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PRIMARY RESEARCH

# Synchronization of National Security Policy in the Discourse of the Establishment of the National Security Council

Aris Toteles Sufiuddin [1*], Arry Bainus [2], Wawan Budi Darmawan [3]

[1, 2, 3] Security Studies Department of University of Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia

## Abstract

This paper aims to explain the National Security Council (NSC) in Indonesia Security Bill Design that refers to comprehensive security and human security concepts. The NSC's importance is to encounter military and non-military threats, which are constantly experiencing unexpected changes that the other country has implemented. The research methodology used in this study is to use qualitative descriptive studies with purposive sampling sample selection methods. Then to test the validity of the data used, data triangulation techniques by comparing the information obtained so that analysis could be done with different sources. Applications to this study are to support national security policy to influence policymakers by offering a concept of the NSC as an alternative to make a national grand strategy based on comprehensive security and human security concepts. This study shows that the discourse of establishing the NSC serves as an institution that synchronizes overlapping national security policies through the National Security Bill. To realize the implementation of holistic and comprehensive state security, it is necessary to ensure human safety based on Human Security declared by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). To realize the stability of national security policy, it is necessary to eliminate several state institutions such as the Presidential Advisory Council, the National Resilience Council, and the Coordinating Ministry for Politics, Law, and Security which regulatory does not yet have a clear security concept. Therefore, to realize the establishment of the NSC as an institution that helps the President formulate a state security policy, a regulation that contains a national grand strategy to support the Republic of Indonesia that is ready to deal with military and non-military security threats.

## INTRODUCTION

National Security is a condition in which the potential threat that arises is believed to interfere with the overall values of every human life. The threat to National Security in the era of globalization has undergone many shifts that no longer consider the power and sophistication of the military alone. But there are also threats to the economy, health, terrorism, radicalism, and efforts from a specific group of people who want to change the country's ideology and political system (Rasyid et al., 2018). The concept of National Security in every government has a different vision. It means that national security consists of the capability to implement how to protect their nation in every situation (De Rezende, Blackwell, & Degaut, 2018).

The concept of National Security is to figure out the possibility of incoming, out, or maybe passing the horizon (Givens, Busch, & Bersin, 2018). To realize comprehensive National Security requires neutral political support to reduce the impact of uncertainty awareness of policymakers' and stakeholders' goals (Ben-Haim, 2016). It is indispensable for Indonesia to build a national security system based on comprehensive Security and Human Security (Ferris & Weerasinghe, 2020). This concept should be executed through the NSC of Indonesia.

The contributions went further, calling out the political invalidity of the revealed practices (Jacobsen, 2020). Politi-

*corresponding author: Aris Toteles Sufiuddin
†email: toteles2001@gmail.com

cal policy is indispensable in formulating national security policy. Indonesia's traditional state security approach still dominates. As seen in various internal or homeland security policies that exist today, it is still limited to regulating security threats, such as cracking down on terrorism perpetrators when they are or have committed destructive actions. In addition, the counter-terrorism approach in Indonesia still uses a criminal justice system run by the Police of the Republic of Indonesia (Polri), which has duties and functions as law enforcement officials for law and order. The role of domestic security should also be achieved by the Indonesian National Army (TNI: Tentara Nasional Indonesia) as the main component of state security that can overcome the problem of terrorism as well. This uncertainty policy is to be resolved in the National Security Bill. Furthermore, Indonesia's government structures are still overlapping: the Presidential Advisory Council, Ministry of Politics, Law, and Security, and National Resilience Council.

NSC is supposed to refer as a profound to offers stakeholders by tactically and strategically to ordered worldwide threat-based security modern systems (Baldino & Grayson, 2020). The development of non-traditional threats to humans, such as infectious disease outbreaks, etc., is also a concern (Bainus & Yulianti, 2018). Every nation's possibility has goals from defensive security to offensive security (Pattison, 2020). Nevertheless, to reach the goal need many resources. But for now, in Indonesia security concept assume that a military threat should be the most important than a non-military threat. It means no comprehensive security policy in dealing with the problem that threatens human security as part of national security. To meet the modern NSC, decision-makers attempt tactical strategy for security, which is deploying all available resources that could optimize the use of military role that is not to be known by any party (Gilad, Pecht, & Tishler, 2021). It needs to be understood by stakeholders to realize a strong state in military and nonmilitary security.

The NSC will not only respond to widespread violence but respond on how to protect people (Ralph & Gifkins, 2017). Discussions about the NSC in Indonesia which is currently still experiencing obstacles in its approval, are essentially made to create national security that can prevent threats (pre-emptive), crisis centers, and restore security (rollback strategies). To create it all with the existence of a NSC that can improve national security, it is necessary to synchronize national security policy into the urgency of all dimensions of national security and the performance of existing stakeholders as agents or actors of domestic and foreign security. NSC was designed as the primary forum for discussing the government's strategy for national security (Parker, 2020). National security is a public policy that ensures the nation's safety and the country using economic, military, and diplomatic forces. In realizing national security stability, a country needs to form a council that can plan everything related to threats to security through the NSC. The NSC is an institution established to enhance all efforts related to national security in Indonesia, both related to national security, comprehensive and human security. The NSC could consider a grand strategy to ensure security stability that is fast, precise, and competent.

The whole goal is to invent a grand strategy of national security and development agenda-setting out guidelines followed by security standardization for in-depth, comprehensive planning in Indonesia NSC at the various degree to arrange national security plans that could be set up to determine the possibility the affection of threat and execute by using mechanisms based on a comprehensive security and human security concept.

To elaborate on this argument, the article is divided into three sections. The first describes the national security facts: border security, marine security, military, and the national police. The second describes the comprehensive and human security concept implemented in the national security draft in the establishment of the Indonesia NSC. The Third elaborates on the three concepts about the Indonesia NSC structures. This section describes how to eliminate some institutions perceived to overlap in national security policymaking. Then build a new structure that is not rigid and is based on comprehensive security and human security.

**Comprehensive Security Framework**

Comprehensive Security consists of logical security and physical security; this is included in the organizational and functional structure goal of protecting the organization's people, goods, knowledge, reputation, and interests (Espinosa García, Hernández Encinas, & Peinado Domínguez, 2021). The conditions of security policy suggest that the authorities (government) proceeding in political and diplomatic agenda and take quantify in maintain and protecting outside and inside of security, seeks to confirm the political and economic weakness of the public followed by making sure how to protect the nations from every possibility of threat in a various way (Arifi et al., 2011).

The strategy specifies that threats to security and national stability in the region are more likely to arise as negative, stabilized the effect of situations that traversing the mili-

tary politics, finance and environment, and human viewpoint than from using any military actions and proceeds to list some of them between countries and domestic contradiction, terrorism, organized crime, discrimination and intolerance, certain economic factors, environmental degradation and threats of politico-military nature (Wohlfeld & Tanner, 2021). The term Comprehensive Security could be found in the Helsinki Accords published in 1975 by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) and followed by the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) (Kumar, 2019).

In the 20th century, many countries adopted comprehensive security. Nevertheless, establishing a NSC in Indonesia is still experiencing many obstacles due to concerns from various parties about human rights violations by military actions. Whereas establishing a NSC is not just focused on

the military but also on non-military threats. Non-military action includes information about human rights, fundamental freedoms, and the humanitarian situation (Apakan & Sporrer, 2018).

While the old tradition of security concepts that controlled the military, political and diplomatic region and its highest grade is the chasing of peace and the removal of war or the "possibility of war," old tradition of security is talked about economic, social-cultural, environmental threats as well as the emerged of cyber security and space concern. Replenishment to peace, "non-traditional security" corresponds to risk, crisis, emergency, and common threats to the human being. As well associated with natural catastrophe, arising in public-health occurrence, and main public-security occasions (Ren, 2016).

**Human Security**

| HS Principle | HS Approach |
|---|---|
| People-centered | • Inclusive and participatory<br>• Considers individuals and communities in defining their needs vulnerabilities and in acting as active agents of change |
| Multi-sectoral | • Collectively determines which insecurities to address and identifies the available resources including local assets and indigenous coping mechanisms<br>• Addresses multi-sectorality by promoting dialogue among key actors from different sectors fields<br>• Helps to ensure coherence and coordination across traditionally separate sectors fields<br>• Assesses positive and negative externalties of each response on the overall human security situation of the affected community (ies) |
| Comprehensive | • Holistic analysis: the seven security components of human security<br>• Addresses the wide spectrum of threats, vulnerabilities, and capacities<br>• Analysis of actors and sectors not previously considered relevant to the success of a policy programme project<br>• Develops multi-sectoral multi-actor responses |
| Context-specific | • Requires in-depth analysis of the targeted situation<br>• Focuses on a core set of freedoms and rights under threat in a given situation<br>• Identifies the concrete needs of the affected community (ies) and enables the development of more appropriate solutions that are embedded in local realities, capacities, and coping mechanisms<br>• Take into account local, national, regional, and global dimensions and their impact on the targeted situation |
| Prevention-oriented | • Identifies risks, threats and hazards, and addresses their root causes |

**FIGURE 1.** Human security principle  (Source: (United Nations, 2009))

The challenge of the security concepts means that their various viewpoint is often handled separately. The broad notion of security involves military security, economic security, energy security, environmental security, etc., and has the influence to deal with specific risk situations. Therefore, there is an alteration from threats to susceptible and the

possibility of risks (Tamošiūnienė & Munteanu, 2015). The complexity of the security concept makes that dimensional difference frequently being treated independently. In a wide meaning, the scheme of "security" belongs to military-r, economic resistance, energy security, environmental security, etc., that have a duty in addressing specific risks to each. Thus, there is a shift from threat to vulnerability and risk aside from military threats alone, i.e., more comprehensive security.

The United Nations (2009) was one of the institutions in creating the concept of 7 dimensions of human security: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security (Conceição et al., 2020). The concept of Human Security and fundamental approaches concentrate on individuals and fulfillments the necessity of the public. Furthermore, fundamental approaches that human rights affect assessments have a comparison refined to concentrate on human rights abuses (Schilling, Schilling-Vacaflor, Flemmer, & Froese, 2021). Using the human security concept as an analytical framework is interpreted as whether or not the actors seeking to provide security have tried to consult individuals apprehensive about what they hold important for security and well-being (Gilder, 2021). When defining human security, declared that personal, in specifically susceptible societies, are rightful to freedom from apprehension and freedom from anything else (Muguruza, 2007).

## METHODOLOGY

This research uses qualitative methods based on the natural condition of an object by emphasizing meaning (Singh, 2006). Creswell (2014) defines qualitative research as a process of understanding that investigates social phenomena. Qualitative research design could determine how the NSC discourse is based on Indonesia's comprehensive security and human security.

This research uses purposive sampling, which is selecting a sample by taking a subject that's not based on the level or region. However, it is taken based on a particular reason (Creswell, 2014). The approach used in this research is qualitative research with literature studies.

An in-depth interview is a process of collecting information by asking structured questions. The data collection activity collects data, records information, gains access, and makes the report (Creswell, 2014).

Data analysis is the way of systematically exploring and organizing the interview transcript, field data recorder, and other substances collected to enhance the perception of all

the information and activate the result and followed by an explanation (Taylor, Bogdan, & DeVault, 2015). Data analysis is as follows: data gathering, data reduction, an overview of data, summary, and verifying the complete information (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Data collection is getting information or data related to this research. Data reduction is the activity of reducing information and then organizing all of the data; conclusion and verification are verifying the data at this level to avoid misinterpretation.

Discussion on The Synchronization of National Security Policy in the Discourse on the Establishment of the NSC requires identification and a deep understanding of the role of the NSC as a holistic institution in realizing the security of the Republic of Indonesia.

## RESULTS/FINDINGS

### Overlapping in National Security Policy

In the current border management, there are several institutions involved in it, including the Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Indonesian National Army (Land, Sea, and Air), Police of the Republic of Indonesia, Ministry of Marine Affairs & Fisheries, and Marine Security Agency. The institutions are authorized by their own rules to protect borders from various threats and create problems in handling the country's borders, increasing sectoral egos.

There are several products of legislation that are considered overlapping, namely Law No. 6 of 1996 on Water, Law No. 2 of 2002 on State Defense, Law No. 34 of 2004 on Indonesian National Army, Law No. 31 of 2004 on Fisheries, Law No. 26 of 2007 on Spatial Arrangement, Law No. 27 of 2007 on Coastal And Small Island Management, Law No. 17 of 2007 on National Long-Term Development Plan 2005-2025, as well as Presidential Decree No. 81 of 2005 on Marine Security Coordination Agency, and so on.

Indonesia does not have a clear concept of national security strategy yet because national security and related institutions stakeholders still consider that security threats are limited to military threats. That problem created the difficulty of implementing the NSC in Indonesia. The NSC was created to synchronize and create the National Grand Strategy of National Security of Indonesia based on comprehensive and human security concepts.

### NSC Based on Comprehensive and Human Security Concepts

Security is a critically opposed concept. The meaning of the old-tradition country-centric of relative freedom from military threats paired with a relatively strong desire will not re-

sult from any military actions that should take place via concepts operated by the system that suggest violent means to deploy military power and all posture of persuasion. But it has the difference to modern security concept that wrapped by the outlook of mutual-advantages, to transform animosity into partnership; consideration of insecurity or vulnerabilities, both inside and outside that threaten or have the potential to bring down or weaken state structures" (Holliday & Howe, 2011).

Establishing a comprehensive national security system through the NSC in Indonesia should be based on human security and comprehensive security. The concept of human security could be found in The Human Security Approach created United Nations Development Programme 1994 as follows economic resistance, food resistance, health resistance, environmental resistance, personal resistance, community resistance, and political security (Human Security Unit of the United Nations, 2016).

## The Three Concepts About the Structures of Indonesia NSC

Some state institutions such as the National Resilience Institute (Lemhanas), the National Resilience Council (Wantannas), and security or defense agencies related to its functions want to be integrated to coordinate and integrate all the strengths of the components of the nation and state effectively. The recommendations for establishing the NSC will focus on three major tasks. First, synchronize the preparation of policy recommendations. Second, the development of synergies and collaborations to ensure the integration of national security policies. While the third is to facilitate a council forum consisting of the President and Ministers or leaders of other institutions by asking for suggestions and inputs from the House of Representatives.
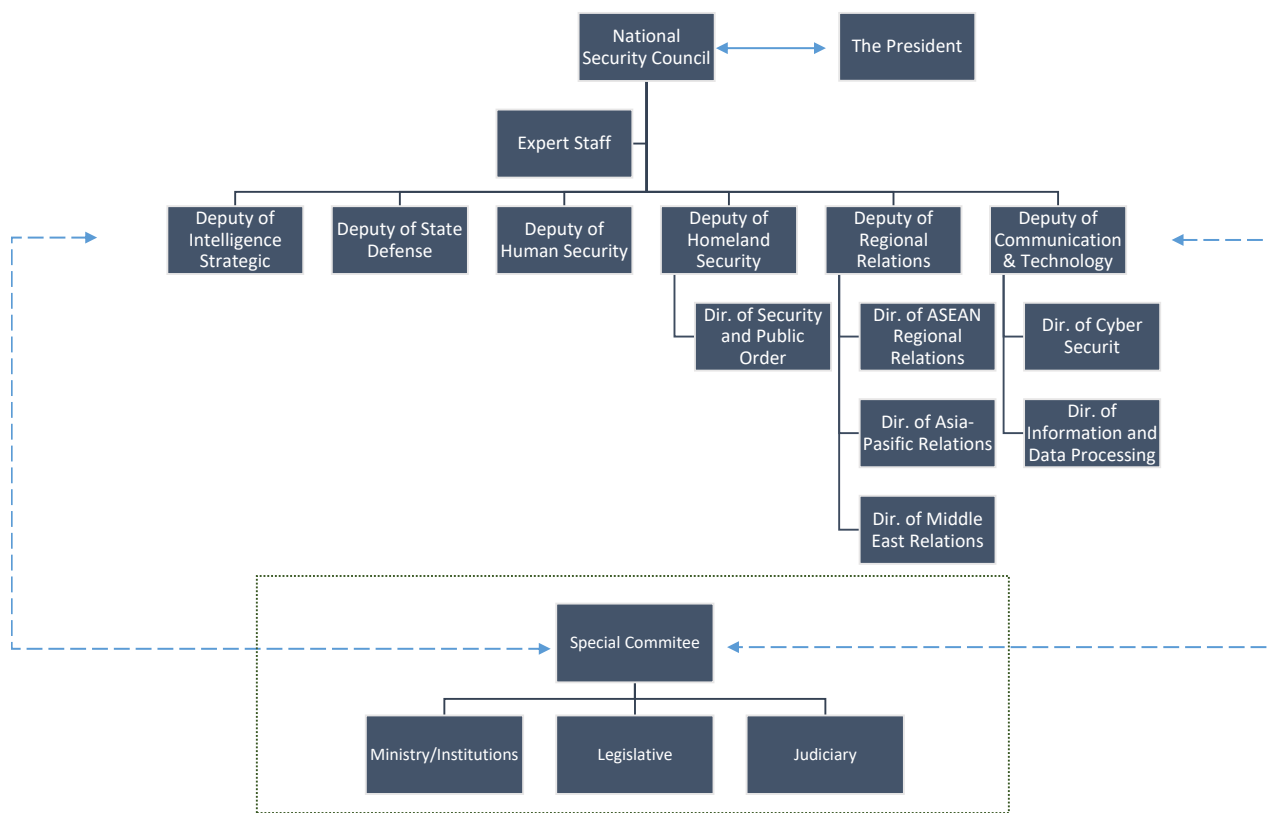


**FIGURE 2.** The NSC Structures Concept (Source: Researcher, 2021)

Indonesia has a Ministry of Politics, Law, and Security, Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs, Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Investment. Then to support Indonesia's sustainable national security, the Government of Indonesia also has a National Resilience Council and a Presidential Advisory Council, both of which are tasked with providing advice to the President related to the formulation of national security policies. But the existence of the coordinating ministry makes it difficult to achieve a definite security concept.
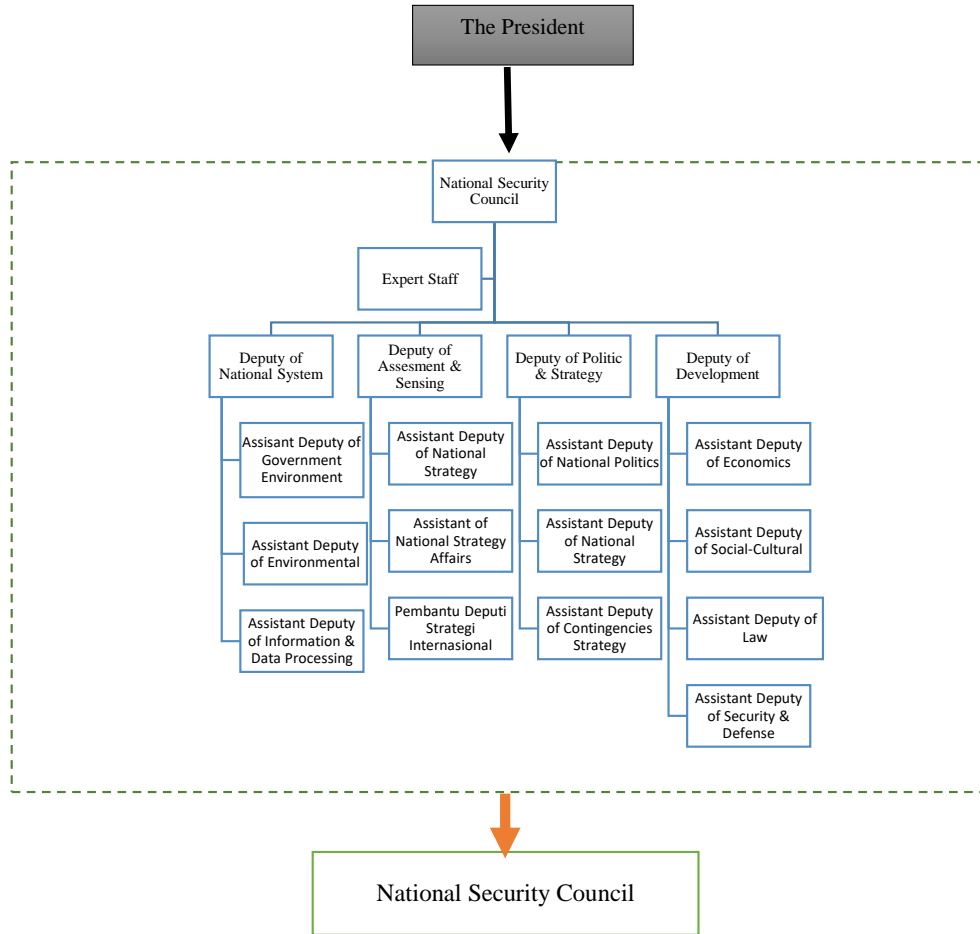
**FIGURE 3.** Transformation of the national resilience council into a NSC (Source: National Resilience Council, 2021)

The concept of establishing the NSC in Indonesia illustrates that no new institution is needed. Instead, it transformed the National Resilience Council's existing institution into a NSC. But the entire existing organizational structure was maintained, so there was no need to dissolve Wantannas and replace the nomenclature as the NSC.
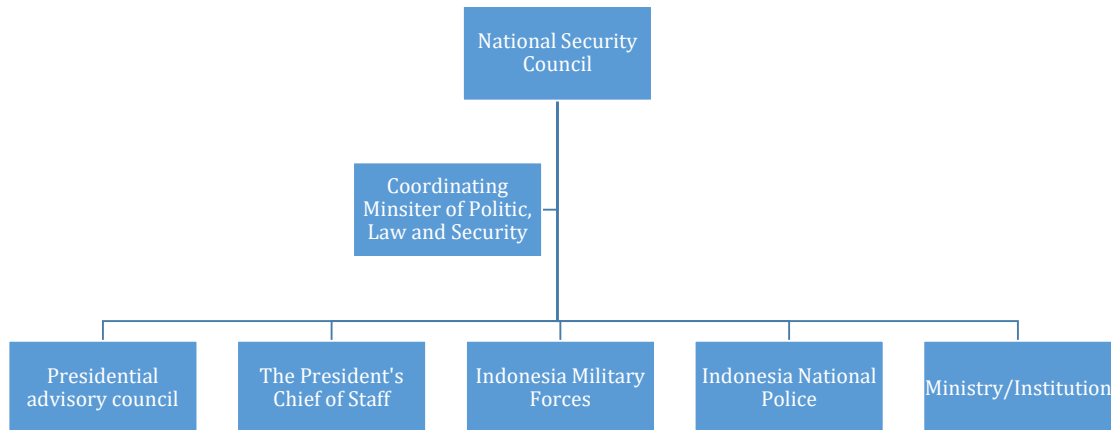


**FIGURE 4.** Concept of NSC with minister of political, law, and security as operational command (Source: Researcher, 2021)

The position of the NSC is in tandem with the President. As the NSC policy implementer carried out by the Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law, and Security to order the Presidential Advisory Council, the President's Chief of Staff, Indonesia Military Forces, Police, and other ministries/institutions. But if this concept is applied, there will be overlapped between the role of the NSC and the role of the Coordinating Ministry, which is functionally the same in inter-institutional coordination efforts.

## DISCUSSION/ANALYSIS

The traditional state security approach in Indonesia still dominates, as seen in various internal security policies that exist today is still limited to regulating real security threats, such as the enforcement of terrorism perpetrators when they are or have committed destructive actions. In addition, the counter-terrorism approach in Indonesia still uses the criminal justice system run by the Police of the Republic of Indonesia, which has duties and functions as law enforcement officers and public security and order (law and order). In comparison, the domestic security function should also be carried out by the Indonesian National Forces as the main component of state security that can overcome the problem of terrorism as well.

A top priority in creating the NSC was strengthening the connection between intelligence and policy functions (Fukushima & Samuels, 2018). Nevertheless, NSC is talking about intelligence and policy functions and has functions on how to protect human beings from human security threats. NSC in the new era should have comprehensive security and human security concepts that could make resilence in all nation components so that it is not easy to intervene by other nations or enemy potential. The existence of the NSC would assist the informal institutions that encircle security policymakers to better operate by transforming into more bureaucratically coherent while retaining adaptability. Strategic with innovative vision would be associated with an interdepartmental policy (Thomson & Blagden, 2018).

If we look at the NSC of The United States, it has four pillars: (1) safeguard the homeland, (2) promote US welfare, (3) sustain peace by utilizing strength, and (4) support US leverage (Burke, 2018). It means that the NSC emphasizes protecting United States interests worldwide. Furthermore, NSC has begun to change the course of its policies from military to non-military concepts (Kars Kaynar, 2017). However, Indonesia has no comprehensive domestic security policy as part of national security. The governing parties' specific ideological and policy positions align with those of their opposition counterparts. However, much of the pre-vious debate over parliament's ability to influence government security policy or vice versa and examine involvement in activities may turn out to be unimportant (Oktay, 2018). The main decision-making locus is peace and military and how to view from another dimension that is considered an international issue (Cabestan, 2021).

Indonesia has no strategic and operational policy; for example, Indonesia Military Forces cold handling the issue of terrorism, although, in the case of the East Indonesian Mujahideen (MIT) in Poso, the Government has deployed not only troops from the Police of the Republic of Indonesia but also troops from the Indonesian National Forces. Thus, there is the vagueness of handling terrorism between the two institutions, so there needs to be a bright spot in terms of regulation and institutional, especially about national security that regulates coordination between institutions to deal with various threats to national security traditional and non-traditional.

The strategic framework of interstate competition has faced changes in the style and substance of the foreign policy side and the more complex defense side (Ferguson, 2021). National security is a public policy that ensures the safety of nations and countries using economic, military, and diplomatic power. In realizing national security stability, a country needs to establish a council that can plan everything related to threats to security through the NSC. The NSC is an institution established to improve all efforts related to national security in Indonesia, both related to national security and human security. With the council, it can give consideration and plan the deployment of state power tools to ensure rapid, appropriate, and complete security stability.

The establishment of the NSC has previously come to the fore, but many raised pros and cons. The current national security situation and conditions are not only threatened by traditional threats but there are other threats such as non-traditional threats that can threaten the sovereignty as well as the security of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and its citizens or people so that a particular institution that can coordinate various elements that have links to national security stability. The special institution was formed to coordinate various elements of national security, ranging from the Indonesian Military with the National Police and other relevant government institutions that support efforts to defend the sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and the security of its citizens and people.

## CONCLUSION

This study shows that the discourse of establishing the NSC serves as an institution that synchronizes overlapping national security policies through the National Security Bill. To realize the implementation of holistic and comprehensive state security, it is necessary concepts in ensuring human security based on Human Security initiated by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), namely personal security, community security, political security, food security, economic security, environmental security, and health security. To realize this, it is necessary to eliminate several state institutions such as the Presidential Advisory Council (Wantimpres), the National Resilience Council (Wantannas), and the Coordinating Ministry for Politics, Law, and Security (Kemenko Polhukam) which regulatorily does not yet have a clear security concept. Therefore, to realize the establishment of the NSC as an institution that helps the President formulate a state security policy, a regulation that contains a national grand strategy to support the Republic of Indonesia that is ready to deal with military and nonmilitary security threats.

To coordinate all ministries/institutions in formulating a policy of threats to national security to eliminate institutions' overlapping roles and functions through one law, namely through the National Security Bill. But during discussions about the national security bill that last appeared in 2012, there was no certainty in making it legal as the National Security Act. Based on the research results, Indonesia still does not have a clear security concept in implementing security policies based on comprehensive security and human security. The presence of NSCs that have previously has been implemented by many countries in the world has contributed a lot regarding more comprehensive security handling. Furthermore, by applying the concept of human security and comprehensive security, the NSC decides in terms of conventional security and contributes to a more multidimensional modern security point of view.

### Limitations and Study Forward

The present study has certain limitations. The role of the NSC in Indonesia within politics has a long history dating back to its New Order era. This role should have been studied within its historical context for more comprehensive conclusions. However, this study provided only a scant historical background. Furthermore, this research discusses eliminating three coordinating ministry institutions related to national security to eliminate overlapped security policy but has not elaborated on the other coordinating ministries.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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