**The Dynamics of Sishankamrata in the Indonesian State Defense and Security System from the Beginning of Independence to the Reform Period**

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**Abstract**

Perdebatan mengenai konsep sistem pertahanan dan keamanan negara Indonesia masih menjadi peroblematika mendasar sejak masa kemerdekaan hingga masa refromasi. Misalnya mengenai pengertian keamanan nasional dengan keamanan negara, fungsi pertahanan dengan fungsi keamanan, regulasi dan masih banyak lagi. Untuk itu tulisan ini akan mendiskusikan bagaimana dinamika Sishankamrata dalam Sistem Pertahanan dan Keamanan Negara (Sishanneg) dari awal kemerdekaan pasca reformasi. Tulisan ini mendiskusikan bahwa Sistem Pertahanan Nasional (Sishaneg) yang diyakini masih perlu untuk tetap dipertahankan dalam kebijakan pertahanan dan keamanan nasional. Konsep Sishankamrata ini mengembangkan bentuk pertahanannya melalui keterlibatan seluruh komponen warga negara, kesatuan wilayah, sumber daya alam, serta sarana lainnya yang lebih dulu dipersiapkan. Sistem ini juga melakukan integrasi pertahanan (militer dan nirmiliter) menjadi lebih kuat, lebih disegani, dan lebih tinggi daya tangkalnya. Sehingga pada era refromasi secara eksplisit bahwa konsep Sishankamrata ini dianggap cukup ampuh sehingga masih tetap dipertahankan.

**Kata Kunci:** Sistem Keamanan Nasional; Sishankamrata; Hukum Keamanan Nasional

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The debate regarding the concept of the Indonesian state defense and security system is still a fundamental subject of mathematics since the independence era until the reform era. For example, regarding the definition of national security with state security, defense function with security functions, regulations and many more. For this reason, this paper will discuss how the dynamics of Sishankamrata in the State Defense and Security System (Sishanneg) from the beginning of post-reform independence. This paper discusses that the National Defense System (Sishaneg) is believed to still need to be maintained in national defense and security policies. The concept of Sishankamrata develops its form of defense through the involvement of all components of the citizenry, territorial integrity, natural resources, and other means that have been prepared in advance. This system also makes defense integration (military and non-military) stronger, more respected, and has higher deterrence. So that in the era of reform, it was explicit that the concept of Sishankamrata was considered powerful enough so that it was still maintained.

**Keywords**: National Security System; Sishankamrata; National Security Law

**Introduction**

The background of success in the life of the nation and state lies in two factors, namely prosperity and security. Hikam explained that the success of the "security" sector is the basic capital for economic development for the sake of "welfare", as well as in increasing "welfare" demands success in the "security" sector (Hikam, 2018: 2). According to Hidayat, both welfare and security are intertwined or intermestic (Hidayat and others, 2017: 120). As a fundamental need for the people, proper policies and regulations are needed in line with the development of various threats in the era of globalization.

One of the highlights of the demand for national reform and the topic that we will examine is reform in the defense and security sector. The reform of the defense and security sector raises various new problems, for example debates on the definition of national security with state security, defense functions with security functions, regulations and ministries in charge that are still not synchronized, and many more. (Sukmadi, 2010: 3). So to answer these problems requires appropriate steps, for example an in-depth analysis of the state environment is needed regarding ideological, political, economic, social and cultural developments at the domestic, regional and international levels. (Witarti and Armandha, 2018: 88). Furthermore, a structured agenda is needed in building and increasing synergy within the government to realize the right direction and targets for defense and security. (Alfajri, Setiawan, and Wahyudi 2019: 104). However, this defense and security reform must still be based on the national doctrine and philosophy (Mukhtar, 2017: 134).

Developments regarding strategic issues such as globalization, industrial revolution, democratization, humanity, radicalism and theory have expanded the scope of increasingly complex threats. (Susetyo, 2008: 2). So the development of threats is not only seen from the military but also from the security of other threats, for example the increase in asymmetric crime, cyber crime (Ardiyanti, 2016: 107), wiretaps from other countries (Luthfah, 2016: 330), *human security* (Anggoro, 2003: 2) and there are many others that our current national defense and security system has not been able to accommodate.

Based on the background description above, in this case it is necessary for the author to discuss the dynamics of the Universal People's Defense and Security System (Sishankamrata) in the State Defense and Security System (Sishankamneg) in the State of Indonesia from the beginning of independence to the reform period.

**Discussion**

**State Defense and Security System (Sishankamneg)**

To understand the National Defense System (Sishaneg), we can see the terminology in Article 1 paragraph (2) of Undang-Undang Pertahanan Nasional. Described in it, Sishaneg is a system that is "universal", where the implementation is carried out in a total, integrated, directed, and continuous manner by involving "all citizens", "territories", and "other national resources" which have been deliberately prepared from scratch. to "uphold national sovereignty", "national territorial integrity", and "the safety of the entire nation from all threats".

Based on the mandate of Article 30 paragraph (2) of The 1945 Constitution of The Republic of Indonesia, in which efforts in implementing defense and security must comply with the Universal People's Defense and Security System (Sishankamrata) by the TNI and Polri as the "main force" and the people as the "supporting force". Here we know that the government already has two institutions that work in defense and security (Jazuli, 2016: 190), however, they still need the strength of the Indonesian people for the success of this task (Saputra and others, 2019: 23). The implementation of the mandate of Article 30 has been realized in the form of laws and regulations, namely the Undang-Undang Pertahanan Negara, Undang-Undang Polri, and Undang-Undang TNI. However, the problem of the Law on "security concept" is that it can be drafted with Undang-Undang Pertahanan Nasional to improve the People Deferise and Security System (Sishankamrata). (Nakir, 2015: 15).

The Sishankamrata operation patterns are the defense operation pattern, the domestic security operation pattern, the strategic intelligence operation pattern, and the Southeast Asia defense and security cooperation operation pattern. (Suwito, 2017: 141-142). Therefore, it is important for the Indonesian state to have a national defense system that is universal. This is Sishankamnas which is the milestone and doctrine of national defense.

The concept of Sishankamrata develops its form of defense through the involvement of all components of the citizenry, territorial integrity, natural resources, and other means that have already been prepared. This system makes defense integration (military and non-military) stronger, more respected, and has higher deterrence (Pertahanan, 2015: 28).

The nature of "being prepared early" means that this Sishankamrata has been prepared from the beginning and is ongoing to face various types of threats that come. The nature of "universal" is meant for the involvement of the nation because it has awareness of the "rights and responsibilities of the people" and the belief in "protecting and maintaining" the survival and integrity of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia which is led by the state (under the Ministry of Defense).

The function of organizing Sishankamneg is not only to deal with external military threats but also conflicts from within (Indrawan, 2015: 84-96). For that we need awareness, a sense of responsibility by every citizen on the basis of his belief in his own strength and an unyielding spirit (Rosikin, 2010: 23).

Until now, Indonesia has adhered to the National Defense System (Sishaneg) which is believed to still need to be maintained. Sishaneg was chosen and became the only "system" in national defense and security policy. The characteristics of Sishaneg are also not much different from Sihankamrata, namely the “typical” system of National defense politics. As for the characteristics of Sishankamrata, namely, democracy, universality and territory (Kennedy, 2017: 71). The explanation of "populist" characteristics shows that people's interests are the main objective, "universality" includes all national resources, and "territorial" covers the entire territory of the Republic of Indonesia, both domestic and regional threats. (Yanti, 2014: 19).

As we know, in Article 1 paragraph (3) of The 1945 Constitution of The Republic Of Indonesia, Indonesia is a state of law (rechtstaat) in the meaning of "the rule of law" and not a state of power (macthsstaat) in building the life of the nation and state. (Siallagan, 2016: 131). According to Jimly Asshiddiqie, the concept of a rule of law places only law as the commander in the dynamics of the state. (Asshiddiqie 2011). So to realize a rule of law, an orderly civic law is needed (Wijayanti, 2016: 185). According to Ni'matul Huda, he emphasized the need to pay attention to the hierarchy where every statutory regulation that is made must pay attention to the higher level laws and regulations (Huda, 2006: 27-28). The following is a hierarchy of laws and regulations that are used as a legal umbrella in implementing Sishankamrata in Indonesia, namely:

* 1. The preamble to The 1945 Constitution of The Republic Of Indonesia (the constitution), in which it regulates the state's obligations and the main objectives of national defense and security, namely to "protect" the entire nation and "protect" all the blood of Indonesia.
	2. Article 30 paragraph (1) of The 1945 Constitution of The Republic Of Indonesia, in which regulates how the strategy, basis, and components in the security system.
	3. UU No. 2 Tahun 2002 Tentang Polri.
	4. UU No. 3 Tahun 2002 Tentang Pertahanan Negara.
	5. UU No. 34 Tahun 2004 Tentang TNI.
	6. UU No. 23 Tahun 2019 Tentang PSDN.

**Development of Post-Independence Sishankamrata**

Sishankamrata developed in Indonesia since the beginning of the struggle of the Indonesian nation after the proclamation of independence in 1945. The spirit of struggle to maintain the country's independence and sovereignty was the forerunner of Sihankamrata. The struggle was continued afterwards by carrying out operations to restore national security, especially in rebellions, separatist movements, and other security disturbances. So on the basis of the experience of the nation's struggle, the state compiled the doctrine of Defense and Security for the Universal People (Hamkamrata) and succeeded in being ratified in 1982 through Surat Keputusan Menteri Pertahanan dan Keamamanan Nomor Skep/820/VII/1982 dated 12 July 1982. Furthermore, UU No. 20 Tahun 1982 was passed made Sishankamrata the system for administering the State Defense and Security Agency.

Hankamrata itself presumes that Sishankamrata is capable of involving the people as a whole and shifting the thermology that the state is not the only party responsible for running the state. Even though the classification of our national security component consists of a basic component of the Trained People, a special component for Community Protection, it is considered less successful (Gunawan, 2011: 161). So it is necessary to implement a proper implementation by making the responsibility of national defense and security into an integrated responsibility concept(Manggala, 2016: 77).

Sishankamrata's "universality" strives to create conditions for national security in a very broad sense, covering various components to maintain stability and survive dynamic developments in all aspects of the life of the nation and state.

During the New Order era, Sishankamrata was an embodiment of efforts to organize the State Security Defense to achieve national goals through UU No. 20 Tahun 1981 where this system regulates the priorities of the “ABRI” Trained People as a basic component and Community Protection as a special component (Indarti, 1994: 1-3). Sishankamrata is considered the key to the success of ABRI in security operations, for example in the strategy of forming militias in anti-rebellion military campaigns (separatism). (Kontras, 2006: 41). The understanding of ABRI at that time was built through a doctrine called Catur Dharma Eka Karma (Cadek) in 1988 to become a self-creating entity. Apart from that, ABRI is also an institution that is unified with the people, where the success of its military operations is determined by the active participation of all the people (Widjajanto, 2014: 12-13). Although in the end many thought that the operation was violent.

According to Reza, the formation of militias, which were also secretly supported by ABRI based on the concept of Sishankamrata, increased public attention to human rights violations in non-international armed conflicts. He continued, Sishamkamrata is a major national defense strategy adopted based on the state's experience during the physical revolution of "armed war" in the struggle for independence of the Republic of Indonesia (1945-1949) which was later recognized in the second amendment of The 1945 Constitution Of The Republic of Indonesia (Reza, 2017: 155).

Meanwhile, Article 4 paragraph (1) of UU Nomor 20 Tahun 1982 states that the Sishankamrata doctrine places the "people" as the source of national defense, at which time the Sishankamrata doctrine itself is being proposed to be included in the amendment of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia to the Article on State Defense carried out by the Ad-hoc Committee I of the Badan Pekerja MPR. This has great potential for military violence against the people themselves, including: first, the loss of the guarantee for the immunity rights of the "people" in the Geneva Conventions. Second, the proportionality requirement (loss calculation) is ignored, where the "universality" character has full authority to the military to explore resources for the sake of war, even though this is a natural thing during war. Third, the authority to declare war by a "democratic" government is not absolute (Widjajanto, 2014: 14).

**Post-Refromation Sishankamrata Development**

In the reform era after the amendment of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, it was explicit that the concept of Sishankamrata was considered powerful enough so that it was still maintained. Although it is still maintained, there will still be a shift in the concept regarding the separation of the Police from the TNI and their respective duties and a change in terminology from Sihaneg to Total Defense as mandated by Tap MPR No. VI dan VII Tahun 2000 (Samego, 2018: 3). According to Bambang, the two MPR decrees contain fundamental problems, namely, (1) there is a black and white concept of defense and security which has implications for regional sovereignty and integrity, (2) there is a narrowing of the meaning of security in police duties to become less comprehensive. (Darmono, 2010: 20).But on the other hand, it must be acknowledged that the two MPR decrees became the starting point in the overhaul of the security system in this reform era. (A’raf Al A’raf, 2015: 35; Prihatono, 2006).

In this reform era, people's participation as a reserve component (if there is no war) has shifted, so the implementation of state defense where the focus is more on defending the "non-physical" state to shape the noble character and personality of the nation's children. (Umra, 2019: 177).

Then also required clear legal regulations to build an integrated security concept through the National Security Bill (Djuyandi, 2014: 456). There is great hope that it will soon be passed and become an umbrella for security law together with the National Defense Law.

To conclude, Sulistiyo explained that there are at least five "main objectives" included in the national security policy which is integrated and detailed, namely as state guarantee from all forms of threats, increasing the effectiveness and optimization of security administration, as a guideline for its implementation, as a means of domestic consensus, and increase trust (trust) and security cooperation (security relations) (Sulistyo and others, 2009: 168).

According to Barry Buzan, the national security policy is said to be successful (guaranteed) if the state is able to properly integrate military strength, economy, advanced technology, political stability and integrated social life. (Buzan, 2008; Hermawan, 2007: 35). Indirectly, the national security policy will become a means and lead the country to increase national welfare.

**Conclusion**

 Indonesia adheres to the National Defense System (Sishaneg) which is believed to still need to be maintained. Sishaneg was chosen and became the only "system" in national defense and security policy. The characteristics of Sishaneg are also not much different from Sihankamrata, namely the "typical" system of National defense politics. The concept of Sishankamrata develops its form of defense through the involvement of all components of the citizenry, territorial integrity, natural resources, and other means that have been prepared in advance. This system makes defense integration (military and non-military) stronger, more respected, and has higher deterrence. Sishankamrata developed in Indonesia since the beginning of the struggle of the Indonesian nation after the proclamation of independence in 1945. So based on the experience of the nation's struggle, the state compiled the doctrine of Defense and Security for the People of the Universe (Hamkamrata) and succeeded in being ratified in 1982. In the reform era after the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia amended, explicitly that this Sishankamrata concept is considered powerful enough so that it is still being maintained.

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