

RESEARCH ARTICLE

ROLE OF REGIONAL AUTONOMY IN THE INDONESIAN NATIONAL DEFENSE AND SECURITY SYSTEM (SISHANKAMRATA)

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ABSTRACT

As one of the efforts to maintain the existence of a country, the presence of the military in an order of national and state life is absolute. The determination to protect and defend the country from all threats - both symmetrical and asymmetrical - that can disturb the sovereignty and peace of the nation is an obligation of all citizens without exception. The purpose of this study is to determine the basis of authority for local government in the field of national defense and security and to determine the contribution of regional autonomy in maintaining national defense and security. Based on the problems examined by the authors, the authors use the normative legal research method. Normative juridical legal research methods are methods or methods used in legal research conducted by examining library materials from existing law books and regulations. The basis of authority for regional governments in the field of national defense and security is Article 1 number 2 of Act Number 3 of 2002 and Act Number 20 of 1982 concerning Basic Provisions of National Defense.

Keywords: *Regional Autonomy; Indonesian National Defense and Security System*

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INTRODUCTION

The realist view of international security is pessimistic, therefore realists safeguarding and maintaining national security are the government's top priority for sustaining the life of the state and its population (Akmal & Pazli, 2015). One way to protect the country's defense is to maximize the potential of human resources. Indonesia's abundant human resources can be used as a defense force, but must be supported by an adequate defense industry for the availability of effective weapons technology. Professionalism of defense human resources is also needed by involving civilians in managing future defense (Sebastian, 2018). Meanwhile, according to Nasution, one way to defend the country is by improving economic, social and cultural structures in the region. These improvements will be able to strengthen national defense. The improvement was carried out by increasing public awareness to defend the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, increasing security and public order, as well as increasing the performance and professionalism of the government apparatus (Nasution, 2009).

Another way to safeguard the country is by simplifying rules and institutions and utilizing technology as a precise, effective, efficient, and applicable strategy that can maximize all strengths and take advantage of opportunities and minimize weaknesses (Kurnia, *nd*). To maintain national defense, especially to protect the sovereignty of Indonesia's territory, it is also necessary to standardize islands in Indonesia. The efforts to standardize the islands in Indonesia in accordance with international law and the efforts made by the Government to standardize the names of islands in Indonesia are very important to be realized. Standardization of the names of islands in Indonesia must be done so that islands which are part of Indonesia's sovereign territory, by *de jure*, gaining international recognition will add legal force. Nevertheless, there are obstacles faced by the Indonesian government in standardizing island names such as, lack of coordination between the relevant authorities, the number of ethnic groups and various regional languages and limited funds (Ardiansyah, 2011).

As one of the efforts to maintain the existence of a country, the presence of the military in an order of national and state life is absolute. The determination to protect and defend the country from all threats - both symmetrical and asymmetrical - that can disturb the sovereignty and peace of the nation is an obligation of all citizens without exception. National defense in its definition according to Law Number 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense is "all efforts to maintain the country's sovereignty, the territorial integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of all nations from threats and disturbances to the integrity of the nation and state." (Article 1 Number 1). Referring to the law also explained that in addition to the Indonesian National Army as the main element of the state defense tool (striking force), other elements that play an important role in national defense that is outside of military power are natural resources and human resources (Law NO. 3 of 2002 concerning State Defense, *hereinafter as Indonesian State Defense Law*).

National defense is basically the entire defense effort that is universal, in which every implementation is always based on the rights and obligations of all spilled Indonesian blood accompanied by confidence in the ability of one's own strength to defend and fight for the survival of the sovereign Republic of Indonesia, united and independent (Department of Defense, 2008: 44). It was further explained that national defense was not only focused on war but was more on efforts to bring about peace, maintain national integrity, secure and guarantee the implementation of national development. The national defense is located to give birth and fortify every inch of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia along with all its contents (DPR RI, 2008).

From the description above, it is known that maintaining national integrity and security is very important. Researchers will analyze the important role of regional autonomy in the universal defense and security system (SISHANKAMRATA) as an effort to defend the country. This research will discuss the basis of authority for regional governments in the field of national defense and security and the contribution of regional autonomy in maintaining national defense and security.

THE CONCEPT OF DEFENSE AND SECURITY OF THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT

The most effective effort amplified to maintain the existence of a country, the presence of the military in an order of life as a nation and a state is absolute. The determination to protect and defend the country from various forms of misinterpretation, both symmetrical and asymmetrical, which can disrupt the nation's sovereignty and order, is the obligation of all citizens without exception. State defense in its definition according to Law Number 3 of 2002 concerning State Defense is "all efforts to defend the sovereignty of the state, the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the entire nation from threats and disturbances to the integrity of the nation and state." (Article 1 number 1). Referring to this law, it is also explained that in addition to the Indonesian National Army, the main actor is positioned as a means of the defending state (striking force), apart from that which also plays a crucial role in the framework of national defense is the state's resources: nature. and the people. Both of these things are outside military power but have an important role in it.

All efforts made which are universal are a form of national defense. it must be holistic and comprehensive known as universal defense. Where in every implementation, it is always based on the rights and obligations of all the blood of Indonesia, accompanied by a belief in the ability to maintain and fight for the survival of this country so that it ends in an order that is sovereign, united, and free of independence (Ministry of Defense, 2008: 44). It was further explained that national defense does not only focus on war but more on efforts to create peace, maintain the integrity of the country, secure and guarantee the implementation of national development. State defense is positioned to give birth and fortify every inch of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia and all its contents (Departement Pertanahan RI, 2008).

National defense is not an independent territory but must be embedded in the development agenda to ensure the welfare of the people. The defense approach must be combined with the welfare approach. National security issues, which are dealt with through a military or authoritarian strategy by using a rifle butt, are no longer popular, because they will damage the direction of people's welfare that must be achieved. The concept of defense and security used as a reference by the Indonesian government which is used as a basic foundation for the development of the country's defense force is known as the Universal People's Defense and Security System (SISHANKAMRATA).

As a system that becomes an important guideline in policy making in the defense and security sector, SISHANKAMRATA is considered to be still relevant to be maintained until now, despite significant changes in the political constellation both at home and abroad, at least in terms of the spirit of national defense. In the

beginning SISHANKAMRATA was used as a defense strategy to deal with aggression carried out by outsiders based on collaboration between armed forces and society in carrying out guerrilla fighting when facing conventional superior force (Sebastian, 2006). Then in the next development as stipulated in Article 1 number 2 of Law Number 3 of 2002 developed into a "universal defense system that involves all citizens, territories and other national resources, and prepared early by the government and held in a total, integrated, directed and continuing to uphold national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of all nations from all threats.

When examined further SISHANKAMRATA has two roles, namely as military defense and non-military defense (Soedjono, 1979). Military defense in this matter covers military operations and military operations other than war. Whereas non-military defense includes, among others, the empowerment of national resources in which one component is civil power. So that in the implementation of the national defense strategy, military and non-military approaches are used as a defense unit that cannot be separated. Both are hand in hand in combating every danger that lurks in the country's security. In this case, the state defense institution must have a strong base in order to be able to cultivate all the defense potential it possesses and be able to connect directly in all regions of the country. Ideally, a country has a defense mechanism where the power it has is equal or greater than the threatening force. If the mechanism has not yet been reached, it will usually form a partnership to maintain a balance of power, but even if it cannot be implemented then there is no choice but to "fight the people". For Indonesia, creating a perfect defense entity is far from feasible due to budget constraints. Meanwhile, to make a defense alliance agreement with other countries will be constrained by the concept of a free and active foreign policy. Therefore, the practical step, which is a rational decision, is total defense (SISHANKAMRATA).

Although the authority of defense development is the absolute responsibility of the central government, but as a form of implementation of the implementation of SISHANKAMRATA, local governments need to be included because it has a strategic position. In the explanation of Law No. 3/2002 it is stated that "the problem of defense becomes so complex that its resolution does not only depend on the department (ministry) that deals with defense, but also the responsibility of all relevant agencies, both government and non-government agencies." Whereas based on the explanation above, we can draw two questions that can serve as the basis for the formulation of problems regarding the important role of regional autonomy in supporting the Universal People's Defense and Security System (SISHANKAMRATA), namely: a) What is the background of the distribution of regional autonomy in Indonesia; b) The nature of security and defense in government affairs; c) Assistance Tasks as a framework for regulating the defense and security of the whole people by local governments; d) What is the basis of authority for local governments in the field of national defense and security ?; e) How does regional autonomy contribute to maintaining national defense and security?;

I. BACKGROUND OF GRANTING REGIONAL AUTONOMY IN INDONESIA

In the framework of regional government, the state can be seen as an organization in which the implementation of its performance is made to delegate part of the authority to regional governments with the aim that government affairs between the center and the regions can run more effectively, reduce the workload of the center, and certainly as an absolute goal of decentralization is increasing democratization (Huda, 2009).

Decentralization developed rapidly around the world during the 1980s and 2000s. Various forms of decentralization are applied in both industrial and developing countries. In developing countries the central government tries to play a role in the effort to redefine what the role of regional government is so that the government as a whole can be seen as democratic and towards good state administration, especially since the 1900s when the practice of decentralization reform began to be intensified (Saito, 2008).

Massive reforms and an ideal state were characterized on the basis of ongoing democratization. To achieve this ideal condition, decentralization is usually considered to be implemented. This is because the local government is felt to be more able to reach the community and therefore can easily distribute the required public services. W. Arthur Lewis in his book *Politics in West Africa* states that in a country that imposes decentralization, the leader of the state must give local governments a limited degree of autonomy (Lewis, 1995).

Politically, with the end of the Cold War towards the end of the 1980s, democratization became an international trend. Decentralization, particularly by increasing citizen participation in decision-making, is seen as a driving force towards democratization. Continued by Dennis A. Rondinelli and G. Shabbir Cheema, decentralization is a way to improve the responsiveness of the government in the field of public services Bagir Manan states that decentralization is a process of dispersing power carried out through autonomy and assistance tasks. . In other words, decentralization has two distinguishable forms, namely autonomy and duty of assistance (Manan, 2001).

Amar Muslimin distinguishes decentralization into three types, namely decentralization given in the political sphere, given in the functional sphere, and given in the cultural domain. The handover of affairs in politics results in the transfer of authority from the top leadership of the government to take care of their own household interests so that representatives elected by the people in the area can take care of their own households. Then the delegation in the functional realm means that the central government gives authority to certain community administrators to be able to take care of the interests of the people. while the delegation of authority in the realm of midwifery has the central point of giving not to minorities so that they can carry out their culture (Muslimin, 1986).

Bgagir Manan in the Relationship Between the Central and Regional Governments, this division of authority is a necessity because Indonesia's vast territory and high socio-cultural heterogeneity causes the Central Government to need a division of authority to local governments so that the dynamics of governance can run effectively (Manan, 1994). This effort to share authority is an embodiment of the desire to involve the regions in real participation in developing regional potential and improving regional welfare.

The relationship of authority is a form of relationship created by the distribution of government affairs and this directly determines the parameters of the functions that are regulated by the central government and can or must be submitted to the regions. Furthermore, the division of authority will affect the pattern of financial relationships. The division of functions to local governments will result in a sharing of revenues and expenditures between the center and the regions. The third implication of this decentralization process is the emergence of the need for the amount of institution needed to carry out these functions. Fourth, is the supervisory relationship which is a pattern to ensure that local governments carry out their affairs in accordance with the agreed regulations (Yusdianto, 2015).

This authority relationship is related to the method by which the administration of government is given benchmarks to be carried out. This method of determination will reflect the form of autonomy in a country adhering to a limited autonomy system or adhering to broad autonomy. Classification of a country can be said to be limited autonomy if: first, the functions delegated to the regions are categorically defined and very rigid regarding the development of functions. Second, the supervision from the center to the regions is carried out in such a way that the autonomous regions are not truly autonomous because they no longer have the independence to determine their own way of carrying out their affairs, third, the existence of rigid financial structures so that the regions do not have the ability to have income.

This division of authority by regional government legal experts is referred to as government affairs. Ni'matul Huda argues that in essence, the division of government affairs is carried out into two main groups, namely: those that are fully implemented by the central government without any separation and indeed these matters should be exclusively regulated by the center in various forms of government, both federal and unitary. with de-concentration and co-administration. Second, functions that can be implemented through the decentralization process, but these functions do not belong to the autonomous region.

This authority relationship is related to the way in which governmental affairs are divided or determined. This method of determination will reflect the form of autonomy in a country whether it is limited autonomy or broad autonomy. It can be classified as limited autonomy if: first, regional government affairs are determined categorically and their development is regulated in certain ways; second, if the supervision and supervision are carried out in such a way that the autonomous region loses its independence to freely determine the ways to organize and manage the

regional household; third, the system of financial relations between the center and the regions, which causes things such as limited financial capacity of the region which will limit the space for regional autonomy.

In this connection the division of authority is known as government affairs. according to Ni'matul Huda, governmental affairs are essentially divided into two groups. First, government affairs are fully carried out by the Central Government without being dispersed. This is possible because exclusively these matters should fall under the authority of the Central Government both in the unitary and federal states which are carried out by means of deconcentration or co-administration. Second, other functions that could have been carried out on the basis of decentralization, but these functions were never exclusively owned by the autonomous regions.

According to Dennis A. Rondinelli in his book *Decentralization, Territorial Power and The State: A Criical Response*, not all matters must be regulated by the central government. theoretically, the central government only needs to regulate essential affairs in the form of agriculture, macroeconomics and other matters requiring a strong network (Huda, 2005). The procedure for the division of tasks, responsibilities and authorities in regulating government affairs is known as the Household System, this system is divided into three parts, namely formal, material and real.

First, is the formal system of regional households which states that there is essentially no distinction between central and regional affairs. In all matters that can be carried out by the central government, *mutatis mutandis* can be implemented by the regions. In this system the division is based on the assumption that an affair will be more effective and efficient if it is carried out by a particular government. The only limitation in this system is that the regions are not allowed to carry out functions that have been designated by law as central affairs.

The material household system has divided in detail what has become central and regional affairs. So conceptually this system brings awareness that there are indeed material fundamental differences between central and regional government affairs. Furthermore, this system argues that functions can be sorted according to government units. The real household system delegates functions and authorities to the regions based on real factors in the field and looks at whether there is a need from the region and assesses the regional capacity. A government unit with attention to the growth of people's lives. This system is also said to be a real autonomous system. These systems as discussed earlier will determine the extent of a country's autonomy by referring to how many functions are rigidly determined as the affairs of a government unit.

This article certainly discusses whether the agreement of the experts which states that regional autonomy should not regulate defense issues can be ruled out? Or is there a new understanding emerging about the role of the regions in implementing the defense and security sector? Although autonomy must be implemented broadly where the regions must be independent and free. Central intervention must be limited to matters that are closely related to efforts to maintain a balance between the

principle of unity (unity) and difference (diversity). On this basis, decentralization is limited, limited through the division of functions in the Regional Government Law. This means that the limitation of autonomy is mainly fixated on the principles of unity and diversity. These two principles are used to judge whether certain functions threaten unity and difference?

In the next section, we will discuss the tools that can be used by local governments regarding their participation in the defense and security domain. In the framework of decentralization, apart from those mentioned above, namely territorial decentralization, political decentralization, functional decentralization, and cultural decentralization. There are also other forms of co-administration and de-concentration. The extent to which the implementation of SISKAMHAMRATA can be taken over by local governments. By what means can it be fulfilled? However, long before entering into it, it is necessary to first describe the nature of SISKAMHAMRATA so that its characteristics can be read so that theoretically it can be identified through what kind of effort SISKAMHAMRATA can be amplified in accordance with the theory of regional governance.

II. SECURITY AND DEFENSE PROPERTIES IN GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS

Defense affairs in Law Number 23 of 2014 are described as “establishing and forming an armed force, declaring peace and war, declaring the state or parts of the country in danger, building and developing a state defense system and weapons, establishing policies for conscription, defending the state for every citizen, and so on ”

In Article 67 letter f of the Regional Government Law it is explained that regions and deputy regional heads have the obligation to carry out national strategic programs. Which this program aims to maintain security and resilience in order to maintain the improvement of people's welfare. within the conceptual framework of national resilience is an engine that integrates aspects of national life. This is done by collaborating with all layers of various levels of life to enable the nation's resilience (Dirwan, 2011). Based on this concept which involves various layers of society in various aspects of life, then the *Trigarta* and *Pancagatra* system is formulated (Dephan, 1998). *Trigarta* consists of three natural aspects and *Pancagarta* consists of five social aspects. These eight aspects are then reviewed to measure the resilience of a country.

Regarding the *Trigatra*, the natural aspects contained in it are inherent aspects that cannot be changed or manipulated. *Trigatra* aspect is relatively fixed such as geography, natural resources, and population. Geography as an aspect of the first *Trigatra* provides a visualization of the character of a specific region. Geographical aspects encompass in and out geography. The internal aspect visualizes the spatial layout, geographical features, and geographical features of an area. Meanwhile, the natural resources aspect covers the natural resources and potentials that are within the scope of space, up to the earth's surface (including the atmosphere). This natural wealth is divided into animal, vegetable, soil, minerals in the soil such as coal, gold,

nickel, and others, air such as sunlight and oxygen and others, energy in the form of gas, as well as water, water, and sea flows. Meanwhile, the population aspect includes humans who occupy certain areas. Population problems are generally associated with the economy, security, distribution, and development.

Next is *Pancagatra* which is a social aspect in the resilience of a country. This social aspect is dynamic, which includes: first, ideology, namely the philosophy of the nation as the foundation of the life of the nation and state of a social community. This philosophy is an ideal that the country aims to aim at. It is a set of principles that form the basis of direction for achieving the ideals of a country in a concurrent manner. It should be noted that the endurance of a country's ideology is very dependent on the flow of values in it. Can ideology fulfill, guarantee, and respect the aspirations and needs of the people broadly and fundamentally? As the nation's ideology, Pancasila still needs instruments so that it can always be in line with new emerging values and aspirations.

Second, political resilience which discusses the strength and power of a centralized state. The political life of a country is very much determined by two crucial sectors, namely the government and non-government sectors. The non-governmental sect is a political infrastructure which has a function as a connector for the people's aspirations in the form of demands, attitudes, desires and others. Meanwhile, the government sector is positioned as a political superstructure that makes policies, determines policy directions, and articulates non-governmental aspirations in its policies. the stability of political resilience is very dependent on the synergy of the two sectors.

Third, economic resilience. It is an effort made by Nefara to minimize the economic gap between rich and poor. This happens because economic democracy has not been fully implemented. Economic stability is carried out by leveling the gaps in various industrial sectors, regions and groups and individuals. This is because economic resilience will bring stability to defense and security in a country. Fourth, is socio-cultural resilience. Socio-cultural resilience is reflected in the quality of human resources in terms of education level and work ethic, which are currently considered relatively low. Another problem in socio-cultural resilience is the low level of control of science and technology by Indonesian resources. Whereas ideally, diversity in Indonesia can be used as an effort to increase knowledge. Weak elements of culture and the social environment can greatly affect the quality of national resilience as a whole because no matter how good the system is if it is not accompanied by the quality of human resources it will be a mere waste.

Fifth, namely defense and security. The crucial problem in this aspect is the valley of state defense which should be actualized in SISHANKAMRATA. Weak payments create instability in this area. Therefore, appreciation is considered capable of contributing to the strength of national defense. In essence, all of the above aspects have struggled to strengthen the state of resilience in Indonesia. People's aspirations are very important to be heard, especially in democracy. Protection of individual rights is a catalyst for the establishment of a strong state resilience and security. The

feasibility of living is still a big scourge in Indonesia. Lack of fulfillment of these basic things can be a potential split both horizontally and vertically. Moreover, the state has used people's land by exploiting its geographical resources. This becomes unfair if the state is negligent or even negligent in fulfilling the most basic needs of its citizens.

State security and security cannot be carried out by using violence or even killing in order to create fear in the community. The democratization efforts in Indonesia must not be hurt by the ambition of creating false security. The country cannot be said to be safe just because the crime statistics are decreasing, a massive overhaul of the system is needed. For what good is the serenity that lies amidst the fear of the rifle. Efforts to strengthen national resilience must emerge from the human rights paradigm by means of: security stability must depart from the roots of the supremacy of law and human rights; second, to take preventive measures against subversion efforts from various parties which are very likely to occur considering Indonesia's vast territory; third, an adequate budget for military spending such as defense equipment in order to be able to improve performance in maintaining national security and defense; fourth, is to utilize national resources in carrying out development without neglecting environmental sustainability (Sudarmanto & Sudibyakto, 2011).

This defense strategy prohibits Indonesia from going to war unless attacked, and therefore Indonesia desperately needs strength in the form of synergy of all elements of society (Suryohadiprojo, 2005). In the framework of this defense strategy, it is necessary to formulate a policy containing the vision, mission and strategy of a concurrent defense that is universal in the country for a period of five and ten years. By knowing the characteristics of defense and security which are also amplified in SISHANKAMRATA as a universal defense model, we will find out how many regions must take part and what is the ideal form of synergy between the central government as the owner of defense and security authority, regional government as a vertical institution that is only can run a business if given the delegation of authority by the center, and civil society as an element that cannot be separated. SISHANKAMRATA components include trained people, ABTRI, community protection components, natural and natural resources, and integrated and comprehensive infrastructure.

The threat to defense and security does not only come from threats with a militaristic nature. As mentioned earlier, another threat that cannot be separated from regional development is non-military threats. as previously mentioned earlier that threats to security and defense do not only threaten something related to the military. It is solely on the basis of this phenomenon that the meaning of security and defense is expanded. The main actors of defense issues are no longer the central government and military issues alone. However, it is increasingly penetrating into other sectors such as social, cultural, economic, political and environmental. In the discovery of this phenomenon, the state is not used as the main actor of defense.

The phenomenon of the expansion of the meaning of defense and security has a consequence, that in order to establish security, it is necessary to have subjects and objects that are close to the people and grounded. This means that if the state really

wants to establish a security and defense, it must also include individuals or community groups as actors. The concept fits — what I previously described as the Copenhagen school of thought. This is because non-military security is currently increasing and hindering the rate of regional growth. Of course, the inhibition of the rate of regional growth will have a negative impact and this can seriously cause democratization to slowly retreat. Instead, democratization is an effort of reform. It cannot be done. It is necessary to remember that the formation of welfare is not only seen from one point of view, namely the economic aspect, but also cannot be separated from the aspects of national defense and security. This multi-dimensional approach will provide solutions and preventive policies that are more comprehensive and still accommodating.

Moreover, at present there are many aspects that can weaken Regional Development such as aspects of the social environment of juvenile delinquency, identity politics, which threaten national integration and can lead to disintegration. Ryamizard Ryacudu stated that threats to non-military defense manifested in 8 forms in terms of state defense or *Sishankamrata*, namely: 1) cyber-attacks; 2) terrorism; 3) separatism; 4) violation of border sovereignty; 5) cultural infiltration; 6) infectious diseases; 7) natural disasters; and 8) drugs (Kompas, 2016).

Even worse, these non-military threats actually come from within the country and are perpetrated by Indonesian citizens. Although there are cases where non-military threats come from non-Indonesian citizens (WNA). The impact of this non-military defense attack will be especially damaging in all aspects, be it ideology, economy, politics, culture, social security, and of course defense. Therefore, it is necessary to have a mechanism to defend national defense. It is carried out by emphasizing defense values that are not only militaristic in view but also defense values from a non-military aspect. Emphasizing the military aspect to maintain the *status quo* of national defense is not an abstract thing. Of course, it is understood that the task of maintaining national integration and warding off threats from outside is not merely the task of the army or the police. All people have the obligation to defend the state, to contribute to maintaining the stability of national defense through non-military aspects. Because it is very close to the social dynamics of society. The community is very close to juvenile delinquency, narcotics, prostitution, to become players in identity politics.

Therefore, it is hoped that through SISHANKAMRATA, all levels of society work to fight against efforts to undermine national defense, both through military and non-military aspects, as explained by the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia. This is because the obligation to maintain defense and security is not solely a military task. In this effort to destroy security, the war of interests, ideology and capability has become a milestone. The actors who play are often not seen carrying rifles or wearing camouflage uniforms. Actors in the demolition of national defense currently play more behind the scenes and slowly but surely use their various resources to destroy the defense of a country (Thornton, 2007).

III. ASSISTANCE TASKS AS A FRAMEWORK FOR REGULATING DEFENSE AND SECURITY OF THE UNIVERSAL PEOPLE BY THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The involvement of local governments is solely for the purpose of synergies to be carried out in a structured, orderly, planned, controlled manner and is actually carried out in accordance with legal limits based on the principle of limiting authority determined by the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The change from an authoritarian regime to a more democratic one has certain serious consequences. This shift in political practice is due to the free will of the people because naturally humans refuse to be restrained. People who live a life under state repression will tend to harbor anger and one day like a time bomb will explode. The uncontrolled explosion caused many impacts such as vulnerability in the economy, politics, social, security and defense. A country with a new system that is still weak will tend to be aggressive in maintaining its integrity (Mansfield & Snyder, 1995). Therefore, it can be imagined that with its geographic breadth and long coastline amidst democratization efforts, Indonesia is experiencing an astonishing and busy transition. Fears of external political attack are very likely to occur. The characteristics of a country's regime will greatly affect the resilience and security of the country, the more democratic it is, the less threat it poses (Lynn-Jones, 1998).

So what about Indonesia? Has Indonesia reached the point of mature democratization? With Indonesia's defensive defense strategy coupled with weak synergy, the current democratization which is predicted to be the most ideal system still looks half-hearted. The region has a strategic location in order to coordinate the defense and security sector. This section will discuss regional defense strategies (Mujono & Arnawi, 2011).

Empowerment of the defense area is carried out by the Department of Defense, which is carried out by each Regional Command. This task is carried out by the Indonesian Army. In order to reach the parameters of a strong state defense, the state has absolutely the authority to use all elements of the state with the condition that it considers the rights of the people as stated in the Law on State Defense that "All Indonesian territories can be utilized for the development of defense capability by taking into account the rights of the people and regulations. legislation"

It is further elaborated in the same regulation that "National defense is prepared by taking into account Indonesia's geographical conditions", as an archipelagic country this means that defense arrangements must pay attention to Indonesia's geographical conditions. As discussed earlier regarding the mainland river line and so on. To reach a strong national defense parameter, the state is absolutely authorized to utilize all elements of the state. With the condition that considering people's rights.

To answer how regions can perform in national defense agreements, the author will first describe the understanding in the historical context that has existed in Indonesia. It should be noted that the SISHANKAMRATA concept is actually an old

concept that was carried out during the New Order era. However, at that time the implementation of SISHANKAMRATA was not effective. Because the state is very strong and the community is very weak, the state is in control to carry out the hegemony of national defense.

The state can force it to fulfill its will in actualizing SISHANKAMRATA. At that time there was no known democratic, transparent and open process of how SISHANKAMRATA should actually be carried out. People's criticism of the state defense mechanism becomes closed, the people are deliberately silenced by an undemocratic state. The concept of SISHANKAMRATA is only used as political jargon and has never really been implemented correctly. As a result, when the people saw the weak points of the state and then in fact the state was actually getting weaker, they felt the need to make changes, among which the most phenomenal was the implementation of reforms starting with the separation of ABRI's dual functions through TAP MPR No. 6 of 2000 followed by a revision of legislation regarding defense which emphasizes that the TNI is a means of defense and the police are a means of security. This is actually a fundamental state effort to make the people believe that the weapons owned by the Military and Police are not intended to frighten the people and therefore it is hoped that the people will synergize for universal defense (Samego, 2015).

Due to the close relationship between defense and geographical aspects of an area, assistance from the regions is urgently needed. In the theoretical development of defense and security has another meaning deepening. Ole Weaver and Barry Buzan introduced the Copenhagen School, which stated that the security sector is currently being widened and its meaning deepened. So where does not only talk about matters relating to the military, namely positioning the state as the main actor but involving other actors such as individuals or communities. Buzan et al stated that the conservative paradigm regarding traditional defense and security must change. Currently, security and defense are no longer relevant to using a state-centric or military-centric approach, but other sectors are introduced in this theory, namely the military, environment, economy, social and politics (Buzan, 1983).

One of the five sectors above involves political, social and environmental issues, which definitely need support from local governments. This will explain why regional autonomy has a central role in being national integration in the concept of SISHANKAMRATA. The relationship between the development of regional autonomy and national integration is becoming very strong. This can be described as follows: the relationship of democracy as previously described with the tug of war of integration - disintegration is very tight. Guarding against disintegration is carried out in various ways which are wrapped in conflict management. This accurate method of conflict management is carried out through various forms including national and local reconciliation, bringing the introduction of the nation-state concept, integration efforts through nationalism, and decentralization (Yasin, 2007).

Therefore national resilience is closely related to the loyalty of the people both vertically and horizontally. What is dangerous about democratization and is rarely

realized is the tug of war between economic prosperity and territorial defense. On the one hand, massive economic development is very likely to cause gaps that make people dissatisfied with government performance and this will certainly affect disintegration efforts, for example what happened in Aceh Province (Sholeh, et.al., 2016).

Because the disintegration effort comes from the regions, it becomes logical that the paradigm of "centering" on defense and security affairs should be shifted. Conflict management that has occurred over disintegration efforts in Indonesia has always been clashed with national interests that use violence instead of dialogical efforts. For example, we see military operations by killing people who are considered separatist. Whereas disintegration problems arise because of regional dissatisfaction with the central performance, especially in the realm of welfare, so the approach that must be taken is to understand that the threat of disintegration comes not from autonomous regions but from the center (Fernanda, 2002).

Consequent decentralization was first introduced in 1999 through the first Regional Government Law - establishing a legitimate precondition by which regions can autonomously utilize their regional resources. One of the great ambitions of decentralization has a logical line, that is, it is hoped that with decentralization there will be even development, this will bring regions that have their own specialties, are stronger and improve the standard of living of people in the regions (Hariani RS, 2018). This increase in living standards should narrow social jealousy due to inequality and end the maintenance of Indonesia's unity and integrity (Syawie, 2011). Because inequality creates jealousy and seeds of hatred are treated unfairly (Sukmana, 2005). Resilience in the regions can be measured through the realization of economic stability, security, and internalization of state defense within the heart of the people. To realize this, it is necessary to have an integrated system that works as a supervisor, evaluator, and continuous development of conditions of resilience in the regions.

The intensity of regional autonomy that he has promoted has made the empowerment of regional capabilities more optimal. Regional geographic, social and political aspects are at the forefront of the implementation of resilience and security through SISHANKAMRATA. Then what is the relationship between the level of resilience and regional security with the principle of co-administration as stated in the title of this section. We have agreed that even though defense and security are primarily central affairs, in an effort to boost prosperity and democratization, synergy is needed by all levels of state society. The author argues that this will can be amplified through the principle of assistance tasks in the framework of regional decentralization.

Theoretically, according to Koesomaatmadja, the assistance task or *zelfbestuur* is a mechanism that can be carried out by the central government to request assistance from local government units to carry out certain household affairs which are actually the affairs of the central government (Koswara, 1999). *Zelfbestuur* in English is known as self-government, which means that all government activities are carried out by representatives given the delegation. In the task of assistance, functions carried out by the local government are still the matter of the central government and do not mean

that they are transferred to regional government affairs. However, the regions can fully carry out these assigned tasks (Wasistiono, et.al., 2006). So in this principle, if the central government asks for assistance from the regional government, this does not mean that defense affairs are a concurrent affair of the regional government.

In Dutch legal regulations regarding assistance tasks, they are categorized into two parts, namely mechanical and facultative ones. In the task of mechanical assistance, the center provides in detail the procedures for the implementation of the tasks being assigned. Furthermore, in the central facultative assistance task, it gives wider freedom to the regions to carry out the assigned tasks (Koswara, 1993). Then it should be noted that through this *zelfbestuur* mechanism, the Center provides the regions with the financing needed to implement SISHANKAMRATA. Joeniarto argues that the task of assistance is a way of exercising the absolute authority of the central government to make it more effective and efficient (Joeniarto, 1979). The striking difference between co-administration and deconcentration is that deconcentration means that the central government provides central representatives in the regions to carry out a particular function. This is different from the assistance task, because in the assistance task where when the Center uses the assistance task in an affair to the regions, it is not a representative from the center - but the regional government. The task of assistance is different from decentralization, because in decentralization the regional government carries out functions that are really its affairs concurrently. however, the assistance task carried out is not a concurrent affair for a particular region. In short, the implementation of the assistance task remains the matter of the central government, but it is the regional government that executes the matter.

The extent to which local governments can execute SISHANKAMRATA must be determined by the Central Government. for example, as an example that has been implemented in the city of Bandung. The city of Bandung has the authority to coordinate with the Bandung Kodim and has institutional relationships and commitments. This begins with efforts to even out welfare and development both nationally and regionally. The problems that arise in the city of Bandung which are considered to be hindering the pace of national development are: due to a lack of understanding of the orientation of development; the existence of sectoral barriers that hinder the efficiency and effectiveness of the actualization of urban development affairs in the city of Bandung; then this led to miscoordination between the regions and the center regarding the development of the city of Bandung.

For this reason, the Department of Defense, which has the authority to determine general policies in national defense, then embraced the Bandung City government to coordinate all parties in the development of the city of Bandung. It is hoped that this can empower all resources in the city of Bandung. If visualized, the relationship between the Ministry of Defense and the city of Bandung is a coordination relationship where the city government of Bandung will provide a report to the Ministry of Defense. In this framework, both the Bandung City Government and the Department of Defense have the same convenience. Because as we know that

in carrying out its duties the Department of Defense does not have a Regional Office. For example, the Ministry of Religious Affairs has regional offices in the regions, namely the offices of religious affairs in each district and city. It can be used to clean up the coordination relationship between Department of Defence and the City Government. This form of utilizing the Bandung City Government to establish coordination regarding defense and security in the region is an efficient step in the realm of defense and security (Armawi, 2011).

In practice, the work program between the City of Bandung and the Kodim RTRW of Bandung is carried out in five stages, namely: first, the initiation of the coordinating actor in this case is the Indonesian Ministry of Defense; second, compile an activity plan previously agreed upon between the city government and the regional Kodim; third, prepare technical plans and technical operational and administrative implementation instructions; fourth; fifth, implementing plans in the field based on mutual agreement; and sixth, supervising to evaluate the performance of the coordination team on work programs that have been implemented and will be implemented later.

The coordination policy covers three main aspects for the success of the SISHANKAMRATA coordination work program. Namely policies in geographical aspects, policies in demographic aspects, and policies in aspects of social conditions. Policies in the geographic aspect mean that coordination must align the Kodim with the city's RTRW in order to balance the interests of defense and security welfare in the area of each city. Then next is the policy in the demographic aspect which means preparing reserve and supporting components. Then finally in the aspect of social conditions, it means that this coordination must be implemented in a work program that is close to people's lives and touches the economy of urban communities in Indonesia, community participation is needed in order to empower the defense area in the city.

The pattern of giving assistance from the central government of the city government has been determined theoretically. first, the central government will assign certain tasks to the Regent / Mayor. Furthermore, from the regent / mayor the order is handed over to the regional secretary. Then the regional secretary can directly submit to the relevant agency or other technical institutions, or first submit it to Bappeda to then be transferred to the related agency. Next is implementation by technical institutions. In carrying out the task of assisting the regent or mayor in coordination with the governor and the local government offices, it can coordinate with Bappeda. The reporting line is carried out by the office then reports to the regional secretary and by the regional secretary the report is submitted to the regent or mayor. Then, in the final stage, the regent or mayor reports it to the Central Government.

IV. JURIDICAL BASIS OF REGIONAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY IN THE FIELD OF NATIONAL DEFENSE AND SECURITY

The fall of the New Order paved the way for the birth of Law Number 22 Year 1999 concerning Regional Government which completely changed the relationship between the center and the regions. Regions have the authority to determine the course of government, except for foreign policy, defense and security, justice, monetary and fiscal, religion, and authority in other fields. The latest legal basis regarding regional autonomy emerged in 2014 with the passing of Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government. Through this law it is stated that the highest responsibility for the administration of government remains with the central government. So that monitoring, empowerment, supervision and control will still be carried out by the central government, with the aim that regions can carry out maximum autonomy (F Isnaeni, 2020).

As discussed comprehensively in the first sub-section of this article, regional autonomy itself is a condition in which regions have the authority to be based on legal provisions to make optimal use of everything they have. This authority is used as a tool to exploit the potential, make the people welfare, and maintain social, cultural and regional economic stability (Hamid, 2015).

The current regional autonomy regulatory policy has an impact on the management of various kinds of resources and results in changes in the functions of existing institutions in the regions (Rodiyah, 2012). Article 22 of Law Number 32 Year 2004 concerning Regional Autonomy states that "in implementing autonomy, the regions have the obligation to protect the community, maintain national unity, unity and harmony, as well as the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia". The provisions of Article 22 can actually be interpreted as the responsibility of local governments to participate in the development of national defense. Then Article 27 paragraph (2) letter e of Law Number 23 Year 2014 concerning Regional Government confirms the obligation of local governments to "participate in defending state sovereignty". However, it seems that the authority to participate in national defense is only owned specifically by local governments that have certain specialties, for example, areas directly adjacent to neighboring countries. In addition, local governments also have limitations when compared to the policies that have been taken by the Ministry of Defense and the Indonesian's Army on the posture of national defense development, this is because local governments do not have the power to own and use armed forces.

However, considering that threats to state sovereignty do not only come from armed invasion of other countries, but have far developed into an asymmetrical threat, the responsibility of local governments in providing protection to citizens is an important point in itself. The asymmetrical threat that began to spread after 9/11 was a non-military threat targeting the characteristics of a country's conflict and the opponents it faced could take the form of state, non-state, or hybrid actors. When

viewed from the design, asymmetric threats have three aspects, namely: 1). Asymmetrical interests; 2). Ideological asymmetry; and 3). Capability asymmetry. So it can be concluded that the asymmetric war tells the story of the war between actors who have asymmetric ideologies, capabilities, and interests (Alfajri, et.al., 2019). Today, the threat of asymmetry still dwells on the problems of terrorism, separatism, riots, and provocations of racism, which if not addressed wisely will seriously disturb the authority and sovereignty of the state. These security disturbances occurred almost evenly throughout Indonesia. The role of local government control in dealing with this problem is very important. Therefore, the position of an institution that is fully responsible for defense and security, both the military and the police, requires local governments to coordinate. In this case, the President also gave orders to the Governor to always create and maintain security in the regions (Presidential Instruction Number 2 of 2013 concerning Handling Domestic Disturbances).

Moreover, if you look further, the asymmetric threats that are non-military at this time are far more dangerous than just a military aggression of a country which is carried out in secret and ends up having such a massive impact. Strong cooperation between the central and regional governments in forming synergy to become a universal defense benchmark in order to anticipate all threats to the life of the state and nation (Singh, 2010).

V. CONTRIBUTION OF REGIONAL AUTONOMY IN MAINTAINING NATIONAL DEFENSE AND SECURITY

Indonesia's massive and strategic landscape and rich natural capital are opportunities to become a great nation and, at the same time, have great potential to jeopardize the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. The threats that may occur in all regions in Indonesia can be multidimensional, ranging from religious, financial, environmental, social and cultural issues or aspects of protection and security (Panjaitan, 2017). If referring to the provisions of Article 1 number 2 of Law Number 3 of 2002 it is explained that "the universal defense system which involves all citizens, territories and other national resources, and is prepared early by the government and is carried out in a total, integrated, directed and continuous manner to uphold national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of all nations from all threats. " It seems that when juxtaposed with the old definition of SISHANKAMRATA version of Law Number 20 Year 1982 regarding Basic Provisions of National Defense, it still has a similarity where in the old Law, SISHANKAMRATA is explained as "the order of all defense and security forces of the State which consists of basic components of trained people, Indonesian's Army's main components, special components of community protection, and supporting components of natural resources, artificial resources, and national infrastructure, as a whole, integrated and directed "(Article 1 Number 5 UU Hankam). So that the principles which are the basis for determining the direction of defense political policy in Indonesia have not changed drastically even though the

1945 Constitution has been amended several times and the National Police has left the Indonesian's Army because of differences in duties and authority.

In relation to the context of this discussion, if you only rely on the Indonesian's Army as the sole force of national defense without the support of other elements, it is certain that Indonesia's defense capability will look very fragile.

The fragility can trigger the nation's self-esteem to collapse to its lowest point and be harassed by neighboring countries. Even more so if we reflect on the lack of budget provided by the state for military power it is difficult to expect the *INDONESIAN'S ARMY* to carry out its duties, principles and functions optimally. There is a need for support from all citizens, including the resources they have to use for the sake of national defense and security. In the context of national defense, more specifically in the effort to deal with non-military threats, requires commitment and involvement as well as the obligation of all citizens to deal with each threat that is present in accordance with current laws and regulations.

The position of the regional government has an important correlation to the national defense system because although the authority in the defense sector is in the hands of the central government, its resources are in the regions. Local governments have the authority to utilize national resources in an effort to strengthen national security priorities. Management of national resources in the regions is intended to build a universal defense system. Starting from preparing human resources through fostering awareness of the defense of the recorded state and the issuance of supporting components and the formation of a state reserve component that is ready to be used to strengthen the main components (Setiajid, 2019).

Regions can also be allowed to be access to non-military threats that have a multidimensional nature. Therefore, it is important to develop non-military defense postures in areas that have capacities for early vigilance, national defense, technology, social, morals (Kementerian Pertahanan, 2017). One example that can be used as a reference for positive synergy between the central government and regional governments in the field of defense and security is about how the East Kutai District Government is contributing and participating in efforts to increase defense and security in the eastern part of Kalimantan. Among them helped the construction of the Joint Training Command Headquarters (Makolatgab) along with tens of thousands of hectares of land to be used as a joint military training location. Then build Lanal Mako and Kodim 0909 Sangatta, Kutim Regional Police, and other FKPD offices (coordinating forums for regional leaders). Supporting the improvement of regional waters security by patrol boats operated by the Navy and other matters (Tribun Kaltim, 2015). Or as the South Manokwari District Government gave land and building grants for use by the Kasuari Military Region Command (Kodam) XVIII as the Military District Master Regiment office (Kompas, 2020).

From the two examples above it can be concluded that to support the resilience of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia requires good coordination, synergy, and synchronization between the regional government and the agencies that overshadow national defense. There are three elements that can be utilized by local

governments to support the creation of a strong national defense. First, local government policies that complement and promote the development of national resilience. Any initiative taken by the local government must not conflict with the direction of the central government. Second, local governments must make appropriate planning related to the allocation of human resources and facilities for the purpose of national defense. Third, develop the knowledge and character and interests of the community, specifically to support national defense. In addition, local governments must always be able to ensure the welfare of their regions. Local governments must be able to function as a driving force for all entities to improve and fight for the welfare of their citizens (Kompas, 2020; Tribun Kaltim, 2020).

CONCLUSION

This article highlighted and concluded that the implementation of regional autonomy if it is not managed effectively and without adequate support from all stakeholders of the national power will be able to generate negative excesses, including: demands for regional expansion without the support of comprehensive studies, vertical conflicts, which lead to separatist movements. In order for the benefits of regional autonomy to have a positive effect on citizens, it is necessary to build public awareness regarding the national paradigm and supporting elements of the Republic of Indonesia starting from the 1945 Constitution, Pancasila, Unity in Diversity, National Insight, and Indonesian National Resilience. must be given the opportunity to channel their aspirations properly as long as they do not violate the law. Apart from that, reforming legislation in the field of national defense must be a priority and remain sustainable. This is a commitment that must be held seriously by leaders as an attitude to uphold the principles of good governance in the realm of administration and for the country's democratization process. So far, the idea of the Defense of the People of the Universe (SISHANKAMRATA) cannot be implemented as a whole, apart from the problem of budget supply, also because basically, the government, especially the military, is concerned that the military-capable citizens will use their skills to oppose the government.

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