-2-no-1-th-2014&Itemid=70&i=1](http://www.stai-siliwangi.ac.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=91:implementasi-nilai-nilai-belanegara-dalam-kehidupan-bermasyarakat-berbangsa-dan-bernegara-bagi-tegaknya-keutuhan-nkri&catid=42:islamica-vol-2-no-1-th-2014&Itemid=70&i=1), 8 October 2016, downloaded on 25 February 2018.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Kemhan, "History of State Defense", dalam <https://www.kemhan.go.id/belanegara/sejarah-bela-negara/>, 2017, downloaded on 28 February 2018.

threats facing the nation calls for all of us to defend the country. All children of the nation must be moved and mobilized to defend the country according to their respective fields of service.

A call to defend the country can be made by a teacher, a midwife, health workers, farmers, laborers, professionals, civil servants, traders, and other professions. State defense can be done through professional service in various fields of life. A farmer working hard to increase production is an effort to defend the country to realize food sovereignty. A teacher struggling to educate children in the border region is a real manifestation of defending the country, educating the life of the nation.¹⁴

The Indonesian Armed Forces soldiers guard the frontier islands carry out their duties because of the spirit of defending the country, maintaining the sovereignty of our country's territory. Doctors, midwives, and health workers fulfill the call to defend the country, eagerly providing health services to remote areas. Likewise with the war on narcotics crime, it is a real action to save the young generation who will become the future of the nation. What is done by teachers,

farmers, doctors, Indonesian soldiers, and other professions is a tangible manifestation of love for the homeland. Our duty is to ensure that the fire of the spirit of state defense continues to ignite, and can be passed on to future generations.¹⁵

The objective of state defense, among others, is to maintain the survival of the nation and state, preserve the culture, carry out the values of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, do the best for the nation and state, and maintain the identity and integrity of the nation and state. Thus, the state defense movement is expected to produce the following behaviors:

- Establish a discipline in time management, exercises, and other activities.
- Form a spirit of togetherness and solidarity among fellow compatriots.
- Form a strong mental and physical capacity.
- Instill the love of nation and patriotism in accordance with self-esteem.
- Train the soul of leadership in individuals, as well as in groups.
- Form faith and piety in the religion embraced by each individual.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

- Contribute to parents, race, religion.
- Train speed, agility, accuracy of individuals in carrying out activities.
- Eliminate negative attitudes such as laziness, apathetic, wasteful, selfish, undisciplined.
- Establish honest, decisive, fair, just and caring behavior among others.¹⁶

The fourth material is the link between state defense and the Ministry of Defense. Defending the country is closely related to the Ministry of Defense because this ministry is the mouthpiece for the dissemination of this program. This is in accordance with the General Policy of National Defense for 2015-2019, namely: (1) The development of national character as part of a mental revolution is carried out through fostering awareness and ability to defend the state for every Indonesian citizen in order to prepare human resources for national defense as well as strengthening the nation's personality and culture based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia; and (2) Empowerment of Ministries/Agencies and Local Governments through increasing awareness of state defense within the

Ministries/Agencies and Local Governments, both towards the main elements and other elements of the nation's strength, by increasing the capacity and synergicity of power in dealing with threats for the sake of supporting national defense.

In addition, there are also the Ministry of Defense's Strategic Plans for 2015-2019, namely: (1) The establishment of strong national defense cadres in supporting national defense; (2) The realization of a state defense awareness system involving Ministries/Agencies, Local Governments and other components of the nation. It is hoped that in the future all ministries can contribute optimally in efforts to promote the state defense movement.

The fifth material is state defense and national security. The security sector is no longer seen as a mere military sphere, but has become a multi-sector. Security is not only aimed at securing the country, but also securing citizens and people. Thus, the concept of security is viewed more comprehensively which includes national defense, internal security, public security, and human security. According to

¹⁶ Yuksinau, "State Defense: Definition, Objective, Function, Benefit", in [http://www.yuksinau.id/pengertian-tujuan-](http://www.yuksinau.id/pengertian-tujuan-fungsi-manfaat-bela-negara/)

[fungsi-manfaat-bela-negara/](http://www.yuksinau.id/pengertian-tujuan-fungsi-manfaat-bela-negara/), 12 January 2018, downloaded on 24 February 2018.

Mahfud MD, the term national security in general encompasses overcoming threats to the survival of the state, both those coming from within and from outside.¹⁷

For this reason, it is not easy to distinguish between defense and security. Often domestic security problems stem from infiltrations coming from abroad. Changes such as those carried out in Indonesia today are not without serious consequences. In regard to the difference between defense and security, there is the possibility of overlapping in the handling or the lack of handling between armed forces and police. Each feels responsible or otherwise, not responsible.¹⁸

According to J. Kristiadi, it can simply be said that national security is a condition where a country is safe from threats to the existence of the nation and state. Threats to national security like this cannot be faced only by the military. National security which is carried out without involving the community will create a monster-like state that can swallow its own nation aggressively and repressively in the name of state security. Due to national security issues concerning the existence and survival of the nation and

state, the formulation of policies must involve all components of the nation.¹⁹

The concept of national security which originally only focused on state security has now includes the dimension of human security. This is also described in the academic text of the Draft of Ministry of Defense National Security Bill, which stated that the conception of national security must also accommodate the fulfillment of basic needs of citizens. This change is based on at least a change in the dynamics of life and also involves the perception of threats that are not only conventional, but also involve non-conventional threats. This has also been faced by the United States, which initially carried out national security only to protect its people, but after some developments have now begun to also increase the protection for their people's economic and prosperity rights.²⁰

Until now, the National Security Bill is still under discussion in the parliamentary (DPR), even though this bill has been formulated since 2005. The National Security Bill should be able to accommodate security issues, both in the form of military threats and non-military threats, so that efforts to overcome them

¹⁷ Darmawan, *op.cit.*, p. 118-199.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 199.

¹⁹ Darmawan, *loc.cit.*

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 199-120.

are clear. If the National Security Bill is passed, this will help the National Defense Education course. The material to be taught is of course very much related to what kind of threat Indonesia is currently facing. The National Security Bill will help to recognize the nature and type of threat.

The sixth material is state defense and national defense. The aim of launching a state defense course is part of the implementation of the country's defense and security system. The implementation of state defense and national security is the responsibility of the armed forces as the major component in national defense system. For this reason, the armed forces must have optimal strength and combat capability. The development of armed forces is carried out in stages and continuously in a five-year strategic plan, which is then adjusted to national systems and policies, national capabilities, as well as national, regional and certainly strategic situations. In order to achieve the professional abilities and skills, as well as the structure of the armed forces that has the characteristics of technology will

naturally requires well personnel and the weaponries system.²¹

National defense is an action to eliminate all enemy threats from abroad, in any kind and form, which threatens and endangers the sovereignty, safety, and existence of the nation and state. According to the Law on National Defense, the national defense system is a universal defense system that involves all citizens (reserve components), territories and other national resources, and is prepared early by the government and carried out in a total, integrated, directed and continuing manner to uphold national sovereignty, territorial integrity and the safety of all nations from all threats.²² Total defense will obviously requires well understanding of state defense, especially for the reserve component.

National defense is also one of the main elements of a country because it involves the interests of protecting citizens, territories and political systems from the threat of other countries. This is in line with the opinion of KJ Holsti where defense is a national interest which is

²¹ Poerwadi, "Technology Required and Should be Mastered by the Army for the Next 5-10 Years", in Indria Samego (ed), *Defense-State Security System: Potential Analysis and Problems*, (Jakarta: The Habibie Center, 2001), p. 221-222.

²² Jerry Indrawan, "Empowerment Based Leadership in Technology Transfer: An Effort to Improve the Quality of Indonesian Defense HR", *Jurnal Pertahanan*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2015, p. 67.

considered as core value or something that is most vital for the country as it determines the existence of the country.²³

A country's defense policy should already be in the blueprint of defense strategy. This comprehensive defense strategy is a political policy produced by two institutions, namely the president and parliament. This comprehensive defense strategy in principle is the foundation of the principles of democracy in the context of defense in Indonesia.²⁴

Agus Widjojo argues that in the conceptual approach to formulate a conception of national defense, we cannot be separated from the constantly changing strategic environments, traits of future conflicts, the nature of threats from abroad and domestic, and Indonesia's national interests. From the information obtained to answer all of these trends, we can determine the national strategy to achieve national interests, especially to get the elaboration of strategies and targets in the field of national defense.²⁵

Based on that threat, effective defense development must be carried out. This is because the defense landscape is experiencing rapid changes, in line with the development of science and technology, which has also changed the character of a country's defense. If in the past the so-called defense threat was always aimed at enemies coming from outside, with a certain level of weaponry, now it is different. Non-conventional defense threats have also produced various types of non-conventional weapons. The problem of defense is now mixed with security, especially related to non-conventional threats earlier. That is, the battlefield began to widen, starting from physical warfare (hard power) to diplomacy (soft power).²⁶

The seventh material is state defense and compulsory military service. State defense is obviously different with military service. Compulsory military service (conscription) is related to the involuntary recruitment of citizens with for military institution that aims to mobilize troops during war or

²³ Kalevi J. Holsti, *International Politics: A Framework of Analysis*, (New Delhi: Prentice Hall, 1981), p. 200.

²⁴ Muradi, *The Political Dynamics of Defense and Security in Indonesia: Understanding the Issues and Political Policies of Defense and Security in the Reformation Era*, (Bandung: Widya Padjadjaran, 2012), p. 29.

²⁵ Agus Widjojo, "Future Insights about the Defense System of State Security", in Indria Samego (ed), *National Defense-Security System: Potential Analysis and Problems*, (Jakarta: The Habibie Center, 2001), p. 44.

²⁶ Indria Samego, "State Defense contextualization: Empowerment of Defense in a Change Perspective", *Jurnal Pertahanan*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2015, p. 7-8.

crisis. Military conscription applies to all citizens, especially men, with ages generally from 18 to 45 years old. A person who is called to take part in military service usually serves 1 to 3 years.²⁷

Military service is a training provided by the state to its citizens in preparation for war. In this training, the focus of the training is tactics and techniques of fighting with basic soldier training. Military conscription is usually held to increase one's discipline, resilience, courage and independence, and in general is only for men. Women are usually not required to follow, but there are also some countries that require it, such as in Israel, North Korea and Suriname. Some countries also provide alternative national assignments for citizens who cannot enter the military for reasons such as health, political, or cultural and religious reasons. Students also usually do not need to take military service, which is why State Defense Education is important to be taught in varsity level.

On the basis of the definition of conscription above, it should be crystal clear that State Defense Education is not a compulsory military program where

participants will be taught how to fight like soldiers. The state has not reached the stage where it is required. Moreover, we must remember that the nation's biggest threat is not a military threat, but a non-military one, which cannot be fought only with combat techniques. As part of proxy war, corruption must be dealt with by all Indonesian people, not only those who have combat capability.

The eighth material is state defense and non-traditional threats. As the previous author mentioned, state defense is closely related to human security approaches. Human security is an effective method for counteracting threats that are categorized as non-conventional threats. Today, non-military or non-conventional issues can become highly security-related, thus can be categorized as "national security" status. Changes in the nature of security are increasingly apparent, especially after the Cold War, where the role of the state has continuously diminished.

Non-traditional threat is essentially a threat that uses non - military factors that are considered to have capabilities to endanger the sovereignty of the country,

²⁷ Beni Sukadis, "Developing TNI'S Capability and Conscription", in Beni Sukadis and Eric Hendra (ed), *Total Defense and Military Conscript:*

Indonesia's Experience and Other Democracies, (Jakarta: LESPERSSI, 2008), p. 61.

the territorial integrity of the country, and the safety of all people. Non-military threats can have dimensions of ideology, politics, economics, social culture, technology and information, and public safety. Non-traditional threats are very close to socio-culture dimension because it comes from within the country. This type of threat is propelled by issues of poverty, ignorance, backwardness, and injustice. This issue becomes the starting point for the emergence of problems, such as separatism, terrorism, violence, and disasters caused by human actions. For a long time, the issue has become a 'germ' that threatens national unity, nationalism, patriotism, and certainly national security.²⁸

Non-conventional threats are also related to human security terminology. Transnational phenomena, such as terrorism, drugs, human trafficking, environmental degradation, increasing population, food and energy scarcity, corruption, refugees, identity crises, and also threats from radical movements, have short-term and long-term security risks. Security is related to issues of identity and culture from a particular community or

culture. The nature of the threat is not always physical as it can be, for example, in the form of propaganda or speech which can bring about treason or regime change.²⁹

Non-military issues related to security is called as securitization. These issues may involve the military in its handling process, such as combating drug crimes, assisting humanitarian operations, to eradicating terrorism. The military and non-military domains also influence each other. For this reason, the issue of terrorism, in which there is a problem of radicalization, can be classified as a non-conventional issue because it has undergone a process of securitization.³⁰

These types of threats will be faced by the Indonesian people in this millennial era. An era where the borders of the country is seemingly nonexistent. An era where the world is united by an interconnected line which allows inter-state interactions to occur among individuals, for example through cyberspace. If Indonesian people are not ready for such rapid changes, then surely we will be run over by other nations who are able to utilize technology to the fullest. That is

²⁸ Jerry Indrawan, "Non-Military Threats to National Security in Papua", *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional*, Vol. XII, No. 2, 2016, p. 159-160.

²⁹ Indrawan, *op.cit*, p. 64-65.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 69.

why State Defense Education is important, because the development of this technology can only be filtered by the moral and ethical values that exist in every human being in Indonesia.

The last or the ninth material is the relationship between state defense and religiosity. The inclusion of elements of nationalism, love for the homeland, nation, and state as well as willingness to sacrifice in the State Defense Education will become more complete if there is an additional element of religiosity. In this case, of course, the Islamic religious content will be delivered more because the majority of Indonesia's population is Muslim.

Bung Karno himself in his study found that Islam is a rational religion, and history proves that Islam is a humanist and tolerant religion. With rationality and humanity, Islam was a pioneer of world civilization, absorbing civilizations from outside Islam, such as Greece, Rome, Persia, etc. Thus, Islam develops in a dynamic way and not only dwell on legal matters of *halal*, *haram*, *sunnah*, and *makruh* but it has a *jaiz* legal space, which

allows space for the dynamics of life to develop.³¹

What is meant by *ukhuwah wathaniyah* is that a Muslim should understand the existence of views or even opinions that are different from their religious views, because all of those views cannot be beyond the will of God. Even though they are of different religions, they are part of one community, one nation and one homeland – thus the *ukhuwah* between them must remain. The most suitable principle in *ukhuwah* is based on *altasamuh* (tolerance), namely the reciprocal interaction between religious people, respecting religious freedom for people who disagree, do not interfere with their worship and still maintain the *ukhuwah wathaniyah*.³²

When Bung Karno formulated the Pancasila, he too values religiosity. In regard to the first principle of Pancasila, Belief in One and Only God, Bung Karno said:

“In regard to the first Principle on Belief in God, I meant it in the sense of: religieusiteit. But the Muslim community proposed to add to the words: The One and Only God. And that we accept with pleasure. So that is why the

³¹ Hamka Haq, *Pancasila June 1st & Islamic Shari'a*, (Jakarta: RMBOOKS, 2011), p. 20.

³² Suyuthi Pulungan, *Fiqh Siyash Teachings of History and Thought*, (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2005), p. 184.

first principle now says: Belief in One and Only God.³³

For Bung Karno, Islam is a way of life, not just religion. Islamic values must be the guideline of the nation's life. Islam is a human way of life for God and for fellow humans, as well as a universal religion.³⁴ That is why Bung Karno proposed nationalism because he understood that the religion adopted by almost all people in Indonesia also taught how to govern a nation and state, not just a religious way of life.

That is why the authors emphasize the element of religiosity to be included in the State Defense Education, because the content of religion will always be the basis for understanding and implementing the spirit of nationalism and love for the homeland. Even though Islam is not the basis of the Indonesian state, but the birth and development of this nation is based on Islamic principles and values, which are then integrated into a political entity called Indonesia.

State Defense is a relevant concept to foster a spirit of nationalism and love for the country. However, without the contents of religiosity in it, individuals will be powerless to defend against non-

conventional threat. Religion will be a filter, as well as an amplifier, for the foundations of nationality and faith. The same analogy can be applied to the context of state, where nationalism and love of the country alone will feel empty without having the foundation of strong religiosity.

Although Indonesia is not a religious country, all of its inhabitants are religious. Religiosity does not only belong to Islam, but all religions have their own understanding and concept of religiosity. And also, for nearly 73 years of independence, this nation has always prioritized religious values and norms in every human behavior, including in the life of nation and state. For this reason, the synergy between religion and state defense is very important to raise the awareness of younger generation, especially the college students. This nation already has the capital it needs, it only needs to be reminded once more, one of which is through this State Defense Education.

State Defense Education as a Compulsory Course at Higher Education

³³ Soewarno, dkk, *Pancasila Bung Karno*, (Jakarta: Paksi Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, 2005), p. 35.

³⁴ Milastri Muzakkar, *Do You Know the Indonesian Founding Fathers?*, (Yogyakarta: Naufan Pustaka, 2014), p. 170.

After understanding some of the materials that will be taught in State Defense Education, the authors will explain why state defense is important to be taught as a compulsory course in varsity level. Law No. 20 of 2003 concerning National Education System formulates national education goals that can be used as a basis for State Defense Education in Indonesia. Article 3 of the National Education System Law states: “National education has the function of developing and forming dignified character and national civilization in order to educate the life of the nation, aiming at developing potential students to become faithful and devoted to God Almighty, noble, healthy, knowledge, skillful, creative, independent as well as a democratic and responsible citizen.” The national education goals as such can become the foundation of State Defense Education.³⁵

There are two foundations of state defense, the first of which is compulsory military service, with the subject being soldiers or other national defense apparatus. Then the second one, i.e. each citizen who has the right and obligation to participate in state defense as referred to and regulated by law. According to the

National Defense Law, the form of state defense is as follows:

1. Citizenship Education
2. Mandatory basic military training
3. Voluntary service as a soldier of Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI)
4. Servitude in accordance to each person’s profession

By holding State Defense Education at varsity level, a channel to disseminate values related to state defense, such as love for the country, awareness of the nation and state, belief in Pancasila, willingness to sacrifice for the nation and state, and having more defensive capacities, can be well implemented. Compared to the current status quo where those values can only be channeled through Citizenship Education course, State Defense Education course will be able to derive those values into its functional and operational form.

The authors believe that Citizenship Education tend to make a more abstract and broader discussion. That is, the citizenship problems learned in the course are general in nature, not specifically about defending the country. On the other hand, if the State Defense Education is included in university curriculum, the

³⁵ Darmawan, *op.cit*, p. 116.

scope of the study will be more appropriate because it fits with the teaching material. The age of the recipient of this education is also more appropriate because it is taught to students, who are generally around 18-20 years old. Meanwhile, the material in citizenship education can be used for high school level, in which the authors argue that high school students are not yet ready to learn the materials in State Defense Education.

The currently-implemented State Defense Education, especially through Citizenship Education, as well as Military Basic Education, has been seen as too rigid, formalistic, boring, and certainly too militaristic. Therefore, State Defense Education should be delivered not in such nuances, because the nature and type of threat is different – no longer militaristic. The culture and academic climate of higher education will be a very appropriate tool for disseminating it, hence State Defense Education is indeed more appropriate at varsity level. The nuances of criticism and high discourse on campus will make State Defense Education a dynamic topic and certainly debatable. Scientific debates are very important to continue to assess the essence of state defense, because the authors believe that defending the

country is not a rigid and formalistic concept, but is developing with times.

Conclusions and Suggestions

The challenges facing the Indonesian people in this era of globalization are increasingly complex. Threats, Disruptions, Obstacles and Challenges (TDOC) that must be answered by this nation are no longer from outside (external). TDOC that came from outside has changed form, from exclusively military (conventional) to non-military (non-conventional).

As a result, TDOC faced by this nation comes from within (internal). Problems of corruption, individualism, environment, tax awareness, drug problems, lack of sense of justice in law enforcement, moral decadence, terrorism, and problems with national disintegration. The author believes that the list of problems will certainly increase over time. Therefore, if this nation wants to take off and catch up to other countries in the world, even the neighboring countries, such as Singapore or Malaysia, Indonesia must be able to deal with these problems properly.

State defense is an orderly, comprehensive, integrated and continuous determination, attitude, and actions of citizens, based on their love for

the homeland, along with consciousness for the life of the nation and the state. For this reason, state defense must be disseminated to all elements of the nation. This paper proposes that the process of dissemination is formalized into the element of education – in this case the higher education first. In accordance with existing rules, namely Law No. 12 of 2012 concerning Higher Education and Permenristekdikti No. 44 of 2015 concerning National Standards for Higher Education, it is possible to hold a National Defense Education course at the university level and make it a compulsory course.

Thus, the authors suggest that State Defense Education should be taught as a course in higher education. The following are the materials that will be taught in the National Defense Education: history and understanding of state defense, values in State Defense Education, objectives of state defense movement, state defense and Ministry of Defense, why State Defense Education must be taught in universities, state defense and national security, state defense and national defense, state defense and military service, state defense and non-traditional threats, and state defense and religiosity.

These materials will be the main subjects of the National Defense Education course.

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