Defense Policy in the Link between National Policy and National Interest

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Abstract
There is a difference between making public policies related to defense and non-defense, the main consideration of making decisions in the field of defense is that in addition to the national interest, it must also be able to define threats that will be faced or potential to be faced. The approach in this study uses a descriptive approach, the approach is intended to describe or describe defense policies in the link between national policies and national interests, while the type of research is descriptive qualitative research. The data collection process was carried out simultaneously with qualitative data analysis, namely secondary data obtained by literature review or literature study based on journals, books, theses or documents related to this study. To collect data, organize it, and finally draw conclusions. Defense Policy is one of the public policies, namely policies made by the government as a policy maker to achieve certain goals in society where in its preparation through various stages. Defense policy should always consider the national interest. The national interest has a close relationship with nationalism, aspects of the national interest include: humans who govern the nation and state democratically make decisions based on the best interests of the community or nation and state.

Keywords: national policy; defense policy; national interest

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I. INTRODUCTION

Agustino (2008) quotes Carl J. Federick, providing a definition that policy is a series of activities or actions that are initiated and then proposed by a person, group of people, or government in a certain ecosystem environment, where implementation cannot be separated from obstacles (difficulties) and opportunity. The policies themselves are initiated, proposed, and implemented in an effort to achieve certain goals (Taufiqurakhman, 2014). Another definition related to policy that can be used as a reference, that policy is a series that at least includes: program plans, activities, actions, decisions, attitudes, to act or not act by parties (actors), where with the policies that are raised it is expected to be able to solve the problems encountered. Viewed from the achievement of goals, policy setting is an important factor for the organization (Iskandar, 2012).

Further understanding regarding policy, that policy always has two aspects that are interrelated (Thoha, 2012), namely: a. Policy is a manifestation that comes from social practice, policy is interpreted not as a single event or event that is separate from other elements such as society. Thus, policy is a formulation produced by the government...
whose formulation process is based on a summary of the events that occurred and were passed by the community. These events grow and develop in the practice of social life. B. Policy is a response to events that have occurred, whether the response is an attempt to create harmony or a resolution of the parties in trouble or conflict, or a response to efforts to create an incentive for joint action for those who receive irrational treatment of efforts Together. So it is not wrong if some experts briefly say that policy is a guideline for action. The guidelines in question can be very simple or complex, general or specific (Muadi & Ismail, 2016).

David Easton defines public policy as authoritative allocation and coercive allocation. The intended allocation values apply to the entire community both for the allocation of authoritative and coercive values. Easton's definition is almost in line with Laswell and Kaplan, public policy is a directed practice, where the series includes: projected goals, values, and practice programs or programs to achieve goals. Thus, public policy is distinguished from other forms of policy such as private policy. Budi Winarno (2007) quotes Pressman and Widavsky defining public policy always contains two things which include hypotheses that describe the initial conditions and a predictable consequence of the implementation of the policy.

The government as a stakeholder determines the direction of public policy in realizing an effort to fulfill the needs and interests of the community (Ramdhani, 2017). So that if it is connected with the implementation of public policy, it can be seen that the implementation itself is a relationship that allows the achievement of goals or objectives as the end result of the activities carried out by the government. After the implementation of certain public policies is carried out, there will be visible deficiencies or advantages of the intended public policies. The advantages or success can be seen from the impact that arises as a result of evaluating the implementation of a policy (Rohman, 2016).

Ideally, public policy is formulated in an effort to create changes in people's lives for the better (Prasetyo, 2012). Based on various definitions, public policy is a policy made by the government as a policy maker to achieve certain goals in society whose preparation goes through various stages. In particular, public policy in the defense sector is policy related to the military, security and defense of a country. National defense policy is all forms of policy to defend state sovereignty, defend the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), and maintain the safety of the entire nation from all forms of threats and disturbances to the integrity of the nation and state (Ardi et al., 2022). Therefore, the best state defense is one that is able to protect the entire nation within it. For this reason, a country must have a defense system that is able to serve as a guide in implementing the mandate in the 45 Constitution (Suroso et al., 2022).
National Policy is a fundamental and strategic State policy to achieve national/State goals in accordance with the mandate of the 1945 Constitution. National Policy is essentially a tool or media to communicate government policies to the public, both domestically and internationally. Among other things for the domestic community, namely providing enlightenment to the public about the administration of government. Meanwhile, within the framework of international relations, national policies, especially defense policies, are a medium to build mutual trust with other countries, both in regional and global contexts (Supriyatno, 2014).

National interests are the goals to be achieved in connection with the needs of the nation/state or in connection with the things aspired to (Putera, 2017). The national interest is a state goal and ambition in various aspects including the economic, military, and cultural fields (Bainus & Rachman, 2018). National interest has a fairly close relationship with the actualization of the power or power possessed by a country to achieve its goals (Matthew, 2020).

The nation is always involved in the process of fulfilling or securing the goals of interest their country (Suwarman et al., 2018). National interests are always formed, transformed, and adapted to the existing international political structure (Umar, 2014). Defense Policy is one of the public policies, namely the policies made by the government as a policy maker to achieve certain goals in society where in its preparation through various stages (Dunn, 2003). Indeed, there is a slight difference between public policy making related to defense and non-defense, the main consideration of decision-making in the field of defense is that apart from the national interest, it must also be able to define threats that will be faced or potential to be faced.

II. METHODS

The approach in this study uses a descriptive approach, the approach is intended to describe or describe defense policies in the link between national policies and national interests, while the type of research is descriptive qualitative research, namely describing and interpreting what exists, it can be about existing conditions/relationships. Opinions that are growing, processes that are ongoing, consequences / effects that occur or trends that are developing and analyze it in terms of applicable laws and regulations. The data collection method was carried out using literature studies, literature studies, books, journals, documents and archival studies which were analyzed and put into writing. The data collection process was carried out simultaneously with qualitative data analysis, namely secondary data obtained by literature review or literature study based on journals, books, theses or documents related to this study. To collect data, organize it, and finally draw conclusions.
III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Defense policy should always consider the national interest. The national interest has a close relationship with nationalism, aspects of the national interest include: humans who govern the nation and state democratically make decisions based on the best interests of the community or nation and state; and they want certain benefits for themselves and their communities, although popular nationalism is sometimes based on their ethnicity, culture or shared beliefs and values.

Meanwhile, Yudhoyono (2014) explained about Indonesia's national interests, namely: "There are 4 main things that are described as our national interests, namely national ideology and values, national security, economy and welfare, as well as Indonesia's contribution to a peaceful and just world, and orderly." National interest, especially in matters that are considered important for national welfare, prosperity, and sustainability (Yudhoyono, 2014). The national interest can focus on several things by setting priorities, because the available resources are definitely not sufficient to fulfill them simultaneously, including:

a. Economic well-being, including stable work and a decent standard of living, as well as accessibility to markets for individuals, communities and the state. Therefore, if a country is embargoed, then its national interest is how the embargo is immediately lifted in order to gain accessibility to the outside world, especially access to the market.

b. Security and safety, which is an effort to maintain national security and physical protection, including laws that protect domestic citizens, as well as safe limits that can be maintained against rebellion.

c. Beliefs and political values (political values). This includes affirming and promoting living values in people's lives, beliefs, and culture. The government tries to protect and respect the way of life, traditions and language of its citizens. For example, belief in political values such as democracy and human rights.

d. Citizens are educated with the best standards, both in the personal interests of the people and national interests.

Views about the national interest will be different from people's understanding of nationalism, their opinion about what is in the national interest may also be different (Aprilia et al., 2023). Thus the national interest can change and not something static. An incident in a country, can change people's opinion about what is in the national interest that has been drawn up long before the incident. State leaders often decide what is in the national interest based on an understanding of the nation and national identity. An example is the Chinese government believes that a strong military is very important, "China's military power is intended for the interests of maintaining security and stability itself, it is intended to prevent hostile countries from threatening China's national interests with military force."
Citizens' choices are usually inspired by loyalty. The loyalty of a nation and nationalism can inspire people to achieve the goals of the national interest of their country or nation. For example, national interests are often closely related to claims to territorial sovereignty, this is in many cases in terms of land and sea borders between Indonesia-Malaysia and these problems can increase the nationalism of the Indonesian people who feel that their territory is controlled by the neighboring country. For example, when claiming the islands of Sipaan and Ligitan, the waters of the Ambalat Block, and the 10-segment land border problem, known as the Outstanding Boundary Problems, where Malaysia claimed only 9 OBP, while the Indonesian side stated 10 OBP, these three things aroused nationalism from the people. Indonesia – which is responded to as or becomes the national interest of the Indonesian nation (Supriyatno, 2014).

A policy is a plan of action that has been deliberately chosen to guide or influence future decisions. The government of a country is responsible for developing policies, both policies that are for domestic interests and foreign policies, where defense policies are also policies aimed at domestic interests and policies aimed at abroad – although these are coordinated by the ministry of foreign affairs. country. Domestic and foreign defense policy decisions have short-term or long-term effects.

The White Paper states that Indonesia's national interests are organized into three categories, namely: absolute national interests, vital national interests, and important national interests. The absolute national interest is the preservation and protection of state sovereignty, territorial integrity and the entire nation from all forms of threats. The vital national interest concerns the sustainability of national development to realize an Indonesian society that is Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, prosperous, just and prosperous, and democratic. Meanwhile, national interests that are important or primary are interests related to world peace and regional stability (Defense White Paper, 2008).

In making national policies, it is ideal to always consider the following critical questions: what and who are the threats to the national interest? How do we determine threats? What actions will we take to keep all these interests awake? Because there are many kinds of national interests, it is necessary to have priorities. Some of the material contained in the defense white paper contains important material that must be interpreted properly and carefully because it is related to the form of national defense that must be realized. Against threats the defense white paper shows that there are military threats and non-military threats. Military threats can be in the form of aggression, territorial violations, armed rebellion, sabotage, espionage, armed terror acts, sea and air security threats, and communal conflicts.
Meanwhile, non-military threats are threats that use non-military factors that are considered to have capabilities that endanger the sovereignty of the state, the territorial integrity of the state, and the safety of the entire nation. Non-military threats can have ideological, political, economic, socio-cultural, technological and information dimensions, as well as public safety. In the Indonesian context, SBY conveyed five big things that he wanted to discuss in his inaugural speech as a professor, one of which was “a redefinition of the perception of threats to the national interest.” SBY explained that: “This new threat, namely the 'non-traditional security threat', is now getting wider and more complex. In the past, in short, threats could be from outside, and could be from within. External threats are described as military aggression by foreign powers. While the threat from within (internal) is rebellion or insurgency.

SBY continued, that today threats to national interests can be in the form of threats from the military, economy, ideology, and the basic values that we adhere to, as well as politics and sovereignty. Threats can also be natural disasters and climate change, disease outbreaks and others. Thus, the conclusion is that threats to our country are seen from the spatial dimension, threats can come from outside and from within the country, judging by their form, threats can be in the form of military and non-military threats. Meanwhile, when viewed from the actor, it can be in the form of threats from a country, as well as threats from non-state individuals and certain groups.

**Defense Policy**

The use of defense policies, regularly formulated, clearly defined, properly implemented is essential for the efficient conduct of operations in a large organization (Kuswanto et al., 2022). In addition, the least understanding and sometimes wrong in the use of words in military dictionaries related to "policy". Understanding of basic concepts in formulating defense policies is due to lack of information. Meanwhile, Peter L. Hays, Brenda Vallance, and Alan Van Tassel define defense policy in 4 ways, namely:

1. First, defense policy is a plan or activity related to the recruitment, training, organizing, provision of equipment, deployment and use of armed force (a plan or course of action regarding the recruitment, training, organizing, equipping, deployment, and the uses of the armed forces). In other words, the defense policy is one of the outputs of a political system, the output is one of the broader goals, namely national security. Second, as a military component of the national security strategy, defense policy refers to how to protect the country, the safety of its people, and the national interest through threats and the actual use of military force.
2. Third, defense policy is a political process. This is reflected in the input consisting of the international and domestic environment. This input is communicated to policy makers and implementers, the output generated from the activities of these makers and implementers will issue feedback and become input back into a system to make additional inputs. Furthermore, that the interaction between policy makers and implementers can have an impact on the policies and programs that
will be produced. Fourth, it turns out that defense policy is also a 'field of study', especially one that combines international relations and state politics with several comparative elements such as political science, political philosophy, history, economics, law, psychology, and sociology. From the two understandings above, 'defense policy' is very interesting, because theoretically defense policy is still rarely discussed. Because first, it is considered that the pressure of 'attention' on defense policy has decreased, especially in relation to international and domestic interests, this is due to the role of 'defense' in the international arena which emphasizes Peacekeeping Operations (PKO) and humanitarian assistance in disaster management (Humanitarian Assistance on Disaster relief/HA_DR) and other international cooperation.

Meanwhile, in the domestic arena (especially the case in Indonesia) the role of 'defense' or the military has decreased drastically compared to the New Order era. This can be seen from the decline in 'defense' activities due to the existence of national policies related to 'defense' after the 1998 reform and the development of a democratic system in state management. There is a division of tasks between the military and the police, the military has the task of military war and military operations other than war (OMSP, Military Operation Other than War / MOOTW), and the dichotomy of the military only facing military threats from abroad. Second, the public (civil society) does not yet feel that 'defense' is in the public domain as stakeholders. In fact, in the era of democracy the people are in power and should feel they have 'defense and military'.

However, due to past history, there is still an assumption within civil society, that 'defense and military' only belong to the state, in this case the government or authorities. So that civil society feels that defense is something that is taboo to be discussed by civilians. Even though this is not the case in developed countries, civil society is involved in thinking about the progress of defense and armed forces.

Nevertheless, reviewing defense policies is still very important, because the condition of the international system is still very vulnerable, for example conflicts (and potential conflicts) between countries (between South Korea and North Korea on the Korean Peninsula), the wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Iran nuclear case and conflicts internal countries (especially in Africa). As well as threats of an irregular nature (asymmetric-insurgency, terrorism, etc.), disease pandemics, various other illegal activities that threaten the safety of the nation and state. These things force the 'defense' or the military to intervene (according to the laws and regulations) which of course will be contained in defense policy.

In addition, the sovereignty of the state and the safety of the nation are absolute national interests, and war is still a characteristic of international relations. The state, still and absolutely must maintain its national security by having the obligation to recruit, train, equip with equipment (defense equipment), deploy and use its military power to ward off military conflicts, and if deterrence fails then they must fight and win the war.
In Western countries, it is said that 'defense policy is too important to be left to political elites, especially unelected bureaucrats. This is the language of 'militaries in the West', because the decision-making process on defense policy is heavily dominated by politicians and bureaucrats. Defense policy will be used as a guideline for developing the uses and limitations of military force. Robert Art categorizes military uses, such as for defense (defense), deterrence (deterrence), coercion (compellence), and show of force (swaggering). Defense will always refer to the use of military force to stop a threat or attack, or minimize the consequences of a planned attack, when the deterrence that has been implemented so far, as an effort to ward off the enemy's desire to attack has failed. Art, also states that defense is a counter to the military power of a particular country that attacks and deters by using military force threats against the population and industry of the enemy country.

Like the Defense Policy (state or national) in the Indonesian context, there are 7 policy documents, namely:

a. General Policy on National Defense signed by the President of the Republic of Indonesia;
b. National Defense Implementation Policy signed by the Minister of Defense;
c. Indonesian Defense White Paper;
d. National Defense Strategy;
e. National Defense Doctrine;
f. State Defense Posture; and

g. Minimum Essential Force Main Components.

The seven Defense Policies mentioned above, in fact, are hierarchical, namely the General Policy of National Defense, which is a policy made based on the President of the Republic of Indonesia and what is stated in the RPJMN which is described by the Policy for the Implementation of State Defense signed by the Minister of Defense. While others, the manufacture is usually based on a five-year cycle. However, the point is that it contains a government statement in the field of national defense to be used as a guideline or reference for planning, organizing, and supervising the management of national defense in accordance with the function of state defense management.

Defense policy and academic traditions

How to produce a national defense policy (defense policy) must become an important tradition in academic activities, especially in universities that specialize in the field of defense. Defense policy is an interesting 'field of study' to be researched, both in the planning, process, and how to implement the defense policy itself, in its manufacture it certainly requires scientific research methods which are now commonly used in various fields in defense and the military. For example, in the field of intelligence, the field of
operations has long used the Lanchester Law model, which is a law to analyze personnel and material losses during war, to calculate the relative strength of troops facing each other on the battlefield, as well as in logistics.

Because basically, defense policy itself is a public policy that is in the public spotlight, especially in terms of accountability, in connection with the use of the budget, which incidentally is money from people's taxes. Because of this policy - which becomes the 'guideline' - and will flow into an implementation, namely in the form of training, use and deployment of armed or military force. Training, equipment and defense equipment, the use and deployment of the military require a fairly large budget and will always compete with the budget for the welfare of the people, meaning that the interests of gun and butter are always competing. But actually, if the potential for war has been seen in front of the eyes, the gun must come first. From this description, it is natural that the use of scientific methods is applied in decision making in increasing the accountability and transparency of the government that makes defense policies.

IV. CONCLUSION

National policy is essentially a tool or media to communicate government policies to the public, both domestically and internationally. Meanwhile, within the framework of international relations, national policies, especially defense policies, are a medium to build mutual trust with other countries, both in regional and global contexts. Defense Policy is one of the public policies, namely the policies made by the government as a policy maker to achieve certain goals in society where in its preparation through various stages. Defense policy should always consider the national interest. The national interest has a close relationship with nationalism, aspects of the national interest include: humans who govern the nation and state democratically make decisions based on the best interests of the community or nation and state; and they want certain benefits for themselves and their communities, although popular nationalism is sometimes based on their ethnicity, culture or shared beliefs and values.

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