

BUILDING RESERVE COMPONENTS BASED ON STATE DEFENSE CAPABILITY AS INDONESIA'S DEFENSE POWER FACING NON-MILITARY THREATS

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Abstract – Indonesia's Threats, Disturbances, Obstacles and Challenges (TDOC) in the future are considered non-military (non-conventional). Indonesia's defense paradigm that is only relying TNI as a major force, should be changed. The drastic reduction of the military threats (conventional) from other countries to Indonesia, as well as similar threats around the world, make us have to rethink what is the appropriate formulation of Indonesia's defense strategy in this era of non-military threats. Therefore, the formation of reserve components, as previously has been equipped with competence and knowledge of state defense, needs to be considered more. The consideration is that the formation of this reserve components can be useful as a major defense element that support the main component, primarily to deal with non-military threats. The use of reserve components is not only prepared for war, but has a primary function for helping TNI deal with TDOC that is non-physical (intangible). This paper will discuss how the reserve components, as part of the nation's defense force, faces future non-military threats. In addition, this paper also sees that state defense can be an integral part of the effort of the reserve components to make this happen.

Keywords: state defense, reserve components, non-military threats

Introduction

In the state and nation's life, defense aspect is the main factor that ensures the existence of a country. The inability of a country to defend itself against threats, both external and locally, means the failure of the country to maintain its existence. The spirit of state defense echoed by President Joko Widodo is because the challenges faced by

Indonesian people in the globalization and millennial era are very complex. *Threats, Disturbances, Obstacles and Challenges (TDOC)* that must be solved by this nation is no longer from the outside (external). The TDOC come from outside and has changed its shape, from military (conventional), to non-military (non-conventional).

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As a result, our nation is facing the TDOC that comes from the inside (internal), and very rarely comes from the outside (invasion of other countries). Transnational phenomena, such as terrorism, drugs, human trafficking, environmental degradation, population increase, food and energy scarcity, economics, corruption, politics, refugees, identity crises, natural disasters, and also threats from radical movements, to disintegration issues. The author believes these problems will grow bigger as time goes by. Therefore, if this nation wants to be developed and no longer left behind from other countries in the world, even by neighboring countries, such as Singapore or Malaysia, Indonesia must be able to handle these problems appropriately.

These problems cannot be faced with military force alone, because the nature of threats have also turned into non-conventional. This internal threat will make us unconcerned about the nation anymore. If more people are not concerned with their nation, then a country will be difficult to rise up to become a big country. This type of threat is either non-physical or intangible, almost identical to the characteristic of the Cold War, ideological war, but has much broader impact and spectrum of threats,

that targeting individuals, not a country like in the Cold War.

Observing the tendency of today's war to be an invisible, unformed war rather than a direct war, the authors argue that proxy war is a form of war that is currently used by various parties for their own interests. As we can see, today's world political constellation tends to lead to a proxy warfare. The war is done by false (pseudo) so that anyone with a strategic interest in the war can be indirectly involved, or even completely unknown.

Understanding these typical threats requires a different approach. The Indonesian National Armed Forces (Indonesian: *Tentara Nasional Indonesia*, TNI) and the Indonesian National Police (Indonesian: *Kepolisian Republik Indonesia*, Polri) are having difficulties if they have to face it with their own power, with all the limitations. Therefore, the establishment of a reserve components (Indonesian: *Komponen Cadangan*, or Komcad) as an element of non-military defense force, which is functioned to assist the main components (Indonesian: *Komponen Utama* or Komput) of state defense Military (TNI), must be done immediately. The reserve components are the solution to deal with non-military threats (TDOC).

State defense in this case is useful as the main teaching material, given to the members of reserve components. The reason is that state defense is not a method of solving problems in militaristic ways, for example military education. However, state defense gives awareness to every human being that in this world, nationalism must be their priority. So, state defense must be the part of the teaching material that provided to the reserve components, because their task faces a non-military threat that cannot be handled only through military (physical) power alone.

Therefore, the involvement of citizens in the state defense effort becomes a part of their responsibility that should be prepared. The responsibility is implicitly mandated by the Constitution, as well as Law no. 3 of 2002 on State Defense. Meanwhile, principally the formation of a reserve components is to assist the main components due to the limitations on the main component, as well as the possibility of an emergency situation (contingency).

This paper will not cover all the defense components listed in the law of state defense, but the reserve components only. The reason is that the authors feel the reserve components could be a powerful defense force in

dealing with non-military threats. Based on that, this paper wants to raise up about how the reserve components can become a state defense force, especially in dealing with non-military threats in the future. The reserve components shall be established through compulsory basic military training, in accordance with a Bill (Indonesian: Rancangan Undang-Undang, RUU) of the National Resource Management for State Defense, in which state defenses are the part of it. In addition, the Bill on the Reserve components (Indonesia: RUU Komponen Cadangan, RUU KPCN) was initiated since 2013 and the discussions was stalled in The House of Representative (Indonesian: Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, DPR). Then the name was changed, it becomes the National Defense Resource Management Bill. This new bill has become National Legislation Program in the House of Representatives for 2015-2019.

Understanding State Defense

According to the clarification of the state defense law, chapter 9 verse 1 states that the state defense is the attitude and behavior of citizens who are inspired by their nationalism of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, in ensuring the survival of the nation and the state, not just as a

citizen's basic obligation, but also the honor of citizens as a form of devotion and willingness to sacrifice to their country.

According to Sukzaya in Darmawan, state defense is the determination, attitude, and actions of citizens that are comprehensive, integrated and continuous, which is based on his love for the homeland, along with awareness in the life of the state and nation. Furthermore, defending the state is the right, obligation, and responsibility for all components of the nation without any exception. In other words, defending the state is a duty and responsibility of citizens to maintain the existence and sovereignty of the country. State defense is not only the duty and responsibility of TNI, but the responsibility of all citizens.

In addition, state defense efforts have a very wide spectrum, dynamic and contemporary. Widespread in the sense that state defense involves a small thing to a great deal. It concerns all aspects of the state's life, starting with ideology, politics, economy, socio-culture, defense, and security. Dynamic means that the dimension of state defense moves forward following the times, with various challenges. Contemporary means that

defending the country has a contemporary context that different from the past³

Thus, there is a sense that state defense efforts must be based on an awareness of citizens' rights and duties, as well as confidence in their own strengths. This definition is contained in the state defense law, in chapter 1 verse 1, namely "The defense of state security is all efforts to defend the country, the territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the nation from threats and disturbance to the integrity of the nation and state".

The aim of the state defense program is to be a part of the implementation of the state defense and security system. The implementation of state defense and security is the responsibility of TNI as a key component of the state defense system. So, TNI must have optimal defense and combat capabilities. The development of TNI is carried out gradually and continuously, drawn up in a five-year strategic plan, and adapted to national systems and policies, country capabilities, and global, regional, and national strategic environmental situations. The achievement of

³ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

professional capabilities and skills, as well as the power structure of TNI that has a characteristic of technology, by itself requires the qualified personnel and the weaponry system (*alutsista*)⁴

National Defense is an act to eliminate all threats of foreign enemies, in whatever forms, who threatening and endangering the sovereignty, salvation, and existence of the nation and state. According to the law of state defense, the State Defense System is a universal defense system that involves all citizens, regions and other national resources, and is prepared in advance by the government and is held in total, integrated, directed and continuous manner to uphold the sovereignty of the state, territorial integrity and the safety of the whole nation from all threats.⁵

State defense is also one of the fundamental elements of a country because it involves the interests of protecting its citizens, territories and political system from the threats of other

countries. This is in line with KJ Holsti's opinion that defense is a national interest considered as core value or something that is considered most vital for the state and concerns the existence of a country.⁶

Core value can be assumed that the strength of a state defense lies in its people's ability to protect themselves and their country. Therefore, the state must facilitate the process by forming a state defense program so that the people can participate in the defense efforts of the state, as well as the basis for Indonesia's defense force.

A country's defense policy should already exist in a blueprint which is a major defense strategy. This great defense strategy is a political policy produced by two institutions, namely the president and the parliament. This great defense strategy is the foundation of the democracy principles in the context of defense in Indonesia.⁷

Agus Widjojo argues that in a conceptual approach to drafting a state

⁴ Poerwadi, "The Technology Required and Should be Mastered to Carry Out the National Army Duties in 5-10 Upcoming Years", in Indria Samego (ed), *State Security – Defense Strategy: Analysis of Problem and Potential*, (Jakarta: The Habibie Center, 2001), pp. 221-222.

⁵ Jerry Indrawan, "Empowerment based Leadership in Technology Transfer: An Effort to Increase the Human Resources Quality of

Indonesia", *Jurnal of Defense*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2015., p. 67.

⁶ Kalevi J. Holsti, *International Politics: A Framework of Analysis*, (New Delhi: Prentice Hall, 1981), p. 200.

⁷ Muradi, *The Dynamics of Defense and Security Politics in Indonesia: Understanding the Problems and Political Policies of the Defense and Security of the Reform Era*, (Bandung: Widya Padjadjaran, 2012), p. 29.

defense concept, it cannot be separated from the developmental trend of the strategic environment, the characteristics of future conflict, the nature of threats from the outside or inside, as well as Indonesia's national interests. From the information obtained to answer all these trends, then we determine the national strategy to achieve the national interests, especially to get the strategy and objectives in the field of national defense.⁸ The combination of state defense and reserve components are expected to reach the national interests in the field of national defense.

Non-Military (Non-Conventional) Threats

The current defense problem becomes mingled with security problem, especially with non-conventional threats. It means, the battlefield starts to expand, ranging from the war physically (hard power), to the diplomacy (soft power).⁹ Non-conventional threats are also associated with the terminology of human security. Transnational phenomena, such as terrorism, drugs, human trafficking,

environmental degradation, population increase, economy, currency, refugees, identity crises, politics, ideology, separatism, national disintegration, natural disasters, and also corruption have short and long-term security risks. Security concerns the issues of identity and culture of a particular society, community, or culture. The nature of threats is not always about physical, for example a speech or propaganda, that the effects can lead to resistance to change the regime.¹⁰

What exactly is the definition of human security? Human security is a condition in which people feel free from the trauma that surrounds human development. This means safe from chronic threats, such as famine, disease, and oppression. Human security also includes freedom from scarcity, that the basic needs are fulfilled and protected when there is a crisis or economic decline. In addition, it also includes freedom from fear, where human dignity is respected, not only physical salvation, but also freedom to choose how to live the life, and so on¹¹.

⁸ Agus Widjojo, "Future Insights on National State Security and Defense System", in Indria Samego (ed), *State Security and Defense System: Analysis of Potential and Problem*, (Jakarta: The Habibie Center, 2001), p. 44.

⁹ Indria Samego, "State Defense System Contextualization: Empowering the State

Defense Area in Change Perspective", *Jurnal Pertahanan*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2015., p. 7-8.

¹⁰ Jerry Indrawan, *Study of Strategy and Security*, (Depok: Nadi Pustaka, 2015), p. 64-65.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 65

State defense is closely linked to a human security approach. This human security is an effective method to counter the threats that are categorized as non-military threats. Nowadays, these issues are related with security issues, thus can be categorized under "national security" status. The change in the nature of security is increasingly apparent, especially after the cold war, where the role of state is diminishing.

The security of non-military issues is called securitization. These issues may involve the military, such as fighting the drug crimes, assisting humanitarian operations, until combat the terrorism. Military and non-military domains also influence each other. Therefore, for example the issue of terrorism, in which there is a problem of radicalization, we can classify as a non-conventional issue because it has experienced the process of securitization.¹² Defense problems are now becoming mixed with security, especially related to non-conventional threats. It means, the battlefield starts to expand, ranging from the war physically (hard power), to the invisible (soft power).¹³

We can imagine how great the non-military threat facing this nation today, in this global era. Globalization actually presents a spectrum of threats that are difficult to detect because it plays in the intangible level. If this nation is not smart in playing the role in globalization, then globalization will crush out all of these generations. Various kinds of latent or physical threats, but difficult to deal with conventionally, will spread in Indonesia through globalization if we are not able to filter them. At the end, the reserve components in Indonesia must be able to play an effective role in facing the bad influences that want to destroy the life of our nation.

Reserve components as Defense Strength

At present, Indonesia builds its defense based on a universal people defense system or system that involves all resources to deal with its threat. In this system, the defense of the country is not only the responsibility of a particular institution (TNI or Ministry of Defense), but becomes the rights and obligation of all components of the nation as stated in the 1945 Constitution chapters 1 and 2. The involvement of all national resources for

¹² *Ibid*, p. 69.

¹³ Indria Samego, *op.cit.*, p. 7-8.

national defense requires regulation in a law that is based on democracy, respect for human rights and civil supremacy. In law of state defense, resource utilization has been clearly stated.¹⁴

Nevertheless, there is no regulatory system that has a law legality in the form of political decisions (Law). In fact, when the country is in an emergency, they will need resources that can be utilized to support the interests of the country, so it needs a special Law that regulates national resources to support the strength of TNI. In this regard, since 2013 Ministry of Defense has made a draft the national resources management Bill (Indonesian: *Pengelolaan Sumber Daya Nasional*, PSDN) as a democratic legal protection for the state in using national resources for national defense. This PSDN bill is a simplification of the State Defense Bill, the Bill of Reserve Components, the Bill of Supporting Components as well as the mobilization and demobilization (mob demob).¹⁵

However, this paper will not discuss the draft PSDN bill, nor any other bill related to national resources. This paper will only focus on how the reserve

components, which is part of the country's defense resources, can be a powerful national defense against non-military threats.

Because it is a combination with the Bill of State Defense, if the reserve components will be established through the PSDN Bill, they must have the knowledge and competence about state defense. State defense is a mandatory curriculum that should be taught in the early stages of basic military training for reserve components. In accordance with the draft PSDN Bill, basic military training shall be followed by citizens as a form of briefing of basic military capabilities for reserve components candidates, especially in Chapter 12 verse 1-4.

State defense from citizens is a right and duty to defend the independence and sovereignty of the country, territorial integrity, and the safety of the whole nation from all threats. The defense embodied with participation in state defense efforts is the responsibility and honor of every citizen. Therefore, citizens have an obligation to participate in state defense, including being part of the reserve components.¹⁶ Also in the draft

¹⁴ Ministry of Defense, "Engaging All National Resources Should be Regulated in State Law", in [http://dmc.kemhan.go.id/post-pelibatan-seluruh-sumber-daya-nasional-perlu-diatur-](http://dmc.kemhan.go.id/post-pelibatan-seluruh-sumber-daya-nasional-perlu-diatur)

[dalam-sebuah-uu.html](#), accessed on June 2nd 2018

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Darmawan, *op cit.*, p. 33.

PSDN Bill that related to state defense has been accommodated in chapters 4 to 11.

Under the state defense law, every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in the defense of the country. It aparts of the life of the state and nation, which guarantees the citizens' rights of justice, security, peace and prosperity life. Then, referring to the 1945 Constitution of Chapter 27, verse 3, that every citizen has rights and obligations in the efforts of state defense, meaning that state defense efforts involve all citizens and all national resources. This policy on state defense is also stipulated in chapter 4-11 of PSDN Bill.

According to chapter 27 verse 2 of the 1945 Constitution, State defense and security are done by TNI as the main force, and the Police as the supporting force. The state defense system under the total law of state defense is cover all citizens, territories and other resources, and prepared early on by the government. The resources include the human resources, natural resources resulting resources, values, technology, and finances, which can be used to improve the capability of state defense.¹⁷

The state defense system faces two threats at once, they are military threats and non-military threats. Therefore, TNI as the main component of national defense must be supported by two other components, they are reserve components and the supporting components. In this paper, the author limits to discuss the reserve components only because the authors deem it more significant in the defense effort of the state. Thus, the state defense system integrates military and non-military defense to support each other and upholding state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and state security against any type of threat.¹⁸

According to chapter 1, verse 6 of the state defense law, the reserve components are a national resource that has been prepared to be mobilized to enlarge and strengthen the capabilities of key components. More specifically, the reserve components are defined as the mobilization of the people to physically defend the country, where some of them are trained about the basic military to some extent so that they are ready to be

¹⁷ Budi Susilo Soepandji, "Development of State's Defense Reserved Component Concept: Human Resource Aspect", in Beni Sukadis and Eric Hendra (ed), *Total Defense and Military Conscript: Indonesia's Experience and Other*

Democracies, (Jakarta: LESPERSSI dan DCAF, 2008), p. 49.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 50

mobilized when the state needs, when the threats come.

The reserve components are a non-military defense element, established and generally prepared to use the potential of national resources, such as citizens, to become a defense force that can be used to enhance and strengthen TNI. although its basic function is to counter the military threat, but in certain circumstances, the reserve components can be used to deal with the increasingly non-military threats. Some of these non-military threats, such as the involvement of reserve components in humanitarian operations, the handling of natural disasters, cyber threats, border security, to counter terrorism and separatism.¹⁹

In Law No. 34/2004 on TNI, chapter 7 on Military Operations In addition to War (Indonesian: Operasi Militer Selain Perang, OMSP), it is stipulated that in order to carry out the Defense Universe System (Indonesian: Pertahanan Sistem Semesta, Sishanta) the reserve components may also be included in OMSP. In the understanding of Sishanta, the total war is

defined by involving civilian (non-military) elements to engage in military aid, called reserve components. That's why the author feels that the reserve components should be formed, because of the increased level of our non-military threat.

The increasing of non-military threats cannot be faced by TNI alone, especially the Police. Recent developments, TNI involvement has been possible in the handling of terrorism cases after the revision of Law no. 15 of 2003 on Terrorism was officially passed by the House of Representatives. In the Bill of chapter 43, TNI can assist the Police in efforts to against terrorism.²⁰ This is also in accordance with the provisions of chapter 7 of TNI's Law. The President has also reactivated the Koopsusgab or Joint Special Forces Operations Command, consisting of three dimensions (Kopassus from Army, Denjaka from Navy and Den Bravo from air force), to assist the Police in handling terrorism as mandated by the revision of the new terrorism Law.²¹

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

²⁰ Kompas, "Important Articles that You Need To Be Aware of in Antiterrorism Law", in <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/05/26/10190871/pasal-pasal-penting-yang-perlu-anda-tahu-dalam-uu-antiterorisme?page=all>, accessed on June 2nd 2018.

²¹ Kricom, "National Army is Believed to be Capable in Addressing Terrorism from Land, Sea and Air", in <https://www.kricom.id/tni-dipercaya-mampu-tangani-terorisme-dari-darat-laut-dan-udara>, accessed on June 2nd 2018.

In addition, emergencies such as natural disasters, for example, can develop into a separate threat for a country. The reserve components can be deployed to assist humanitarian missions in places where natural disasters occur. Other issues related to human trafficking and drugs, and other transnational problems, especially those at the sea. The reserve components can assist the Indonesia Coast Guard (Indonesian: Badan Keamanan Laut, Bakamla) and the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries to address these issues, especially because of the vast oceans of Indonesia, requiring massive resources as well.

The reserve components can be an existential potential to support the country's defense forces in facing non-military threats. The reserve components are not a major combat force like TNI, but has a civilian touch. The utilization of these reserve components would be more effective in facing of non-military threats that exploit the ideology, political, economy, social, culture, and religion. If there are any actions required, then TNI or Police will intervene.

The reserve components are not an element of military defense, but they are a non-military. Philosophically, they are formed because most of the reserve components are used as a potential utilization of national resources (such as human, man-made objects, natural resources, as well as national facilities and infrastructure) to become a defense force element that can be used to strengthen the components main, that is TNI.

The reserve components are also not an active army who work everyday. They can still do their daily routine, but they have to be ready when they are needed by the state. The reserve components are designed to provide an assistance to the active military, both the army, navy, and the air Force. It can also serve to develop the capabilities of the three dimensions. The reserve components provide benefits to the country, as part of its national security program, by providing lower-cost armed forces, when compared to the costs that a country must pay for an active (regular) armed forces.²² Prepared reserve components can be mobilized or assigned

²² Agus Widjojo, "The History of Defense Reserve System in Indonesia", in Beni Sukadis and Eric Hendra (ed), *Total Defense and Military*

Conscript: Indonesia's Experience and Other Democracies, (Jakarta: LESPERSSI dan DCAF, 2008), p. 42.

to enhance and strengthen TNI capabilities.

The author would like to invite to see the recruitment process of TNI. In Indonesia, the recruitment of military personnel, in this case TNI, is volunteered, both to career officers, as well as enlisted and non-commissioned officers. It means, that any TNI personnel can choose to stay in TNI institution or retire after serving for 19 years. This long period can affect the mental and moral condition of the soldiers, especially if there is no war, which means that soldiers do not perform the main task, only the assistance tasks.

Learning from the recruitment process of other countries, professional soldiers in democratic countries have periods of active duty, or service period, between four to eight years. Meanwhile, the rules in Indonesia are not too clear. A soldier enters TNI voluntarily, but he cannot resign easily because his active tenure is for 19 years, outside of continuing education, such as the Navy Staff and Command School, advanced courses, Joint Services' Staff and Command School, etc. On the other hand, the length of active duty does not have a

significant contribution to TNI's performance, especially in facing and handling of national threats.²³

As mentioned earlier, the TDOC that facing Indonesia is about the non-military problems, such as political issues (ideology, freedom, elections, decentralization), economic problems (limited national budget, high fuel and food prices), social problems (natural disasters), including law enforcement or public order and security (smuggling, terrorism, sectarian conflict) at the national level. At the regional level, there are disputed border issues, maritime security, and transnational crime. Challenges and threats to Indonesia at the international level are human rights, foreign intervention, war against terrorism, regional or international conflicts, and weapon of mass destruction.²⁴

This condition further reinforces the fact that the invasion or military aggression against Indonesia from other countries is very unlikely today, also in the future. Something that is already predicted by the Defense White Paper of Indonesia, both the 2008 and 2015

²³ Beni Sukadis, "Developing TNI's Capability and Conscriptio", dalam Beni Sukadis dan Eric Hendra (ed), *Total Defense and Military Conscript: Indonesia's Experience and Other*

Democracies, (Jakarta: LESPERSI and DCAF, 2008), pp. 71-72.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

editions. Therefore, the reserve components can be the best option in anticipating the worst non-military threat scenario, as well as the military threat if it ever happens.²⁵

Therefore, not just military preparedness that must be created by the state, but also the other issues outside the military threats, as already mentioned. For example, to deal with non-military threats that are in conformity with the ideology of the nation, Pancasila, are needed by those who understand and comprehend the Pancasila purely and consequently. Then, on some occasions of training in state defense that is related with the practice of Pancasila, such persons can become their educators. These persons can be included as part of the reserve components.

Similarly, the threat of terrorism for example. So far, action against terrorism is still focused on the level of prosecution, but less prevention, even though the deradicalization policy has been implemented. One of the preventions about radicalization, which will lead to terrorism, is prevention in cyberspace. Indonesia needs a lot of cyber experts to ward off the evil influence of people who want to spread hate speech, hoaxes, to

radical content. These cyber experts should be a part of the reserve components.

From the two examples of non-military threats above, it is proved that Indonesia's threat is a non-physical threat. This threat is clearly impossible to resist only by military defense forces alone. However, to solve this threat should requires a different approach. As mentioned earlier, the reserve components are not a part of the military defense force. Therefore, the involvement must be appropriate, such to deal with the threat of non-military which is bigger.

This is the reason that reserve components become a necessity for the country. If not, the young generation will be seriously affected by this non-military threat, besides being vulnerable indoctrinisation, they are also the successors of this nation. Without them, the future of the nation will be exhausted. No wonder, if today's war does not start from the outside, but in the country itself. This nation is extricated from the internal, attacked by the young generation, so that the foundation of this nation will be fragile and can be controlled without a single bullet.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

In PSDN Bill chapter 41 and 42 also mentioned that the period of dedication of reserve components consists of active and inactive period. Active period is the dedication period of reserve components during the training and or mobilization. Meanwhile, the inactive period is a devotion period of the reserve components by re-performing the work and or profession as before.

The bill is proving to the public that the concerns of many parties regarding the militarization and politicization of the reserve components are completely wrong. The reserve components are not an active military that have the daily work as a soldier. Chapter 61 of PSDN Bill that the mobilization of the reserve components by a President must obtain the approval from the House of Representatives (Indonesian: Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, DPR). Thus, according to the author's analysis, it is difficult to use the reserve components for the political interest of certain parties.

The fear of reserve components establishment that will bring Indonesia into the New Order era again, is too far. Instead, to "move on" from that period, the reserve components must be set up to deal with threats with a spectrum that is very different from the past. Involvement

of active reserve components should have the clear rules, and verified by two branches of state power, executive and legislative power.

The concept of reserve components becomes polemic when it faced with the situation of recruiting civilians to participate actively in national defense. In general, this condition is known as compulsory military service. In fact, the plan from the Ministry of Defense in formulating the concept of conscription is to involve civilians as a component of defense resources in the second line of state defense, under TNI as the main component. As the author has mentioned earlier, the reserve components only aim to strengthen the main component, where conscription is only one way of achieving that goal.

The reserve components and conscription are two different things. The rationale behind the reserve components are how to view defense as a national effort to maximize national potential and resources for defense. The public is concerned about the possibility of using this reserve components for non-military operations with civil society. In addition, there is a possibility of civilians who have followed the conscription to turn against the Unitary State of the Republic of

Indonesia, or become separatist. Armed with the military training, their tendency to be combatants and against the government is very huge.

Our national defense doctrine (Indonesian: Doktrin Pertahanan Nasional, Sishanta), allows us to implement it. In addition, the concept of Sishanta is actually not only owned and used by our country. Some Scandinavian countries, China, until our neighbors Vietnam and Singapore, generally use the same concept. The defense system in these countries is supported by all of its national potential. In some countries, the reserve components take on different forms and roles, either called reserved components program, or conscription, adjusted to the needs of the country.

In European countries, many military programs run in countries, such as France, Finland, Russia, Germany, and others. From the history, conscription was introduced in 1789 when the French Revolution occurred. At that time, there is a rule states that every French citizen is a soldier. In its development, the French conscription army can defeat the professional army of European monarchs. Since the 18th century, many European

countries have adopted a conscription program. Especially in the Cold War era, where almost all Eastern European countries realized the conscription to their citizens. However, after the Cold War, as the world's strategic environment has changed, many countries began to abandon their conscription programs.²⁶

In Europe, there are at least three models of conscription. First, it is suspended conscription, or conscription which is carried out when there is a threat or emergency, such as a crisis or war. This military obligation may apply also to foreigners, such as in France (France foreign legion) and Spain. Meanwhile, Belgium and Luxemburg were the first European countries that accept EU citizens to be part of its military personnel.²⁷

Second, universal conscription, which means compulsory military service to all citizens. If any citizen cannot follow him, he must pay compensation. This program is also applied to women. However, due to global developments in regulation in Europe that prohibit forced labor, many countries have abandoned the policy of recruiting women to serve in the military. Countries with conscription

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

like this are, Switzerland, Austria, Greece, and Finland. Third, symbolic or eligible conscription, which is a model used in some northern European countries. Denmark is one example, where the military service system that invites young people to join the military voluntarily. However, if a particular recruitment quota fails to be achieved, then the government withdraws the lottery to determine who the citizen should follow. This system is also known as additional military service, which is practiced in Sweden, Norway, and Germany.²⁸

In the US, it depends on the government. During the Civil War of 1863, all US citizens were required to attend military service. This rule continued during World War I and II, as well as the Vietnam War in the 1960s. Since 1973, the government has not pursued a universal compulsory military policy to the public, by simply asking citizens to register voluntarily, without binding (Selective Service System or also known as enlisted). Since the Cold War ended, there has been no significant threat facing the United States, so in this period of peace the compulsory military policy is not strictly enforced.²⁹

Nevertheless, the Selective Service System program is still running with no legal consequences for those who do not follow it. Later, after the 9/11 attacks, the enlisted many were summoned to battle in Afghanistan and Iraq because of the country's need to prepare the large numbers of troops for the invasion. In Australia, in addition to its regular army, the Australian government deployed its reserve components to deal with water and electricity problems for the community. The use of this reserve components is regulated in the structure of the military organization of the country, so that the empowerment of reserve components are diverse, adjusted to the interests of each country.

Learning from some of the above mandatory military cases, the reserve components in Indonesia does not have to take such an example. Indonesia is better off adopting an enlisted model such as the US, where the strength of the reserve components remains established, by not forcing citizens to follow it. For those who follow it, there will be two main tasks, first is being a state combat force if military threats are emerged. Second, play a role according to their respective professions

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-65.

to cope with non-military threats. Thus, the reserve components will only be mobilized if there is a threat to the country. Otherwise, after the mandatory of military basic training, the reserve components will return to their respective professions. They will take part in efforts to tackle non-military threats.

Therefore, the authors propose that the mandatory of reserve components to be established in Indonesia as part of Indonesia's defense force, especially against the non-military TDOC. The superior strength, integrated with the same powerful reserve components strength, is urgently needed to address the strategic environmental challenges of this globalization era. An era, marked by the development of science, technology, communication, and information.

State defense can be an integral element that is taught early in basic military training for the reserve components. Facing an invisible non-physical threat requires a foundation of ideology and a spirit of nationalism, in each member of the reserve components. This is the essence of state defense ability in each member of the reserve components, because they do not learn everything that is physical, but more philosophical. It is useless if they have a

good combat ability, but there is no Pancasila in their soul. It is useless to have high intelligence, but the spirit of nationalism is low.

Non-military threats are played in this intangible domain. An attack on a nation does not mean a military (physical) attack on its state entity. However, this non-military era attacks every person that live in a country. The soul of nationalism is attacked and repealed, making them forget that they are one nation, and one blood, Indonesia.

If so, it is easy to ask them to "destroy" their own country, the attitudes and behaviors that are not comply with Pancasila values, such as criminality, corruption, separatism, betrayal, to become a terrorist who kills the people arrogantly. This is called a threat to human security threats. The state is physically intact, and relatively safe from foreign invasions. However, people who live in their country are no longer concerned with the interests of their own country, but prefer the interests of their group and individual only.

The purpose of state defense, is to maintain the perpetuity of the nation, to preserve the culture, to apply the values of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, to do the best for their nation and country,

and to maintain the identity and integrity of the nation. Thus, the movement of state defense is expected to produce the following attitudes:

- Create the discipline of time, activity, and other activities.
- Create the spirit of togetherness and solidarity among fellow comrades in arms.
- Form strong mental and physical strength
- Inculcating a sense of love for the nation and patriotism in accordance with the ability the have
- Strengthening the soul of leadership in themselves, as well as in groups
- Shaping faith and piety on the religion shared by each individual.
- Devoted to parents, nation, religion.
- Train the speed, agility, individual accuracy in carrying out the activities.
- Eliminate negative attitudes such as lazy, apathetic, wasteful, selfish, undisciplined.
- Shaping honest, decisive, fair, precise, and caring behavior among people.³⁰

Without the above matters, it is useless for the reserve components to have the ability to fight and to defend their

country, if they do not understand the meaning of state defense. That is important if our reserve components have a deep knowledge about state defense, so that they do the role as one element of Indonesia's defense force.

The rapid developments in the world today greatly affect the forms and patterns of threats. Therefore, Indonesia must have a strong combination of defense forces so that the deterrence effect of our power can be seen by the country or any other parties who have bad intentions towards our country. Our human resources that are estimated reach 250 million people, will save their own defense potential, especially if we already have an effective reserve component.

Managing the transformation of our national resources to lead the management effectively will manifest the reserve components in an essential right. The change of strategic environment in this era became the concern of the stakeholders in the field of defense, so the Bill on Reserve Components is finally changed its name to PSDN Bill, where PSDN Bill has a broader spectrum and

³⁰ 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/), accessed on June 2nd 2018.

coverage. It is useful for our response to emerging threats to be handled better.

Finally, even if the authors point out the superiority of the formation about reserve components, but if eventually it is formed, the weakness still exist. Fear of many parties related to the reserve components will only be used for the political interests of certain parties. In any regime, the military is very vulnerable to politicization. That is why the formation of reserve components remains vulnerable to certain deviations.

In addition, there are also cost issues. With a population of more than 250 million people, the cost required to form a reserve component are certainly not small. Especially in the era of Revolutions of Military Affairs (RMA), where technology takes precedence, massive mobilization of troops is very costly. Better costs are invested in research and development in the defense industry.

Beyond all that, of course there are many problems that will be faced if the official reserve components are formed. Changes in Indonesian society, as well as global in the future should be anticipated. This 4.0 revolutionary era marks a massive change in all areas of society. For this reason, the reserve components, along with the spirit of state defense, must be

able to anticipate those changes, even when the goodwill to defend the sovereignty is often misinterpreted.

The authors are still confidence that even if the changes in the midst of society in this era are happened very quickly, but the reserve components become the most appropriate medium to answer the problem. Massive and rapid changes are a feature of non-military threats. To face it, requires a responsive defense force as well. The reserve components, according to the author, is the answer.

Conclusion

State defense is the attitude and behavior of citizens which is animated by their love for the unitary state of Republic of Indonesia that is based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, in ensuring the continuity of the nation. It is not only as a basic obligation of citizens, but also an honor as a form of devotion and willingness to sacrifice. The reserve components are a non-military defense element, established and generally prepared to use the potential of national resources, such as citizens, to become a defense force that can be used to enhance and strengthen TNI.

The reserve components can be an existential potential to support the

country's defense forces in facing non-military threats. The reserve components are not a major combat force like TNI, but has a civilian touch and feel in it. In the midst of non-military threats, that exploit the ideology, politics, economy, social, culture, to religion, the use of all these components would be more effective.

State defense is a mandatory curriculum that should be taught in the early stages of basic military training for reserve components. State defense by citizens is a right and duty to defend the independence and sovereignty of the country, territorial integrity, and the safety of the whole nation from all threats. The defense that embodied with participation in state defense efforts is the responsibility and honor of every citizen. Therefore, citizens have an obligation to participate in state defense, including being part to become reserve components.

The reserve components should be established in Indonesia as part of Indonesia's defense force, in particular against non-military TDOC. Superior strength, integrated with the same powerful reserve components, is urgently needed to address the strategic environmental challenges of this globalization era, which generally come

from within the state (internal) and intangible.

However, to deal with the typical threat like this, it cannot be handled by the main component (TNI) only, or even the Police. In Law No. 34 / 2004 on The Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), chapter 7 on Military Operations In addition to War (Indonesian: Operasi Militer Selain Perang, OMSP), it is stipulated that in order to administer the universal defense system (Sishanta) the reserve components may also be included in OMSP. In Sishanta's understanding, the total war is defined by involving civilian (non-military) elements to engage in military aid, called reserve components. That is the reason why the reserve components can be formed as an element of non-military state defense force as the main component reserve power.

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