The Future Of Indonesia National Security Post Covid-19: Defense Perspective

Eko G. Samudro, Siswo Hadi Sumantri, Syaiful Anwar, Ichsan Malik

ekogsamudro@gmail.com, siswohs32@gmail.com, morolawe7760@yahoo.com.au, ichsanmalik@gmail.com

Republic of Indonesia Defense University

Abstract

The spread of the corona virus (COVID-19) is a threat of potential disasters for the interests and national order, both natural disasters, man-made disasters or a combination of the two. Observing the current situation and conditions, namely the threats and challenges of the Covid-19 pandemic, from a non-military defense perspective, it is time to face it with a total defense strategy. In the future, Indonesia's national security, which includes state security, community security and order, and human security need to be considered. An institution that regulates this is needed in order to overcome the threats that come to the fore. Elements of the Indonesian National Army, Police and related Ministries / Agencies who are members of an institution, the National Security Council for example, will play an active role in accordance with the threats that come without eliminating their main functions. The future threat, which is increasingly complex, of course requires Indonesian human resources to be "tech savvy" and have a reputation in the international world. National defense based on Law no. 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense which is total, becoming the key in facing the existing threats. This is shown by the coordination, connection, synergy and harmony of thoughts and programs of the relevant government officials.

Key Words: Threats, National Defense, National Security

Background

Geopolitics has a scientific understanding of the influence of geographical factors on state administration. Furthermore, geopolitics has policies that are driven by a national strategy that focuses on geographical, regional or territorial considerations in a broad sense. The impact of policies made, which if implemented and successful will have a direct or indirect impact on the political system of a country. On the other hand, the country's politics will have a direct impact on the geography of a country.

In general, geopolitics is the perspective and attitude of the Indonesian nation regarding

itself, the environment, which is in the form of an archipelagic state based on Pancasila and the Indonesian 1945 Constitution. administration of the unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia as a national system of life originates from and leads to the ideal foundation of a view of life and the constitution. In its implementation, the Indonesian nation is not free from the influence of interaction and interrelation with the surrounding environment, both regional and international. In this case the Indonesian needs to have basic principles as a guide so as not to be swayed in fighting for national interests to achieve national ideals and goals. One of the guidelines for the Indonesian nation is a national

insight based on the shape of the archipelago so it is called the archipelago insight. The fundamental national interest for the Indonesian nation is the effort to guarantee the unity and integrity of the region, the nation and all aspects of its national life. Because only with this effort the Indonesian nation and State can continue to exist and be able to continue the struggle for the society it aspires to. Therefore, the insight of the archipelago is Indonesian geopolitics. This is understood based on the understanding that in the archipelago insight contains the conception of Indonesian geopolitics, namely the spatial element, which is now developing not only physically, geographically, but in the whole sense.

This was clarified by Priyono, J. (2017) who stated that the Attachment to the Regulation of the President of the Republic of Indonesia No. 97 of 2015 concerning the General Policy on State Defense for 2015-2019, conceptually, mentioned that Indonesian geopolitics is the Archipelago, namely the perspective and attitude of the Indonesian nation regarding itself and its geographical form based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Archipelago insight prioritizes territorial unity and respects diversity. an aim to achieve national goals.

On the one hand, geostrategy is understood as politics in implementation, namely efforts to achieve goals or targets set in accordance with political will. Since strategy is an implementation effort, strategy is essentially an art whose implementation is based on intuition, feelings and experiences. Strategy can also be a science whose steps are always related to existing data or facts. Arts and sciences are used at the same time to build or manage resources in a plan and action. Thus, geostrategy is understood as the formulation of a national strategy by taking into account geographical conditions and constellations as the main factors. Indonesia's geostrategy is a strategy in utilizing the geographic constellation of the Indonesian state to determine policies, objectives and means of achieving Indonesia's national goals. As an example of a geostrategic consideration for the state and nation of Indonesia is the reality of Indonesia's cross position from various aspects, in addition to geographical aspects as well as demographic, ideological, political, economic, socio-cultural, also defense and security aspects.

Suryanata, E. (2001) argues that the basic concept of geostrategy is National Resilience, with the dimension of ASTAGATRA, meaning that all very complex national life is mapped in a simple manner. Astagatra includes the natural of trigatra and the social of pancagatra. The natural trigatra is geography (area, natural resources and population. Meanwhile, the social Pancagatra is ideological, political, economic, social and cultural, defense and security (abbreviated as IPOLEKSOSBUDHANKAM). The same thing was also stated by Priyono, J. (2017) who argues that Indonesia's geostrategy is The national strategy of the Indonesian nation in utilizing the territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) as a national living space in order to design directives on development policies and targets to achieve national interests and goals. Indonesia's geostrategy is formulated in the form of the concept of National Resilience.

In facing the current real threat, the Covid-19 pandemic will certainly have an impact on Indonesia's geopolitical constellation, geostrategy and even geo-maritime. The Covid-19 pandemic has also had an impact on other factors in the life of the Indonesian nation. Therefore, a mechanism for handling Covid-19 in Indonesia is needed. The next section is a discussion that will review Indonesia's strategy in dealing with Covid-19 and after the end of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Discussions

a. National Defense Strategy Policy in dealing with Covid-19.

The disease epidemic that is happening in Indonesia is a real threat to the safety of the nation. As a factual threat, this epidemic is included in the potential for disaster, as stated in Law no. 24 of 2007 concerning Disaster Management. The spread of the corona virus (COVID-19) is a threat (hazard) of potential disasters for the interests and national order, both natural disasters, man-made disasters or a combination of the two. Due to the current conditions, it can be said that Covid-19 is indeed a disaster that has lost human lives and has an impact on the social life of other communities. According to Law no. 24 of 2007 that a disaster is an event or series of events that threatens and disrupts people's lives and livelihoods caused either by natural factors or non-natural factors as well as human factors resulting in human casualties, environmental damage, property loss and psychological impacts.

One of the strategic ways to fight an invisible enemy like the Covid-19 pandemic is to mobilize all of the country's national defense capabilities, including the use of military force. As a force capable of tactical and aggressive moves, the role of the military must be given greater space and responsibility in controlling the spread of this pandemic. However, before that, the pandemic control mindset had to be seen comprehensively as a universal war against a virus of mass destruction.

Moreover, Tippe (2020) argues that it deserves to be appreciated for the steps of the Indonesian government in accelerating the handling of Covid-19. Both in the first period, January 2020, in an effort to repatriate hundreds of Indonesians from Wuhan and Hubei (China) as well as from the Diamond Japan cruise ship, as well as steps in the second period which are currently ongoing. Observing the current situation and conditions, namely the threats and challenges of the Covid-19 pandemic, from a non-military defense perspective, it is time to deal with a universal-total defense strategy (Defense White Paper: 2015-2019).

The nature of total-integrated-directedsustainability is the key words in the Total Defense Strategy (RI Law Number 3, 2002), which can actually be realized to strengthen two strategic decisions of the Indonesian government. The two strategic decisions referred to are the formation of a Task Force for the Acceleration of Handling Covid-19 on March 14, 2020 which is chaired by the Head of the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB); and Presidential Instruction Number 4 Year, March 22, 2020, concerning Refocusing of Activities, Budget Relocation and Procurement of Goods and Services in the context of the Acceleration of Handling Covid-19. (Tippe, 2020).

Hakim, C. (2020) also added that since the end of the world war, almost all countries have rearranged the structure of their country's defense and security system posture which is fully oriented towards advances in high technology and total defense. Indonesia has long called it the Universal People's Security Defense System. (Sishankamrata). Unfortunately, it is said that because the National Police was separated from the Indonesian National Sishankamrata changed its form to Sishanrata. The bottom line is that with the very rapid technological advances accompanied by the use of the air and space dimensions, all countries have been forced to engineer their national defense and security systems which must rely on technology and defense which are totally.

The terminology of technology and total has become the key word in building a system for the continuity and existence of a nation in facing every threat. Of course, a total or comprehensive defense and security system aims to deal with threats that are also comprehensive in nature. In this case, any threats are expected to endanger the continued existence of a nation state. Now all countries are dealing with one of the threats that are part of the expected "comprehensive threat" that will come, namely the threat in the form of Covid-19.

In the 2015 Indonesian Defense White Paper, it has also been stated that the threat of the epidemic itself is an infectious disease that is

dangerous for humans. Almost every year one to three variants of new infectious diseases are found in humans or old diseases that reappear. There is a tendency that respiratory infectious diseases in humans increase with the appearance of new cases in the indicated population in certain areas. Therefore, the threat of Covid-19 can be categorized as a type of non-military threat that is real, so that the involvement of the Indonesian National Army is very much needed in overcoming it together with other civilian agencies. This is also supported by the 2018 National Defense Policy which states that the development of a state defense posture with an active defensive principle is carried out in order to guarantee national interests, both military and non-military defense. Non-military defense is implemented through increasing the role of Ministries / Agencies and Regional Governments in dealing with non-military threats, and managing national resources and infrastructure, as well as fostering defense capabilities in order to guarantee national interests.

Concerning at the threat conditions of the Covid-19 model, it is time to strengthen the Indonesian National Army in order to face the CBRNE (Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear Defense) war. Indonesia needs to have a special protocol, for example by isolating the region and imposing a military emergency disaster in all areas where the transmission of the virus is difficult to suppress. In addition, if it is an urgent situation, martial law can be imposed if the escalation is very dangerous and the biggest responsibility lies with the Regional Military Command and the territorial forces.

In addition, anticipating future threats can also include Nuclear, Biological and Chemical threats. Therefore, it is not wrong for the Indonesian National Army members to be provided with training on Nubika (Nuclear, Biology and Chemistry) at all Regional Military Command, assisting medical logistics for Covid-19 prevention and outreach operations. Other strategies in dealing with Covid-19 are building

emergency military hospitals, extraction of patients to emergency hospitals / facilities, isolation of areas including In-Out citizen selection, curfews and restrictions on mobilization, medical and security operations, and hunting and secure operations (for those who run off, demonstration or mess up).

Partomo, A. (2020) argues that military involvement must be accompanied by clear laws and the military here does not move alone, but moves together with all elements of Indonesian society. By having a centralized and systematic coordination flow, breaking the chain of spread of the pandemic virus must be done immediately. Apart from the strict guarding of the territory, strict sanctions for violators should be in a state of military emergency is absolutely necessary. The role of the Indonesian National Army as a force capable of moving quickly, aggressively and systematically, can be relied upon in these difficult times. Discipline character, command, capable of high mobility, plus military equipment and facilities must be maximized as a supporting system to support medical needs.

Geographical factors are also the main reason why the Army's role as the vanguard of national defense in this pandemic outbreak must be strengthened. From this, it is necessary to strengthen the three dimensions of the Indonesian National Army (Army, Navy and Air Force) as well as the territorial structures under them as the main force controlling the spread of the pandemic. As in the regional strategic compartment of the army, which consists of the Military Area Command to the army officer at the society. This perspective must be interpreted as the perspective of the universal or total war against pandemic.

From this perspective, there are three steps that can be taken by defense institutions (Indonesian National Army and Indonesia Defense Ministry) in controlling a pandemic. First, become the main medical support staff. Although not many military medical personnel are owned, by having military equipment, for

example contributing to the logistics of transporting health goods between regions, at least can help medical personnel and facilities which are increasingly limited in number and function.

Second, the transfer of function from military to medical equipment. With the increasing importance of the need for ventilators in each referral hospital for COVID-19 patients, intense cooperation is needed from state and private companies engaged in the production of military equipment or equipment to switch production to make medical equipment and supplies, especially those related to hospital needs at this time.

Third, maintaining security in the affected areas. There is no guarantee that soldiers are immune to the coronavirus. However, the presence of soldiers in every corner of guarding the territory, indicates that the country is totally involved in controlling this deadly pandemic. Imposing sanctions for those who violate the military emergency is not a violation of human rights, but it is a warning to all that this pandemic must be stopped now.

Thus, it can be said that the national defense strategy policy in the context of dealing with Covid-19 is indeed in accordance with what was programmed. The involvement of the Indonesian National Army and other elements of military defense is in accordance with its protocol in helping Ministries / Agencies face non-military threats, in this case Covid-19. However, it takes more effort to implement it well in the field. Some of them are related to institutions where there should be a special institution that states or becomes a consideration for the president in determining existing threats, for example the National Security Council, so that the elements working in dealing with factual threats can be coordinated and specifically Furthermore, the existence of technology is indeed vital in dealing with existing threats. Both in terms of mastery, procurement and updating of the latest technologies in dealing with existing threats. If Indonesia is unable to pursue this technology, then it is certain that the government will be overwhelmed in facing the threats that are coming in Indonesia.

Another important thing in the defense strategy policy in dealing with Covid-19 is the use of the budget. This needs to be monitored, evaluated and directed to use it right on target. Considering that the threat of the Covid-19 pandemic does not only attack defense and security, but can attack the economic, social, cultural, psychological and other sectors, the state's financial condition in the midst of this pandemic needs to be considered so as not to become another scourge that can cause new problems that threatens the integrity of the country.

b. Indonesia National Security after Covid-19

The growth of an epidemic is usually accompanied by a climate change event that threatens humans. In addition to a description of the impact of change, Nurdin (2011) argues that climate change and existing anomalies have even impacted national food security. One of the elements of this resilience, food, is related to the agricultural sector which has an impact on the availability of existing food supplies. As a result of this climate change, it is predicted that food production will experience a decline and stagnation, even if there is a high chance of a decline in production. Therefore, in order to fulfill personal and group consumption, short, medium- and long-term strategies need to be implemented in facing climate change that is occurring in order to realize national resilience in Indonesia. Responding to the previous statement, with the Covid-19 pandemic incident which may be accompanied by climate change in Indonesia. the government needs to prepare a strategy to support the supply and availability of national food stocks so that the Indonesian people can be guaranteed their survival if at any time a similar threat occurs in the future, even it is pandemic,

extreme climate, nuclear, biological and chemical threats.

National resilience itself still includes the realm of national security. Darmono, (2010) states that with the security problems that occur, the concept of national security has changed from state center security to people centered security. This makes security more comprehensive as well as security-related management which requires cooperation among related stakeholders. In this condition, national security is understood as a key component in protecting and safeguarding national interests by using military, political and economic force against threats from within and outside the country. This view confirms the opinion that national security in a democratic country includes state security, public security and human security (state security, public security and human security).

A similar view is shared by Evans (2010: 102), who states that new forms of threat can be created during the era of climate change. One country is capable of creating a pandemic in a region. What it means to "create" a pandemic is that the country is considered capable of coping with all pandemics that arise. The number of victims is more caused by existing disease epidemics than war, as data reported by the World Bank in 1990, which is about 50 billion people worldwide as many as 34.4% died from disease during war, only about 0.64% died. Given that the threat of open war is still small and its possible impacts that can be avoided, the threat of a pandemic, climate change and other natural and non-physical events will certainly have a considerable impact on casualties in the future. Therefore, Indonesia needs to develop a special protocol in dealing with these threats, both in terms of institutions, regulations and preparation of facilities and infrastructure. In addition, the mentality, abilities, ideology of Indonesian human resources in the context of insight into the archipelago and defending the country really need to be improved again so that they can withstand all future threats.

In addition, Chakraborty, I & Maity, P. (2020) explained in their article that it is true that Covid-19 has an impact on human economic life, as well as global public health. Indeed, it has a significant positive impact on the environment, due to restrictions on industrial activities that reduce exhaust emissions which have an impact on the ozone layer, but this condition on the one hand has an unfavorable impact on social life, considering that their economic income has stopped. In the context of future control and prevention, especially in facing the threat of an epidemic, experiments are needed in the manufacture of vaccines to prevent and treat existing diseases. In addition, forest reforestation is needed to support the world's oxygen forces for the better and as a means of life for wild animals so as not to create viruses that are harmful to humans. Next is to maintain or control the growth of the human population and enforce strong rules on the protection of wild animals.

Added by Totten, RJ (2015) which explains the relationship between epidemic and national security, that it is true that with the epidemic, a policy is needed to stop the presence of foreigners from entering a country, even if foreigners have entered a country they must be quarantined and determine a presidential decision related to cessation of immigration matters. This is indeed needed to reduce the number of Covid-19 or other infectious diseases. In addition, it was explained that the epidemic had an impact on the economy and military strength. This is indicated by sick human resources who are unable to contribute to the economy or the military sector for national defense.

Another important point was raised by Torales, J. et.al (2020) that the Covid-19 pandemic had a negative impact on the mental condition and mental health of the community. This outbreak leads to additional health problems such as stress, anxiety, depressive symptoms, insomnia, rejection, anger and fear globally. Collective concern affects the daily behavior, economics, prevention strategies and decision-

making of policymakers, health organizations and health centers, which could undermine COVID-19 strategies to control and lead to more morbidity and mental health needs at a global level.

In fact, fear of the unknown causes' higher levels of anxiety than healthy people and people with preexisting mental problems. The fear of an unjust public can lead to discrimination, stigmatization and scapegoats (Mowbray, 2020). First, people's emotional responses tend to include extreme fear and uncertainty, and negative social behavior will often be driven by fear and distorted perceptions of risk. Second, special efforts should be directed to vulnerable populations, including (1) infected and sick patients, their families and colleagues, (2) individuals and their relationship with the community, (3) individuals with pre-existing medical conditions (whether physical and / or mental), (4) health service providers, especially nurses and doctors who work directly with people who are sick or are quarantined. Finally, the level of psychological stress that healthy professionals and others may face and the risks to vulnerable populations should be considered in crisis decision making.

Therefore, the mental condition of society in facing a threat that requires them to live in limitations also needs attention. A bad mental state can lead to other problems that are just as dangerous as real threats. In addition, the condition of education that seems hampered also needs to be addressed so that the nation's future generations do not lose their common sense, do not lose their knowledge, creativity and their future. Therefore, in preparing for future threats, it is necessary to prepare a protocol related to the Education curriculum in conditions that are not possible. This aims to ensure the mindset and thinking power of the next generation so that they are not trapped only by the threats that hit.

In line with this statement, it was emphasized by Fitrah, E. (2015) who argued that President SBY stated that the idea of human

security is important in national security policy. The National Security Policy should indeed include elements of human security, public security, internal security, and external defense, either explicitly or implicitly, expressly or implicitly in the 1945 Constitution. The former Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia. Jowono Sudarsono, also said that there are four functions of government become the main pillar of a comprehensive national security system. First, State Defense, which is the function of state government in facing threats from abroad in the context of upholding the nation's sovereignty, safety, honor and integrity of the Republic of Indonesia. Second, State Security, which is the function of state government in facing domestic threats. Third, Public Security, which is the function of the state government in maintaining and restoring public safety, security and order through law enforcement, protection, protection and public services. Fourth, Human Security, namely the function of state government to uphold the basic rights of citizens. Human security as a form of human security in the style of Indonesia emphasizes the fulfillment of the basic rights of each individual citizen. These basic rights are described as the gateway to achieving national security conditions. Indonesia's success in overcoming security threats, both traditional and non-traditional, is also influenced by the Indonesian government striving to fulfill the basic rights of a citizen.

Thus, it can be said that the future national security of Indonesia which includes state security, community security and order, human security really needs to be considered. An institution that regulates this is needed in order to overcome the threats that come to the fore. Elements of the TNI / POLRI and related Ministries / Agencies who are members of an institution, the National Security Council for example, will play an active role in accordance with the threats that come without eliminating their main functions. The future threat, which is increasingly complex, of course requires

Indonesian human resources to be "tech savvy" and have a reputation in the international world.

In the future, the new design of the national security system is basically not always in order to keep up with the dynamics of threats at the national, regional and international levels but must be based on the doctrine and philosophy of nationality, especially in the context of advancing the life of the Indonesian nation (both morally and materially). Therefore, in the National Security system, Pancasila remains the source of all sources of law in Indonesia. The trends of globalization, information technology, democratization and so on cannot change the basic view and identity as a nation. In Pancasila there is a conception of human values, national values and democratic values as well as social justice for all citizens of the nation.

In relation to the democratic system, the national security system must be formulated at the level of professionalism, effectiveness, and accountability, starting from the concept to its operation. The maximization of the roles and functions of the national security institutions will ensure the upholding of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and protection against nations, as well as increasingly stable conditions of internal security and law enforcement. Even though in reality, the economic and welfare aspects that support the national security system are still limited, the progress of a nation, including in the context of national security, is about the importance of changing ways of thinking. Changing the way of thinking and revitalizing the nation's education sector is a big challenge in a reform or momentum of change.

Conclusion

Based on the elaboration that has been conveyed in the previous section, it is clear that national defense based on Law no. 3 of 2002 concerning State Defense which is universal is the key in facing the existing threats. This is shown by the coordination, connection, synergy and harmony of thoughts and programs of the relevant

government officials. However, the participation of the Indonesian people in realizing universal defense also deserves to be taken into account. Considering that the national security component in Indonesia is comprehensive, namely a combination or combination of territorial security (defense) and human security, in its implementation it involves all components of society in cooperation with all state agencies.

Therefore, ideological mental fostering in Indonesian human resources is very crucial given the threats that can have a major impact on social conditions. The community needs to understand the spectrum of threats and their impacts, with sufficient education, this can be realized. Accompanied by education, the level of welfare deserves attention because Indonesia's National Security is actually the dream of a nation that longs for a safe, prosperous and orderly state.

REFERENCES

- Chakraborty, I & Maity, P. 2020. Covid-19 Outbreak: Migration, effects on society, global environment and prevention. Science of the Total Environment. 728 (2020) 13882.
- Darmono, B., 2010. Konsep dan Sistem Keamanan Nasional Indonesia. Yogyakarta: Jurnal Ketahanan Nasional: Nomor XV (1) April 2010. Hh. 7.8.17&18.
- 3. Evans, J. (2010). Pandemics and National Security. Global Security Studies ,101-102.
- Fitrah, E. 2015. Gagasan Human Security dan Kebijakan Keamanan Nasional Indonesia. Jurnal Insignia. Vol. 2 No. 1 April 2015.
- Hakim, C. 2020. Pertahanan Keamanan Negara Menghadapi Ancaman Nasional (Covid-19). Retrieved from https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2020/ 05/09/21063651/pertahanan-keamanan-

- negara-menghadapi-ancaman-nasional-covid-19 on 10 June 2020.
- Kementerian Pertahanan RI. Buku Putih Pertahanan RI 2015. Jakarta: Kemhan RI.
- Mowbray, H. (2020). In Beijing, coronavirus 2019-nCoV has created a siege mentality. British Medical Journal, 2020, 368.
- 8. Nurdin, 2011. Antisipasi Perubahan Iklim untuk Keberlanjutan Ketahanan Pangan. Jurnal Dialog Kebijakan Publik. Edisi 4, November 2011.
- 9. Pratomo, A. Penggunaan Kekuatan Militer Berskala Besar Melawan COVID-19. Retrieved from https://kumparan.com/ahmad-pratomo1536612819348/penggunaan-kekuatan-militer-berskala-besar-melawan-covid-19-1tFRV8gYk3o/full on 10 June 2020.
- 10. Priyono, J. 2017. Geopolitik, Geostrategi, Geoekonomi. Unhan Press : Bogor.
- Suradinata, E. 2001. Geopolitik dan Geostrategi dalam Mewujudkan Integritas NKRI. Jurnal Ketahanan Nasional, VI (2) Agustus 2001.
- 12. Tippe, S. 2020. Strategi Pertahanan Semesta Mengatasi COVID-19. Retrieved from https://www.gatra.com/detail/news/4735 96/kebencanaan/strategi-pertahanan-semesta-mengatasi-covid-19 on 10 June 2020.
- 13. Torales, J. et.al. 2020. The Outbreak of COVID-19 Coronavirus and its impact on global mental health. International Journal of Social Psychiatry2020, Vol. 66(4) 317–320 DOI: 10.1177/0020764020915212
- Totten, R.J. 2015. Epidemics, National Security and US immigration. Defense and Security Analysis. 31:3, 199-212, DOI: 10.1080/14751798.2015.1056940

Regulation

Kepmenhan No: KEP/1008/M/V/2017 tentang Kebijakan Pertahanan Negara