

# Optimization of the Total Defense System in Facing National Securities Challenges to Defend State Sovereignty

Ferry Ismail\* and Priyanto

## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to describe the increasing escalation of military, non-military, and hybrid threats to the Republic of Indonesia's defense system. These risks pose a challenge to national security for the Ministry of Military (MoD) and the TNI, made worse by other countries' increasingly advanced military forces.

The goal of this research is to improve the Total Defense System (Sishanta) and the availability of the national defense budget, particularly for modernizing the TNI's main weapons system equipment. The research method used is qualitative research, with a descriptive research type.

The results of the research show that to offset the military strength of other countries, the MoD and the TNI, among others, are optimizing the Sishanta by modernizing military forces, developing science and technology, developing the Strategic Environment, predicting future threats, and increasing international cooperation, as well as fostering awareness of defending the country. To meet the challenge of national securities, it is required to have the participation of reserve and supporting components, as well as optimal budget assistance, in order to protect the Republic of Indonesia's sovereignty.

**Keywords:** Defending state sovereignty, national securities challenge, total defense system, total people's war.

Submitted: September 13, 2023

Published: December 17, 2023

 10.24018/ejsocial.2023.3.6.499

Faculty of Defense Strategy, Defense University, Indonesia.

\*Corresponding Author:  
e-mail: ferryismail96@gmail.com

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In today's world, dangers to state sovereignty evolve in tandem with advances in science and technology. Military technology is usually thought to represent the present since it is always motivated by deterrence to meet requirements and adapt to ever-changing threats, resulting in military goods that are always cutting-edge. A country with a well-established defense sector is believed to have a strategic advantage in the global order. Given these circumstances, Indonesia needs a defense support system and defense equipment capable of withstanding a variety of potential new threats.

It is critical to carry out various adaptive techniques, including Sishanta, which has become Indonesia's defense system, in order to prepare and construct a strong and effective defense system against all threats, particularly military threats from other countries. According to the Law on National Defense No. 3 of 2002, the objective of national defense is a system in which all individuals, territories, and other national resources engage in defending the nation's sovereignty, integrity, and safety from all threats (BPK, 2002).

Observing the purposes of national defense outlined above, it is clear that the primary goal of national defense is to secure and protect against various local and international threats to the Indonesian nation's national security. National security is a power concept that symbolizes the overall security of the country. The goal of national security is to protect the nation and its citizens from external threats by sustaining the armed forces and securing state secrets (Holmes, 2014). National securities not only influence defense policy but also foreign and other policies.

Sishanta is Indonesia's state defense system, a defensive system that applies to all citizens, territories, all national resources, and infrastructure, and is developed early on and implemented properly, on



time, and continually. Sishanta blends military and non-military defense in order to develop a powerful and dignified national defense strength and capabilities with high deterrence. Being prepared early entails constructing a whole defense system that can deal with a variety of threats, whether military, non-military, or hybrid.

The phenomenon that has occurred so far is that the Indonesian government, through the Ministry of Defense and the TNI, have not been able to increase and optimize the entire Sishanta due to limited defense budgets, so they cannot keep up with the militaries of the other countries in terms of modernizing defense equipment with high technology. The modernization of high-tech defense equipment aims to enhance strategic conventional weapons systems and integrate modern sensor systems, including cyber defense systems.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1. National Security

National security, in general, can be defined as the essential necessity to safeguard and defend a country's national interests as a nation by employing political, economic, and military strength to deal with external and internal threats. The concept of a country's national securities is dominated by national interest. National security can also be defined as the requirement to preserve the state's existence through economic, military, and political power, as well as the advancement of diplomacy. This notion highlights the government's ability to defend the country's territorial integrity against external and domestic threats (Darmono, 2010).

For the Indonesian nation, the concept and system of national security itself must always be based on Pancasila, both as the nation's philosophy of life and the source of all sources of national law, and the security mandate contained in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution (Republic of Indonesia, 1945), while still paying attention to the dynamics of development in the strategic environment to be able to fulfill all the demands of the times.

The implementation of national security requires several important steps, including the use of diplomacy to rally allies and isolate threats, structuring an effective armed force, and applying the concept of civil defense and preparedness for emergencies, including terrorism. At the same time, the state ensures the carrying capacity and availability of critical infrastructure in the country, uses intelligence to detect and defeat various threats and espionage, protects state classified information, and uses counterintelligence to protect the state. All this shows that security only leads to state security.

### 2.2. State Sovereignty

Sovereignty is the highest concept of power in a country. According to Jack H. Nagel (1975), power always includes two aspects, namely, the scope of sovereignty and the reach of sovereignty. The issue of the scope of sovereignty boils down to the activities involved in the function of sovereignty covering two points, namely (a) who is the highest authority in the state and (b) what is controlled by the highest authority, while the scope of sovereignty discusses who is the subject and holder of sovereignty. Nagel's framework of thought becomes a reference in efforts to understand people's sovereignty, especially the issue of who holds the highest authority in a country.

Discourse on the concept of state sovereignty is often characterized by the establishment of political power between domestic institutions and international autonomy. In international practice, this means that the state recognizes and acts collectively in solving a problem involving domestic institutional bodies and international agencies.

State sovereignty and state equality are recognized as ideas in international law and serve as the foundation for the operation of the international legal system. According to international law, the state's independence and sovereignty indicate that it is not subject to the dominance of other authorities. As a matter of international law, state sovereignty and equal rights are inherent in an independent state. The international legal system also bases state status on the recognition of national sovereignty and equality among countries (Brownlie, 1990).

### 2.3. Theories

#### 2.3.1. Theory of Defence

National defense implementation strives to safeguard and protect state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and national safety. In Sishanta, the defense of the Indonesian nation-state is constructed to be neither aggressive nor expansive to defend national interests.

The goal of national defense, according to Marsetio in his book *Restoring Indonesia's Maritime Glory*, is to defend and protect state sovereignty, the territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the entire nation from all types of threats (Marsetio, 2018). The general defense

policy is the direction of political policy in managing national resources for the benefit of the national defense system to secure national security, defense, and state sovereignty. The geographical conditions of the archipelagic state are considered when planning a national defense. Policies governing national defense must be guided by state politics. The resolution of national defense challenges is carried out by prioritizing diplomacy, which is strengthened by modern military forces.

### 2.3.2. *Theory of Total People's War*

According to JS Prabowo, in his book entitled "Principles of Thought about the Total People's War". The concept of defense in Indonesia is based on the concept of "Sishanta", which is referred to as a doctrine born from the nation's history. According to Prabowo, if the state is forced to be involved in a war, then the war that is carried out is the concept of the total people's war (Prabowo, 2009).

### 2.3.3. *Theory of Threats*

Threats are defined as anything that jeopardizes the Republic of Indonesia's sovereignty and integrity. Threats are the most important aspect in developing a national defense plan, which is based on strategic analysis and identification of the nature of threats, as well as the possibility of a combination of multiple forms of threats. Military threats, non-military threats, and hybrid threats exist in the form of real threats and intangible threats.

The source of threats to Indonesia, which has an open strategic position, is quite complicated; these threats include both military and non-military challenges, both internal and external. The essence of a threat is a viewpoint that regards something as a threat despite its intrinsic character.

### 2.3.4. *Theory of National Security*

According to Buzan and Hansen (2009), threats might be understood differently by each actor. Furthermore, "threats are identified and given meaning is, for example, better understood through an analysis of identity building and institutional transformation that does not lend itself to causality or quantification" (Buzan & Hansen, 2009, p. 9). Because balancing and band wagoning are more accurately understood as threats, it is critical to analyze all of the aspects that may influence the level of threat that states may pose. As a result, I will go over the impact of (1) total power, (2) proximity, (3) offensive capacity, and (4) offensive intentions (Walt, 1985).

## 3. METHOD

This research method includes research approaches and research types. The research method employed is a qualitative method, which, according to Bogdan and Taylor (as cited in Moleong, 2009), is a research strategy that creates descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from people and observable behavior.

The research method employed is descriptive research, which is a study that depicts or describes an issue. Descriptive research seeks to describe a population, circumstance, or phenomenon correctly and methodically.

Descriptive research, according to Sugiyono (2018), is a study conducted to discover the value of an independent variable, either one or more variables (independent), without drawing comparisons or connecting with other variables.

## 4. RESULTS

The results of Global Fire Power research show that the military strength of countries in the world in 2022, including Indonesia, will be in 15<sup>th</sup> position. The superiority of Indonesia's military strength is supported by a large number of army personnel, namely 1,080,000. The number of active Indonesian military personnel was recorded at 400,000, the number of reserve personnel was recorded at 400,000, and the number of paramilitaries was recorded at 280,000 (Antara, 2022).

The size of Indonesia also influences many main weapons system equipment (*alutsista*) owned by the land, sea and air dimensions. The large number of defense equipment also supports the ranking of Indonesia's military strength.

In order to defend the country, it is hoped that the sources of defense equipment and their completeness or the origin of their components will not experience an absolute dependence on other countries. In the event of an attack or blockade, the Indonesian military can adjust its supply chain so as not to lose production capacity. This is where the role of the domestic defense industry is to be able to provide it using the highest possible local content to ensure that defense interests do not experience dependence, especially in times of emergency.

In 2022, Indonesia's military power is in 13<sup>th</sup> position out of 145 countries at the global level. This position is known from the military ranking site, Global Firepower in 2023, or up two levels from 2022, which was in 15<sup>th</sup> position. One of the assessment factors is the defense budget spent by the government in the procurement of the main weapons system equipment (GFP, n.d.).

Indonesia has a defense budget of US\$8.8 billion which is channeled to strengthen the air force with a total of 446 military aircraft, including 41 fighter jets, 37 ground attack aircraft, 176 helicopters and 15 combat helicopters. Furthermore, to strengthen the naval assets of 324 units of warships, including 10 units of frigates, 21 units of corvettes, 4 units of submarines, 202 units of patrol boats, 13 units of minesweepers. As for ground forces, Indonesia has 314 tanks, 414 towed artillery units, 153 self-propelled artillery units, and 63 rocket launcher units.

## 5. DISCUSSION

### 5.1. *Optimization of the Universal Defense System (Sishanta) in Compensating with Other Countries' Military Strength*

According to the regulation number 23 of 2015 concerning the Indonesian defense white paper, in order to optimize Sishanta to offset the military strength of other countries, the Indonesian government, through the Ministry of Defense has made several optimization efforts (BPK, 2015). These efforts are described below.

#### 5.1.1. *Modernization of Military Strength*

Better economic growth helps to boost the TNI's modernization in dealing with military and non-military threats. The goal is not only to create equality and standardization with the alliance system but also to foresee unexpected contingencies owing to the strategic situation's ambiguity. As one of the Asia Pacific region's countries, Indonesia has modernized strategic conventional weapon systems as well as incorporated modern sensing systems such as Command, Control, Communication, Computers, and Intelligence (BPK, 2015, p. 8).

#### 5.1.2. *Development of Science and Technology*

The current development of science and technology creates network-based warfare and can carry out cyberspace warfare. The impact can make the world security situation worrying, including cybercrimes that know no boundaries, including the use of genetic engineering, biotechnology, and digital technology that are difficult to detect.

In terms of defense, cyberspace has joined the ranks of the land, sea, air, and space domains as the fifth domain that can be exploited as a battlefield. The use of internet-based systems, equipment, and platforms is becoming increasingly common, which may lead to vulnerabilities (BPK, 2015, pp. 14–15).

#### 5.1.3. *Strategic Environment Analysis*

Creating a strategic environment guided by ideology, politics, economics, socio-culture, and homeland security. Separatism remains a security issue that jeopardizes state sovereignty, the territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia's Unitary State, and the safety of the entire nation. Separatism is carried out through political and armed movements that take advantage of flaws in the administration of government services.

Handling internal security as a result of horizontal conflicts triggered by the diversity of people's culture, religion, ethnicity, and class, as well as social conditions, still characterizes conflicts that occur in certain areas (BPK, 2015, p. 21).

#### 5.1.4. *Future Threat Forecast*

Threats, both present and hypothetical, are the primary drivers driving the design of the national defense system. It is feasible to mix several sorts of threats based on the results of strategic analysis and identification of the extremely dynamic character of threats. As a result, existing and future threats can be divided into three groups: armed and unarmed military threats, non-military threats, and hybrid threats. Threats can emerge from within and beyond the country, as well as from state and non-state entities on a national, regional, and worldwide scale (BPK, 2015, pp. 22–23).

#### 5.1.5. *Improving International Cooperation*

Defense cooperation attempts to build a peaceful and stable region by fostering international cooperation while respecting each country's rights and sovereignty. Cooperation with countries bordering Indonesia outside the Southeast Asian region and major powers has a significant effect on the region, especially those affecting Indonesia's national interests so that the Indonesian country can have a strong influence in the region.

Indonesia is committed to striving for long-term international peace based on equal rights and positions, respecting each country's sovereignty, and not intervening in each other's domestic issues.

#### 5.1.6. *Development of State Defense Awareness*

Implementation Fostering awareness of defending the country to foster the mental attitude and behavior of citizens imbued with love for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution ([Republic of Indonesia, 1945](#)) for the survival of the nation and state.

Promoting awareness of state defense aims to deter ideas, ideologies, and cultures that contradict the principles of the Indonesian nation's personality. Defending the country is still being done through education and training, as well as socialization, in order to lay a firm foundation for the availability of defense resources.

#### 5.2. *Implementation of National Security to Counterbalance the Military Power of Other Countries*

This National Security Theory is related to Sun Tzu's art of war. Sun Tzu's art of war is governed by 5 factors, namely Moral Law, Weather, Terrain, Troop Leaders and Doctrine and Discipline. The moral law relates to the loyalty of the people to the leader without fear of death and danger. Weather is related to the contrast between night and day, summer and winter, and seasonal changes. Terrain (plain) relates to the distance, size and condition of the land that is dangerous or safe, broad, or narrow, faced with troop movements. Troop leader qualities are related to wisdom, trustworthiness, generosity, courage, and discipline. Doctrine and discipline are concerned with the organization and control of various management systems and procedures, as well as government structures and controls for the deployment of resources, including military expertise ([Rusfiana, 2021](#)).

According to Sun Tzu's concept of the art of war in maintaining national security, it takes a troop leader (commander) who is smart and always has lots of initiatives and ideas to weaken the enemy's strength. This greatly affects the loyalty and morale of the soldiers he carries. A Commander must know the state of the enemy and the capabilities of his own troops so that he is not wrong in making decisions.

#### 5.3. *Implementation of State Defense Theory in Balancing the Military Power of Other Countries*

In counterbalancing the military strength of other countries, the TNI can carry out conventional warfare and make every effort to strengthen its Defense Forces so that it can eliminate enemy forces, whether by land, sea or air. Air, sea and tank counter weapons are placed in the right places to protect strategic places.

In addition, on several islands where it is estimated the direction of the enemy may be coming, Field Artillery (Armed) and Air Defense Artillery (Arhanud) weapons must be placed, especially anti-air and sea attack missiles. The Indonesian Air Force's Air Power is prepared to destroy enemy aircraft, and the Indonesian Navy carries out its duties according to its dimensions.

Marines of the TNI-AL carry out coastal defense, and the TNI-AD carry out countermeasures in the land area where the enemy is likely to come, namely by setting up land mines in places where the enemy does not expect them. In the implementation of counter-guerrilla operations, troops carried out maneuvers of deception and deception against the enemy. TNI troops tried to lead the enemy to a place that had been prepared to be destroyed.

In using attack tactics (offensive), the opposing guerrilla forces must take advantage of terrain that can protect troops and attack when the enemy is off guard/ in an unprepared condition. Troops may not carry out a decisive/all-out attack and attack if they are sure of victory.

#### 5.4. *Implementation of the Theory of Universal People's War to Counterbalance the Military Power of Other Countries*

Sishanta is a doctrine adhered to by Indonesia. This concept is still relevant and valid for use in war operations, especially non-conventional warfare. However, Indonesia will not be able to win against a superpower that carries out an invasion/aggression into the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. This is because the strength of the superpower's defense system is not comparable to that of Indonesia.

History has recorded how, when the war of independence occurred, where the Indonesian people fought for independence with very limited weapons and fought against the invaders using guerrilla tactics. However, with a fighting spirit that was patriotic and dared to die, the Dutch colonialists could be expelled from the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. Therefore, the concept of war that will be carried out in the future is the concept of total war, and this concept must be maintained.

## 6. CONCLUSION

In balancing the military strength of other countries, the government, through the Ministry of Defense, optimizes Sishanta through modernizing military forces, development of science and technology, strategic environmental development, future threat forecasts, enhancement of international cooperation, and fostering awareness of defending the country.

In order to deal with military, non-military and hybrid threats, as well as counterbalance the military forces of other countries, the Ministry of Defense and the TNI optimize the achievement of national defense strategic goals and realize tasks in accordance with the national defense strategic plan.

## CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare that they do not have any conflict of interest.

## REFERENCES

- Antara (2022). Global Firepower: Kekuatan militer Indonesia peringkat 15 dunia [Global Firepower: Indonesia's military strength is ranked 15th in the world]. <https://www.antaraneews.com/infografik/2673393/global-firepower-kekuatan-militer-indonesia-peringkat-15-dunia>.
- BPK (2002). Undang-undang nomor 3 tahun 2002 tentang pertahanan negara [Law Number 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense]. BPK Regulation Database. <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/44421/uu-no-3-tahun-2002>.
- BPK (2015). Peraturan nomor 23 tahun 2015 tentang buku putih pertahanan Indonesia [Regulation number 23 of 2015 concerning the Indonesian defense white paper]. BPK Regulation Database. <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/178047/permenhan-no-23-tahun-2015>.
- Brownlie, I. (1990). *Principles of Public International Law* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Buzan, B., & Hansen, L. (2009). *The Evolution of International Security Studies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Darmono, L. T. B. (2010). Konsep dan sistem keamanan nasional Indonesia. *Jurnal Ketahanan Nasional*, 15(1), 1–41.
- GFP (n.d.). 2023 Indonesia military strength. Global fire power. [https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.php?country\\_id=Indonesia](https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.php?country_id=Indonesia).
- Holmes, K. R. (2014, October 7). What is national security?. The heritage foundation. <https://www.heritage.org/military-strength-essays/2015-essays/what-national-security>.
- Marsetio, L. (2018). *Mengembalikan Kejayaan Maritim Indonesia [Restoring Indonesia's Maritime Glory]*. Bogor: Universitas Pertahanan.
- Moleong, L. J. (2009). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif [Qualitative Research Methodology]*. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Nagel, H. J. (1975). *The Descriptive Analysis of Power*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Prabowo, J. S. (2009). *Pokok-Pokok Pemikiran Tentang Perang Semesta [Basic Thoughts on Universal War]*. Jakarta: Pusat Pengkajian dan Strategi Nasional.
- Republic of Indonesia (1945). The 1945 constitution of the republic of Indonesia. <https://jdih.bapeten.go.id/unggah/dokumen/peraturan/116-full.pdf>.
- Rusfiana, Y. (2021). Aktualisasi sistem pertahanan rakyat semesta (Sishanta) dan dinamika potensi ancaman [Actualization of the universal people's defense system (Sishanta) and dynamics of potential threats]. *Jurnal Moderat*, 7(3), 483–492.
- Sugiyono, S. (2018). *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R & D [Quantitative, Qualitative and R&D Research Methods]*. Bandung: Alfabeta.
- Walt, S. M. (1985). Alliance formation and the balance of world power. *International Security*, 9(4), 3–43.