

# Redefining Indonesia's 'Bela Negara' in the Digital Era: Toward a Broader National Security Concept

## Mendefinisikan Kembali 'Bela Negara' Indonesia di Era Digital: Menuju Konsep Keamanan Nasional secara Luas

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**Abstract:** This paper examines the need to redefine the concept of Bela Negara (state defense) in Indonesia amid evolving global security dynamics and the rise of hybrid threats in the digital era. Using a normative juridical and comparative approach, the study analyzes Indonesia's legal frameworks alongside those of countries such as Singapore, Sweden, and the United States, highlighting differences in citizen participation and national resilience. The paper argues that Bela Negara in Indonesia remains largely tied to traditional militaristic paradigms and should evolve toward a holistic model rooted in national resilience. This includes enhancing individual, community, and institutional capacities to counter digital disinformation, violent extremism, and hybrid campaigns. Drawing lessons from total defense strategies and international human rights standards, the study advocates aligning Bela Negara with democratic values, digital literacy, and a whole-of-society approach. Such reconceptualization is essential to ensure Indonesia's national security framework remains adaptive, inclusive, and future-ready.

**Keywords:** Bela Negara, hybrid threats, digital security, national resilience, total defense, post-truth, legal framework

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**Abstrak:** Tulisan ini mengkaji perlunya mendefinisikan ulang konsep Bela Negara di Indonesia di tengah dinamika keamanan global yang terus berkembang dan munculnya ancaman hibrida di era digital. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan yuridis normatif dan komparatif, studi ini menganalisis kerangka hukum Indonesia bersama dengan kerangka hukum negara-negara seperti Singapura, Swedia, dan Amerika Serikat, dengan menyoroti perbedaan dalam partisipasi warga negara dan ketahanan nasional. Makalah ini berargumen bahwa Bela Negara di Indonesia sebagian besar masih terikat pada paradigma militeristik tradisional dan harus berkembang menuju model holistik yang berakar pada ketahanan nasional. Ini termasuk peningkatan kapasitas individu, komunitas, dan kelembagaan untuk melawan disinformasi digital, ekstremisme kekerasan, dan kampanye hibrida. Mengambil pelajaran dari strategi pertahanan total dan standar hak asasi manusia internasional, studi ini menganjurkan penyelarasan Bela Negara dengan nilai-nilai demokrasi, literasi digital, dan pendekatan seluruh masyarakat. Rekonseptualisasi semacam itu penting untuk memastikan kerangka kerja keamanan nasional Indonesia tetap adaptif, inklusif, dan siap menghadapi masa depan.

**Kata kunci:** Bela Negara, ancaman hibrida, keamanan digital, ketahanan nasional, pertahanan total, pasca kebenaran, kerangka hukum

## Introduction

In the current era, the conception of security is known as non-traditional security, which in the context of international relations and politics enters the contemporary global period.<sup>2</sup> In an era increasingly shaped by digital transformation, hybrid threats, and non-traditional security risks, the concept of Bela Negara (state defense) in Indonesia calls for urgent reexamination. Traditionally associated with military service and physical defense of sovereignty, Bela Negara has long been embedded within a security framework shaped by Cold War dynamics and the dual-function (Dwi Fungsi) doctrine of the armed forces. This framework, while historically significant, has become insufficient in addressing the complex and multifaceted challenges of the digital age – ranging from cyberattacks and disinformation campaigns to violent extremism and ideological radicalization conducted through online platforms. Individuals tend to believe the information they receive on their social media is the truth, which has led to the emergence of the so-called post-truth condition.

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<sup>2</sup> Indah Pangestu Amaritasari, “Keamanan Nasional Dalam Konteks Isu-Isu Global Kontemporer: Sebuah Tinjauan Hubungan Internasional,” *Jurnal Keamanan Nasional* III, no. 1 (2017): 100–131.

The term ‘post-truth’ came into Oxford Dictionaries in 2016 after the United Kingdom (UK) left the European Union (EU) and Donald Trump was elected as US president. Cambridge Dictionary defines ‘post-truth’ as a situation “relating to a situation in which people are more likely to accept an argument based on their emotions and beliefs, rather than one based on facts.”<sup>3</sup> The media ecosystem and post-truth politics can be used to combat climate change to benefit industry donors,<sup>4</sup> support and attack opponents of political parties,<sup>5</sup> to disseminate hoaxes,<sup>6</sup> and recruit members of terrorist and/or violent extremist groups.<sup>7</sup> In regard to terrorist and violent extremism recruitment, the group is targeting youth and women, especially using YouTube, Facebook and TikTok.<sup>8</sup>

Yet, the current legal and institutional articulation of *Bela Negara* in Indonesia remains heavily influenced by outdated paradigms that prioritize state-centric and militaristic approaches. Despite the growing relevance of concepts such as total defense, human security, and societal resilience in global discourse, Indonesian policy continues to lack a comprehensive and inclusive redefinition of national defense that reflects democratic values, civic participation, and digital awareness. Although existing scholarship in Indonesia has addressed the historical and normative dimensions of *Bela Negara*, few studies have analyzed its conceptual evolution in response to emerging hybrid threats and digital disruptions. Internationally, frameworks such as total defense in Sweden, national resilience in Singapore, and whole-of-society approaches in the United States have illustrated how state defense can be reimagined beyond military confines. This study advances current knowledge by offering a comparative normative-legal analysis that positions *Bela Negara* within a civic, inclusive, and digitally responsive framework. It fills a critical gap in the literature by bridging traditional national defense doctrines with contemporary security challenges in democratic and digitally connected

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<sup>3</sup> “Post-Truth,” Cambridge Dictionary, n.d., <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/post-truth>.

<sup>4</sup> John Connor, “Climate Change and Post-Truth Politics,” *Waste Management and Environment* 22, no. 10 (2011).

<sup>5</sup> Dirk Tomsa, “Public Opinion Polling and Post-Truth Politics in Indonesia,” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 42, no. 1 (2020): 1–27, <https://doi.org/10.1355/cs42-1a>.

<sup>6</sup> Aulia Suminar Ayu et al., “Post-Truth and Hoaxes: Instagram Fact Checking on Content on Vaccines in Indonesia,” in *2021 Annual Conference of Indonesian Association for Public Administration (KnE Social Science, 2022)*.

<sup>7</sup> Megan Marie Robinson, “Social Media Recruitment and Online Propaganda by Extremist Groups,” 2022, 1–32, <https://scholarworks.uni.edu/hpt>.

<sup>8</sup> Fehime Oezmen, “Extremists’ Targeting of Young Women on Social Media and Lessons for P/CVE,” *Radicalisation Awareness Network, 2022*.

societies. Accordingly, this paper seeks to critically analyze and redefine the concept of *Bela Negara* in the context of the digital era. Drawing on comparative perspectives from selected countries and integrating principles of digital literacy, civic resilience, and democratic participation, the study aims to propose a new framework that aligns Indonesia's national defense concept with the realities and demands of 21st-century security. This reconceptualization is not only necessary for Indonesia's strategic preparedness but also vital for cultivating a generation of citizens who understand their role in safeguarding national integrity in both physical and virtual domains.

## Methods

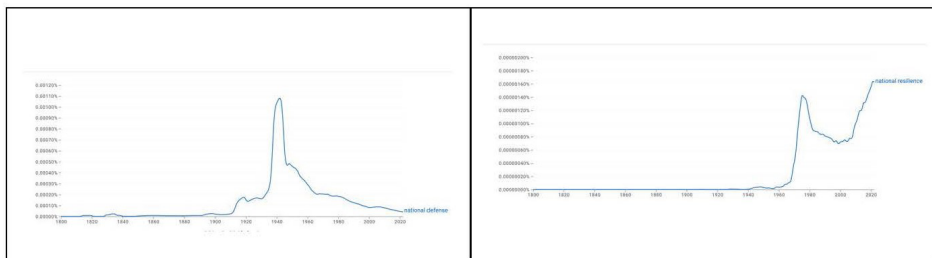
This paper uses a normative juridical analysis research method, namely an approach in legal research that examines the law as written norms (legal norms) that apply and are binding. This analysis focuses on a systematic review of laws and regulations, legal principles, and legal doctrine. The rules and regulations compiled in this research constructed as *das sollen* is analyzing the reality as *das sein* correspond to the issue addressed. Normative juridical analysis is very useful in analyzing terms in legislation, including terms such as "*Bela Negara*", because this approach allows us to understand the meaning of the law systematically, officially, and legally according to the applicable positive law. This article is also referring to other regulations applied internationally and other countries, on which this paper specifically uses the a normative juridical analysis research method with comparative perspective.

This study adopts a normative juridical method complemented by a comparative legal analysis of selected countries—Singapore, Sweden, and the United States—chosen for their diverse yet instructive approaches to national defense in the digital era. Legal instruments were selected based on their relevance to civic-based defense, digital preparedness, and national resilience frameworks. Primary sources include national constitutions, statutory laws, and official defense policy documents. The analysis employs a qualitative doctrinal approach, focusing on legal content, implementation mechanisms, and philosophical underpinnings. Validity and reliability were ensured through cross-referencing official legal texts with scholarly interpretations and policy documents from reputable international sources.

## Comparative Study and Legislative Framework in the Concept of *Bela Negara* as State Defense

During the Cold War, the dominant model of international relations was based on state-centric, military-first realism. National security was equated with military strength. International studies during that period emphasized: (1) Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) between the US and the USSR; (2) military alliances (e.g., NATO vs. the Warsaw Pact); and (3) proxy wars and deterrence strategies. The focus was more on state defense than on state resilience, as indicated by Google Books Ngram data comparing the usage of both terms. The term “national defense” was strongly associated with the Cold War era, whereas the term “national resilience” became more prominent in the post-Cold War context.

**Picture: Ngram Diagram on “National Defense” and “National Resilience”**



Source: Google Ngram

In Indonesia and other states, state defense is the concept of citizen participation in maintaining state sovereignty and security. In general, state defense is defined as an effort designed by the government and legal instruments to foster patriotism among citizens, both individuals and groups, for the sustainability and existence of the state.<sup>9</sup> Physically, state defense means defense efforts to face real threats (e.g., military aggression), while non-physically includes an active role in advancing the nation through education, moral improvement, social activities, and improving community welfare.<sup>10</sup> This concept is manifested in different countries with different legal approaches and formal policies,

<sup>9</sup> Gemma R Zaneta, “Bela Negara Di Berbagai Negara: Bentuk Partisipasi Warga Dalam Menjaga Negara,” *Media Indonesia*, December 19, 2024.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

ranging from military conscription, civic education, to civil preparedness programs.

State defense is the right and obligation of every Indonesian citizen to maintain state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and national safety from various threats. The Indonesian government defines state defense as the attitude, determination, and behavior of citizens based on love for the homeland, awareness of nation and state, and belief in Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, in an effort to ensure the survival of the nation and state.<sup>11</sup> State defense is not only the duty of the TNI, but the obligation of all citizens according to their abilities and professions.<sup>12</sup> This concept is reflected in the philosophy of the Universal People's Defense and Security System (Sishankamrata) which places the people as a supporting force for defense together with the TNI-Polri as the main force.<sup>13</sup>

The legal basis for state defense in Indonesia is very strong and is contained in various laws and regulations. The 1945 Constitution is the highest constitutional foundation for state defense. Article 27 paragraph (3) stating that "Every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in the defense of the country." This confirms that state defense is not only a right, but also an obligation for every citizen. Furthermore, Article 30 paragraph (1) of the Constitution states that "every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in state defense and security efforts." Article 30 paragraph (2) further explains that "state defense and security efforts are carried out through a universal people's defense and security system, with the Indonesian National Armed Forces and the Indonesian National Police as the main force, and the people as a supporting force."

Law Number 3 Year 2002 on National Defense regulates the national defense system and the participation of citizens in defending the country. Article 9 paragraph (1) of the Law affirms that "every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in state defense efforts which are manifested in the implementation of national defense." Citizen participation in state defense efforts can be organized through:<sup>14</sup> (1) Civic Education: Cultivation of basic values of state defense; (2) Compulsory Basic Military Training: To form citizens who are ready for defense; (3) Voluntary or Compulsory Service as an Indonesian National Army Soldier: To be

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<sup>11</sup> "Bentuk Dan Wujud Penerapan Sikap Dan Perilaku Bela Negara," Kementerian Pertahanan RI, 2018.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Melati Putri Arsika, "Bela Negara: Pengertian, Dasar Hukum, Nilai Dan Ancaman Integrasi," *Detiknews*, 2024, <https://www.detik.com/sumbagsel/berita/d-7551612/bela-negara-pengertian-dasar-hukum-nilai-dan-ancaman-integrasi#:~:text=2,dan 2 UUD 1945>.

<sup>14</sup> Article 9 (1) of Law No. 3 of 2002.

part of the main force of defense; and (4) Service in accordance with Profession: Every citizen can contribute according to their expertise and profession for the benefit of national defense. Furthermore, Law Number 23 of 2019 concerning Management of National Resources for National Defense regulates the management of national resources, both human and material, for the benefit of national defense. It also regulates the formation of the Reserve Component and Support Component, which are part of state defense efforts. There are also regulations under it, namely Government Regulation Number 34 of 2018 which regulates the implementation of several provisions related to the management of national resources for national defense and Presidential Regulation Number 115 of 2022 concerning the Policy for Fostering State Defense Awareness. This regulation establishes a national policy in fostering state defense awareness to foster state defense values at all levels of society.

Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation, Permendikbud Number 3 of 2020 Article 14 Paragraph 5 letter (g) mandates policies related to independent learning (*merdeka belajar*) on state defense awareness (PMM-PKBN). State defense education is provided not only at the formal education levels of elementary, junior high, high school and higher education but also education for ministries / institutions. It is important to note that state defense education is related to critical thinking on the challenges faced. This definition of State Defense is a training activity to build character (discipline, cooperation, responsibility), strengthen the mental revolution (anti-corruption, honesty, fairness), and prepare students to face various forms of threats (such as drug abuse, violent extremism, separatism, natural disasters, conflicts between students, and the spread of infectious diseases). Presidential Regulation No. 7 of 2021 concerning the Prevention and Countermeasures of Violent Extremism that Leads to Terrorism shows that the prevention of threats of types of violent extremism in the context of education is related to critical thinking methods, which in this context can also be interpreted as analytical thinking methods.

In United States, the defense legal framework rests on the principle of limited conscription. Since 1973, the US military has operated as an all-volunteer force. However, the law requires citizens' readiness in case of need.<sup>15</sup> The Military Selective Service Act stipulates that almost all male US citizens and immigrants aged 18-25 must register with the Selective

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<sup>15</sup> "Register for Selective Service," USA Gov, 2025, <https://www.usa.gov/register-selective-service#:~:text=The Selective Service program requires,sign up for military service.>



Service System (SSS).<sup>16</sup> In other words, although military service in the US is voluntary, the law still requires the majority of young men to sign up in anticipation of drafting troops in the event of a state of war. Failure to register is punishable by sanctions (fines, penalties, or loss of certain rights). In addition, federal law still defines the militia as “all able-bodied male citizens ages 17-45” - divided into the organized militia (National Guard) and the unorganized militia (potential civilians).<sup>17</sup> This definition suggests a legal expectation that the adult civilian population can be called up as a defense component if needed, even if they are not actively serving on a day-to-day basis.

On a day-to-day basis, the concept of citizen participation in defense in the US is reflected through:<sup>18</sup> (1) Professional volunteer military - citizens who join the Army, Navy, Air Force on a contract basis; (2) Draft arrangements in times of crisis - when approved by Congress and the President, the SSS will draw and call enlisted youth for the draft; (3) National Guard and Reserve - reserve components where part-time civilians train one weekend per month and two weeks per year, ready to deploy in case of national mobilization. Each state's National Guard is viewed as an official militia, and is often involved in domestic disaster relief and overseas assignments. (4) Civic education - US schools teach history, the constitution and national values to instill patriotism. (5) Voluntary civil service - while not mandatory, the government encourages programs such as AmeriCorps, Peace Corps, or other community service as a form of service to the country. Thus, the implementation of “national defense” in the US focuses on volunteerism and professionalism, supported by a reserve system. There is no universal mandatory military training for all young men in peacetime, but all men are readily enlisted for deployment in the event of war.

In Singapore, similar to Sweden, is taking into account the concept of total defense which is related to whole-of-society defense strategy. Its central premise is that every aspect of society - every citizen without exception - has a role to play in the collective defense of the state. Singapore's Total Defense includes six pillars: Military Defence, Civil Defence, Economic Defence, Social Defence, Psychological Defence, and most recently Digital Defence.<sup>19</sup> In relation to the digital era, two of the

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Barry M Stentiford, *The American Home Guard: The State Militia in the Twentieth Century* (Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 2002).

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> “Total Defence,” MINDEF Singapore, 2025, <https://www.mindef.gov.sg/defence-matters/defence-topic/total-defence#:~:text=We now face new challenges,military>



pillars are interesting to be taking into account, namely Psychological Defence, and Digital Defence. The psychological defense is interpreted as:<sup>20</sup>

Singapore's ability to overcome threats and challenges that come our way depends on the collective will of our people to defend our way of life, the resolve to stand up for Singapore when pressured by forces that undermine our national interests, and the fighting spirit to press on and overcome crises together.

....

How do you put Psychological Defence into action?

- By being proud to be Singaporean and prepared to stand up to defend Singapore in times of crises.
- By developing resilience and the strength to return to our normal activities as soon as possible after a crisis hits.
- By understanding our history and the principles that helped Singapore succeed, and having a strong resolve to stay united and keep Singapore strong and special.

As for the digital defense, Singapore understands it as follows:<sup>21</sup>

As Singapore works towards being a Smart Nation, digital technology will pervade all aspects of how we live, work, and play. Singapore will be one of the most technologically advanced, open and connected nations in the world. While the digital revolution presents opportunities for Singapore, it also makes us vulnerable to threats from the digital domain. These threats will disrupt our way of life, and can also undermine our social cohesion and strike at the confidence and psychological resilience of our people. We therefore need to be able to respond to cyberattacks that target our networks and infrastructure, as well as threats that can be perpetrated through the digital domain such as fake news and deliberate online falsehoods. Singaporeans must recognise that every individual is the first line of defence against threats from the digital domain, so we can defend ourselves against such threats. We must build robust defences and have effective recovery plans to remain resilient even when things go wrong. This is what a strong Digital Defence means.

How do you put Digital Defence into action?

- Adopt good cybersecurity practices to safeguard our personal data, devices, and systems.
- Be aware of phishing attacks and internet scams.

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threats.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

- Use social media discerningly and responsibly.
- Be vigilant against fake news and the spread of deliberate online falsehoods.

The core message of Singapore's total defense is "There's a part for everyone" - everyone has a part in strengthening defenses against threats, both military and non-military.<sup>22</sup> For a small, multi-ethnic island nation, internal solidarity and the involvement of all citizens are considered key to making the nation resilient to any crisis, from terrorism to disease outbreaks. Thus, Singapore's definition of national defense is the shared responsibility of all citizens to build a strong, safe and harmonious nation. In this context, it can be understood that Singapore does not solely interpret the state defense as belonging to a militaristic conception, but progressively meant as resilience that is associated with and contributes to security. Scholars study security, particularly from the international relations domain, to identify:<sup>23</sup>

... the multidimensionality of security beyond military concerns, caution against oversimplifications like equating security solely with survival, and stress the importance of balancing security with other policy goals. The authors advocate for a flexible yet rigorous conceptual framework to improve policy analysis, scholarly communication, and practical decision-making in a post-Cold War context.

As in Sweden, the country adheres to the concept of "*totalförsvaret*" (total defense), similar to Singapore, but born earlier from the Cold War experience. Total defense means that the entire population and national resources are involved in defending the country, encompassing both military and civil aspects. Swedish law explicitly states: "Total defense is the responsibility of the entire Swedish population." This concept of total defense owned by Sweden is similar with Norway. The country uses the concept of Total Defense, which is a full synergy between civil and military forces to prevent and deal with various threats, from domestic crises to military aggression.

Among its main characteristics are:<sup>24</sup>

- Utilizing all national resources (government, private sector, community);

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> David A. Baldwin, "The Concept of Security," *Review of International Studies* 23, no. 1 (1997): 5-26, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210597000053>.

<sup>24</sup> Joakim Berndtsson, "Total Defence for the 21st Century?," Australian Institute of International Affairs, 2024, <https://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/total-defence-for-the-21st-century/>.

- A clear division of tasks: the military maintains defense, civilians focus on reserves, logistics, emergency support;
- Citizen involvement is carried out through local exercises, community preparedness, and the activation of civil infrastructure such as shelters and emergency warning systems (Nødvarsel);

With the digital challenges amidst the Ukraine-Russian war, Scandinavian countries are redefining the concept of total defense and threats to be suitable for the proper intervention. The countries started research projects on Total Defence for the 21st Century: Civilian-Military Collaboration in Scandinavia.<sup>25</sup> The concept underlines the importance of the whole-of-society approach in a meaningful way to build resilience in society and be ready to take action in terms of war and crisis,<sup>26</sup> not using the approach of having military - especially the active ones - sitting in civilian positions.

On the civil defense front, Sweden is rebuilding its capacity: the government is coordinating agencies, local governments, businesses, and NGOs for emergency plans (e.g., ensuring food, energy, and medical care in the event of war).<sup>27</sup> Sweden has also prepared the legal infrastructure for civil conscription, if it is reinstated, which would recruit citizens to critical defense jobs in the civilian sector. In addition, Sweden is conducting public education on disinformation and foreign propaganda. A 2018 pamphlet, for example, warned citizens to be wary of false information aimed at “weakening our will to defend ourselves.” Broadly speaking, Sweden’s implementation of total defense in the modern era involves a combination of moderate-scale conscription, logistical and psychological preparedness for the entire population, and the government’s ability to mobilize civil society en masse in the event of a national crisis.<sup>28</sup>

Scandinavian countries implement important principles that are the values of their countries, namely gender equality, democracy, and human rights. Gender equality is implemented in the state defense actions through a multifaceted approach that includes integrating gender perspectives into military operations, promoting women’s participation in the armed forces, and combating sexual violence and harassment. This involves ensuring personnel are trained on the Women, Peace, and

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<sup>25</sup> “Total Defence for the 21st Century: Civilian-Military Collaboration in Scandinavia,” University of Gothenburg, 2025.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> “A New Version of the Brochure In Case of Crisis or War,” Swedish Civil Contingency Agency, 2025.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

Security agenda, incorporating gender perspectives into planning and evaluations, and working towards a good gender balance, especially in leadership roles.<sup>29</sup> In addition, Sweden upholds humanism in defense: for example, respecting the rights of conscientious objectors (alternatives to civil service are provided for those who refuse to take up arms), which is in line with the democratic and human rights traditions of the Nordic countries. Finally, the value of preparedness is strongly emphasized: citizens are encouraged to be independent and prepared (storing food, water, evacuation plans, etc.), so that society is resilient.<sup>30</sup> It can be concluded that the Swedish version of national defense is a total defense based on the people that prioritizes unity, readiness, and the strong will of the entire nation to fight threats, while still respecting democratic values.

From the UN perspective, the concept of citizen participation in national defense is viewed within the framework of maintaining international peace and respect for human rights. The UN Charter recognizes state sovereignty and the right to self-defense (Article 51 states that every state has the inherent right to defend itself, either individually or collectively, if attacked by arms. This means that the UN views national defense efforts by citizens as part of the state's right to defend itself against aggression. However, the UN also emphasizes that defense efforts must be in line with efforts to maintain world peace.

As the concept of security evolved, the UN introduced a "human security" approach that placed individual well-being as part of national security. This broadened the meaning of national defense to include not only military defense but also the protection of citizens from non-military threats such as natural disasters, famine, disease, terrorism, etc.<sup>31</sup> The UN encouraged countries to strengthen the resilience of their communities to these threats. This perspective is in line with the concept of total defense adopted by Singapore and Sweden, where the role of citizens in civil preparedness (such as crisis education, cyber resilience, etc.) is considered an integral part of national defense. On the human rights side, the UN emphasizes that citizens' obligations in national defense must respect international human rights standards. There should be no violation of rights in the name of national defense. For example, the UN

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<sup>29</sup> "Norway's National Action Plan: Women, Peace and Security (2023-2030)," Government.no, accessed June 28, 2025, <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dokumenter/norways-national-action-plan-women-peace-and-security-2023-2030/id2993862/?ch=2>.

<sup>30</sup> "A New Version of the Brochure In Case of Crisis or War," Op. Cit.

<sup>31</sup> Indah Amaritasari, "Keamanan Nasional Dalam Konsep Dan Standar Internasional," *Jurnal Keamanan Nasional* 1, no. 2 (2015): 153-74, <https://doi.org/10.31599/jkn.v1i2.21>.

through the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child 2000 emphasized that children under 18 years of age should not be involved in hostilities, let alone be required to enter military service. The UN strongly condemns the practice of child soldiers and recommends that the minimum age for military recruitment be 18. Member states are encouraged to legislate to prohibit military service for children under 18, and to rehabilitate children who have been involved in conflict.

The right to conscientious objection is also recognized in the UN forum. The UN Commission on Human Rights in 1995 issued a resolution stating that “persons performing military service shall not be exempted from the right to express conscientious objection to military service.” The 1998 resolution reaffirmed that even active soldiers can develop conscientious objections and that they must be respected. The UN Human Rights Council and the UN Human Rights Committee have since included conscientious objection as part of freedom of religion/belief (Article 18 of the International Civil and Political Covenant). This perspective has encouraged many countries (such as South Korea, Singapore and others) to provide alternative non-military services for those who object to taking up arms on religious/faith grounds.

In other words, the UN sees the need for a balance between the obligation to defend the country and the individual’s right not to be forced to act against their conscience. In addition, the UN encourages citizen participation in global peace efforts, for example through UN peacekeepers. The involvement of citizens as soldiers sent by UN missions can be considered national defense in the global scope, because it contributes to international stability. The UN encourages member states to train their military personnel in humanitarian law and human rights, so that the spirit of national defense does not violate international norms. Overall, the UN perspective can be summarized as follows: National defense is recognized as a sovereign right of the state and the responsibility of citizens to protect their country, but its implementation must be in line with international law and human rights.<sup>32</sup> The UN encourages a comprehensive (all-encompassing) defense model - encompassing military and non-military resilience - with public participation, such as disaster preparedness, strengthening social cohesion, eradicating extremism, etc., as part of maintaining national security and world peace. The value emphasized by the UN is that patriotism must not conflict with

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<sup>32</sup> Resolusi Komisi HAM PBB 1995/83 di dalam <https://www.refworld.org/legal/resolution/unchr/1995/en/8151>

universal humanity; citizens are encouraged to love their country while upholding basic rights and respecting peace between nations.

## **The Concept of Threat and the Emerging of Digital Technology**

Based on current law and regulations, Indonesia is interpreting the concept of threat related to ideology. According to Article 107 a on the Law No. 27 of 1999 on Amendment to The Criminal Codes Relating to Crimes Against State Security specify that “Anyone who unlawfully in public, verbally, in writing, and/or through any media, spreads or develops the teachings of Communism/Marxism-Leninism in any form or manifestation, shall be punished with a maximum imprisonment of 12 (twelve) years.” When the crimes of the state security causes of life or loss property, the punishment is higher as indicated in Article 107 c of the Law:

Anyone who unlawfully in public, verbally, in writing and/or through any media, spreads or develops the teachings of Communism/Marxism-Leninism which results in unrest in society, or causes loss of life or loss of property, shall be punished with a maximum imprisonment of 15 (fifteen) years.

The degree of the crime is getting higher when the crime is associated to the replacement of Pancasila as ideology of the state as highlighted in Article 107 d:

Anyone who unlawfully in public, verbally, in writing and/or through any media, spreads or develops the teachings of Communism/Marxism-Leninism with the intention of changing or replacing Pancasila as the basis of the State, shall be punished with a maximum imprisonment of 20 (twenty) years.

In term of the creating an organisation and having interaction with abroad for adhering the teaching of Communism/Marxism-Leninism is also considered a crime under Article 107 f:

- a. anyone who establishes an organization that is known or suspected of adhering to the teachings of Communism/Marxism-Leninism in all its forms and manifestations; or
- b. anyone who establishes relations with or provides assistance to an organization, either domestically or abroad, that is known to be based on the teachings of Communism/Marxism-Leninism or in all its forms and manifestations with the intention of changing the foundation of the state or overthrowing the legitimate government.

In Jokowi's presidency, there are two organisations being ban organise namely Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI).<sup>33</sup> Previously, the government had issued Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (Perppu) Number 2/2017 concerning Mass Organizations (Ormas). The Perppu regulates the dissolution of mass organizations that are considered to be in conflict with Pancasila. The act to replace the Pancasila as ideology is considered a crime, apart from associating to the teachings of Communism/Marxism-Leninism as also states in Article 107 b of the Law No. 27 of 1999 on Amendment to The Criminal Codes Relating to Crimes Against State Security:

Anyone who unlawfully publicly, verbally, in writing and/or through any media, expresses a desire to abolish or replace Pancasila as the foundation of the state, resulting in unrest in society, or causing loss of life or loss of property, shall be punished with a maximum imprisonment of 20 (twenty) years.

In relation to the emerging of digital technology, the Outlook I-KHub BNPT identifies several findings.<sup>34</sup> First, the internet and social media have become the second highest channel for the spread of violent extremism leading to terrorism in all cases of terrorism in Indonesia. From 2013 to 2022, out of 721 decision files analyzed, there were 360 cases of perpetrators of terrorism who were exposed through digital platforms. Exposure through the internet even indicates that it has penetrated state apparatus. This number is predicted to continue to increase if the content and propaganda activities of terrorist groups are not optimally controlled.

Second, there has been a significant increase in the propaganda activities of terrorist groups and their sympathizers in cyberspace which has been detected from year to year. These propaganda activities develop dynamically and are very sensitive using narratives influenced by national events that attract public attention, international events related to religious and identity issues, as well as terrorist attacks and the development of terrorist groups. Propaganda sources are also developed from foreign language sources and sources produced by Indonesians themselves.

Third, the increase in propaganda activity was manifested in two terrorist attacks that were entirely influenced by radicalization via the internet. The two attacks, namely a single attack in 2017 in Banyumas and in 2022 in Jakarta, both targeted the Police and were influenced by the

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<sup>33</sup> "2 Organisasi Terlarang Di Era Jokowi: HTI Dan FPI," *Detiknews*, December 30, 2020, <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5315098/2-organisasi-terlarang-di-era-jokowi-hti-dan-fpi>.

<sup>34</sup> I-KHub, "Counter Terrorism and Violent Extremism Outlook" (Jakarta, 2024).



ideology of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) spread via the internet. Although the number of attacks that were entirely influenced by internet radicalization was very limited, the number of single attacks influenced by internet radicalization has the potential to continue to increase.

Fourth, several models of vulnerability to radicalization and exposure to violent extremism leading to terrorism in cyberspace were identified. Some of them are individuals with minimal religious knowledge with high spiritual needs, socially isolated individuals such as migrants at home and abroad including Indonesian migrant workers and Indonesian students abroad, individuals who are uprooted from their community and culture such as the Indonesian diaspora, migrants, youth groups in urban areas, and communities exposed to social conflict between religions, ethnicities, politics, and socio-economics. The model is based on case studies of individuals exposed to terrorism from cyberspace. In addition, low digital literacy rates are one of the risk factors.

Fifth, the development of terrorism funding activities in Indonesian cyberspace has been monitored, starting from traditional fundraising and using financial technology. In addition, financial technology such as crypto finance, online loans, and online platform monetization have opened up opportunities for the misuse of cyberspace for the benefit of terrorism. Failure to combat terrorism funding could potentially lead to the continued development of the threat of terrorism in the future.

Sixth, the role of women in terrorist networks formed from activities in online networks. The formation of identities and networks of terrorist groups and sympathizers on the internet has been proven to form identities and personalities that can drive terrorist actions, raise funds, and organize and organize networks. The findings of this case show that the network of terrorist groups on the internet in the future cannot be considered a light threat.

Seventh, the misuse of technology by Indonesian terrorist groups continues to grow. Including using artificial intelligence in creating propaganda content and indicated to have training materials related to hacking and misuse of technology. This finding is based on empirical content and training materials from terrorist groups that are circulating and can be accessed in Indonesian and are used in various terrorism cases as reference materials. In addition, online games containing violence can become a space for radicalization in groups who are vulnerable to exposure to violent extremism.

In the Digital Era, emerges the concept of Hybrid Threat (HT) and Hybrid Warfare introduced in 2007 by Hoffman, which later understood as modern threats.<sup>35</sup>

By including the Hoffman's concept of Hybrid Threats, the threat is understood as<sup>36</sup>

a catchy phrase encapsulating numerous large and small unwanted operations. Ranging from synchronised manipulation and dissemination of information to coordinated subversion and coercion, with violent and non-violent methods for the purpose of policy—hybrid threats are a relevant and comprehensive expression of a 21st-century security context.

It is considered as “grey zones” as further explains.<sup>37</sup>

These are blurred arenas that are hard to delineate, largely because global digitalization permeates the way modern societies, and their inhabitants, chose to organise their lives. Clearly defined actors, intentions, and capabilities, the key ingredients in any threat assessment is therefore difficult to accurately identify or measure objectively. The same goes to what is, and what is not, a clearly defined battlefield. This again opens a new Pandora's box. Not least when it comes to define who is in charge when huge state bureaucracies and numerous local municipals are soaked into complex crisis management operations. These entities are states; political and administrative agencies trying to cooperate within an operational framework where roles, responsibilities, and authorities have been separated and delegated throughout a hierarchical and parliamentary chain-of-command.

Borch and Heier argued “in a digital age of interdependence and interconnectivity between global, national, regional, and local levels, the hybrid threat concept is regarded useful and has thus thrived enormously.”<sup>38</sup> Thus, it is important to have an interdisciplinary approach in responding to hybrid threats as explains below:

The multi-disciplinary approach reflects a 21st-century context where aggressors are weaponized by a broad range of instruments. This is particularly so in the cyber domain, where millions of citizens can be

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<sup>35</sup> Nina M.Marte Høiby Bjørge, “Contemporary Research on Hybrid Threats,” in *Preparing for Hybrid Threats to Security*, ed. Odd Jarl Borch and Tormod Heier (New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2023).

<sup>36</sup> Odd Jarl Borch and Tormod Heier, “Understanding Hybrid Threats,” in *Preparing for Hybrid Threats to Security T*, ed. Odd Jarl Borch and Tormod Heier (New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2023).

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

easily reached with a minimum of costs, that is, through social media and cell phones. This calls for a broad understanding of technological trends. Partly so from a user perspective, but also from a technical perspective so that future arenas of potential aggression can be prepared. The internet of things, artificial intelligence, and machine learning technologies empower aggressors with an even more potent toolbox. These digital instruments have become increasingly user friendly, cheap to purchase, and sophisticated in their technological output. For intelligence services worldwide, there is a need to significantly broaden the information and knowledge domain into a truly multi-disciplinary profession.

The field of social sciences may be limited in fully explaining all elements of hybrid threats (HT) and hybrid warfare (HW), particularly regarding the technological dimensions of the cyber domain, critical infrastructure, and aspects of the economic sphere. NATO defines hybrid threats as:<sup>39</sup>

“[Combinations of] military and non-military as well as covert and overt means, including disinformation, cyber-attacks, economic pressure, deployment of irregular armed groups, and use of regular forces. Hybrid methods are used to blur the lines between war and peace and attempt to sow doubt in the minds of target populations. They aim to destabilise and undermine societies.”

The concept of hybrid warfare seeks to capture the multifaceted nature of modern conflict, which involves multiple actors, dissolves the traditional binary between war and peace, and employs a mixture of conventional and irregular methods. In academic discourse, hybrid warfare is often exemplified by Russia’s blend of conventional and unconventional tactics in Ukraine since 2014. According to *Military Balance 2015*, as cited by Wither, hybrid warfare is defined as:

The use of military and nonmilitary tools in an integrated campaign, designed to achieve surprise, seize the initiative and gain psychological as well as physical advantages utilizing diplomatic means; sophisticated and rapid information, electronic and cyber operations; covert and occasionally overt military and intelligence action; and economic pressure.

These definitions illustrate a distinction: hybrid threats typically occur in contexts where hostile actors aim to create confusion or unrest below the threshold of open conflict, whereas hybrid warfare refers more narrowly to coordinated operations combining military and non-military instruments. The key difference lies in the conceptual boundary

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<sup>39</sup> James K Wither, “Defining Hybrid Warfare,” *Viewpoints*, 2019, 7–9.

between a “threat” and actual “warfare,” even though both share the term “hybrid.” Labeling actions as “warfare” carries legal, political, and cultural implications. Consequently, actors may intentionally operate below the threshold of war to avoid triggering formal responses, making terms like hybrid threats politically more palatable. HT often applies in situations where war is not officially declared or widely recognized by the international community, allowing for a level of ambiguity that can be exploited by those seeking to shape the narrative or control the theatre of conflict. Both HT and HW used interchangeably and sometimes inconsistently—despite the serious implications of invoking the term “war.” Including both concepts in the literature review was essential to understand their usage, relevance, and impact within academic and policy discourse.

Based on the research organised by Nina M. Bjørge and Marte Høiby regarding HT and HW, it appears to have more attention and careful more research since military approach is still heavier:<sup>40</sup>

Results from our sample suggest that the peer-reviewed articles on HT and HW focus heavily on military issues while civil perspectives are nearly absent. Without paying much attention to neither the cyber domain nor critical infrastructure, the scholarship is occupied with entangling concepts and terminology in light of military and political issues. The information domain receives some but limited attention, and within this part of the scholarship, we find attempts to address impacts of HT and HW on civil society—while merely from a state and media political point of view. Civil and societal resilience to HT and HW strategies, and how cyberattacks, espionage, and critical infrastructure sabotage affect civil society and ideas of civil-military cooperation, are issues that receive little to no attention at all.

In Europe, the HT can target the democracy, identity, and economic. When combined with the deliberate exacerbation and manipulation of ethnic, religious, racial, or other societal divisions, such tactics undermine the deliberative discourse essential to democratic functioning and erode political trust.<sup>41</sup> In the most severe cases, this can result in democratic backsliding and societal unrest. Therefore, strengthening resilience against these strategies is crucial and requires coordinated action across the education, judicial, and media sectors—though such efforts must be approached with care and consideration. Fostering dialogue not only

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<sup>40</sup> Nina M. Marte Høiby Bjørge, Op. Cit.

<sup>41</sup> Tanja Ellingsen, “Hybrid Threats As A Threat To Democracy,” in *Preparing For Hybrid Threats To Security*, ed. Odd Jarl Borch and Tormod Heier (New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2024).

within but also between these sectors represents an important initial step. Safeguarding European democratic pluralism from exploitation by hostile actors necessitates a whole-of-society approach to security. Establishing collaborative platforms where educators, media professionals, and emergency responders can exchange insights, design educational initiatives, and develop public awareness campaigns is thus essential.<sup>42</sup> Equally, promoting and expanding social cohesion—particularly through integration policies and inclusive welfare programs targeting diasporas and ethnic or religious minorities—is vital. However, current understanding remains limited regarding which individuals, groups, communities, or even states are most susceptible or most resilient to such destabilizing tactics, indicating a pressing need for further research and evidence-based policymaking.<sup>43</sup>

HT against a nation is also possible to dealt within the national security perspective. The study made by Patrick Cullen has demonstrated how China strategically and assertively employs hybrid threats as part of a broader effort to expand its political and economic influence within other nations. The scale and intensity of Beijing's hybrid operations against Australia—combined with Australia's proactive stance in exposing and confronting these threats—positions the country as a bellwether for other states confronting similar campaigns orchestrated by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).<sup>44</sup> While hybrid threats can manifest in military contexts, this chapter highlights the broader societal focus of China's approach, targeting PMESII (Political, Military, Economic, Social, Information, and Infrastructure) domains, and deploying a range of non-military tools and non-state or Party-State proxies categorized under MPECI (Media, Political, Economic, Cultural, and Informational instruments). The study has also explored how Australia has responded, shedding light on the mechanisms it has employed to identify, resist, and regulate political and economic coercion.<sup>45</sup>

Australia has made notable progress by publicly acknowledging the threat, tightening legislative frameworks, and closing legal loopholes that previously allowed ambiguous foreign influence operations to persist. Nonetheless, there is a risk that countermeasures could become symbolic or procedural—focused more on compliance than impact—

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Patrick Cullen, "Identifying Hybrid Threats from National Security Perspective," in *Preparing for Hybrid Threats to Security*, ed. Odd Jarl Borch and Tormod Heier (New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2025).

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

unless accompanied by consistent enforcement, as some observers caution.<sup>46</sup> An effective response to Beijing's hybrid campaigns must match their complexity and comprehensiveness. Although this study centers specifically on Australia, it underscores that China's hybrid threat apparatus utilizes the same actors, methods, and societal entry points globally to pursue identical strategic aims. In this sense, Australia's experience offers a valuable reference point—a potential model—for other states seeking to detect, deter, and respond to hybrid threats in their own national contexts.<sup>47</sup>

The emergence of digital information creates post-truth politics as a hybrid information influence on the status of international and national security. The study on this indicates that HW tactics leverage disinformation as a central tool to manipulate public opinion and undermine national security by conducting large-scale propaganda campaigns that blur the lines between foreign and domestic audiences.<sup>48</sup> As for HT are described as multifaceted challenges that combine conventional and unconventional methods, particularly focusing on information-related tactics such as disinformation, fake news, and manipulation in the media.<sup>49</sup> These threats aim to influence public opinion, undermine national identity, and destabilize political and security structures. They include foreign media interference, cyber-attacks, propaganda, and other covert actions designed to blur the lines between peace and conflict, affecting both "soft" and "hard" security aspects. These campaigns aim to demoralize the population, impose the aggressor's will, and create confusion about allies and enemies. Disinformation is used not only to distort reality but also to influence political and military decision-making, making it a critical component of hybrid conflicts. The anonymity and low cost of social media tools facilitate the mobilization of disinformation by hostile actors, including states and extremist groups. This strategy exacerbates hybrid conflicts by transforming potential threats into real ones, undermining public trust in institutions, and affecting both "soft" and "hard" security aspects. Effective countermeasures include monitoring information

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<sup>46</sup> Tom Blackwel, "Criticized as Toothless, Australia's Foreign-Influence Registry a Warning as Canada Plans Its Own," *National Post*, March 31, 2023.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Lesia Dorosh, Teresa Astramowicz-Leyk, and Yaryna Turchyn, "The Impact of Post-Truth Politics as a Hybrid Information Influence on the Status of International and National Security: The Attributes of Interpretation and the Search for Counteraction Mechanisms," *European Politics and Society* 23, no. 3 (2022): 340–63, <https://doi.org/10.1080/023745118.2021.1873041>.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

spaces, media literacy, and international cooperation to detect and respond to such threats.<sup>50</sup>

Effective strategies to enhance media literacy and public trust in Europe to combat post-truth politics include a combination of regulatory, social, technological, and educational measures. These involve: (1) Techno-curatives such as AI-based filtering of false claims and stories; (2) Human fact-checking, especially rooted in journalism; (3) Strategic human responses to cognitive biases; (4) More vigorous self-regulation by social media providers; and (4) Media literacy initiatives aimed at improving critical thinking and the ability to discern credible information.<sup>51</sup> These approaches collectively help counteract misinformation and rebuild trust in public communication.

## National Security, National Resilience and Defining *Bela Negara*

Traditionally, national security has focused on the physical protection of a state's (and nation's) territory from military attack by other states. This focus is reflected in the declaration of the "inherent right of individual or collective self-defence" in Article 51 of the UN Charter. Traditional state-centric views in international relations limit the understanding of modern security challenges by focusing predominantly on the state as the sole referent object of security and prioritizing military threats above all else.<sup>52</sup> This narrow focus neglects other important dimensions of security, such as societal, economic, and environmental factors, as well as the roles of non-state actors. It also trivializes the security concerns of individuals and domestic politics, which have become increasingly relevant in the post-Cold War era. Consequently, this approach presents an overly simplistic and deterministic picture of international politics, failing to accommodate the complex and interwoven nature of contemporary security issues.

Social constructivist and critical theories expand the concept of security beyond military concerns by challenging the state-centric focus and emphasizing the role of ideas, identities, and social interactions in defining security threats.<sup>53</sup> Unlike traditional views that prioritize military threats to the state, these theories argue that security should

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Swatilekha Bhattacharya, "Explaining the Conceptualisation of Security in Mainstream International Relations Theory," *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 77, no. 1 (2016).

<sup>53</sup> Bhattacharya.



also consider non-military dimensions and multiple actors, including individuals and societies. Critical theories, in particular, advocate for “human emancipation,” where individuals, rather than states, are the primary referent objects of security. This broadens security to include economic, environmental, societal, and political aspects, thus addressing a wider range of vulnerabilities beyond just military threats.

After Cold War, the focus on national security has also diversified, reflecting more contemporary and acute concerns that pose greater threats to individuals and groups. As a result, the language of security can serve as a justification for states to deviate from their international obligations to protect individuals and their human rights. This is seen in the illustration of the ‘war on terrorism.’ As Nasu Hitosi explains:<sup>54</sup>

... ‘global war on terror’ following the 2001 terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, which pushed the United States to cross the line defiance of its legal obligations under the Geneva Conventions in handling Al-Qaeda detainees most infamously Guantanamo Bay. Other states also following suit, by taking extreme counter-terrorism measures notwithstanding human rights concerns. The view that fundamental human rights and values should be balanced against, reconciled with, national security has subsequently mustered some support.

According to Baldwin, the concept of security fundamentally involves reducing the probability of damage to acquired values.<sup>55</sup> Security is not limited to military threats but can encompass a wide range of threats and means to protect those values. Baldwin emphasizes that expanding the agenda of security to include issues like human rights, economics, or the environment does not require redefining the concept itself, but rather recognizing different values and threats within the existing framework. Security thus remains about protecting what is valued from threats, whether objective or subjective. After the Cold War, national security expanded beyond traditional military concerns to include a broader range of issues such as economic security, environmental security, identity security, and social security. These are considered different forms of security rather than fundamentally new concepts. The core idea remains protecting acquired values from threats, but the specific values, threats, means, and costs have shifted to reflect new global circumstances. This conception is closely related to the national resilience which refers to the

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<sup>54</sup> Hitoshi Nasu, “The Expanded Conception of Security and International Law: Challenges to the Un Collective Security System,” *Amsterdam Law Forum* 3, no. 3 (2011): 15, <https://doi.org/10.37974/alf.190>.

<sup>55</sup> Baldwin, “The Concept of Security.”

capacity of a nation to withstand, adapt to, and recover from various internal and external shocks, including political, economic, social, and security challenges.<sup>56</sup> It encompasses the ability to maintain stability, cohesion, and functionality in the face of crises, ensuring the survival and continuity of the state and society. This concept goes beyond mere military strength to include societal, economic, and institutional robustness. The concept of national resilience in the context of the new concept of national security involves addressing a broader range of security threats beyond traditional military attacks. It emphasizes protecting not only the state's territory but also individuals and groups from diverse, non-traditional security challenges such as terrorism, environmental issues, and technological developments.<sup>57</sup> This expanded view requires more regulated and cooperative approaches, including alternative security mechanisms like common security, cooperative security, and comprehensive security, which complement collective security without undermining international legal frameworks. National resilience thus reflects the capacity of a state to adapt and respond to these multifaceted threats while respecting international law and human rights.

Security is a value that is usually referred to as an instrumental value, for example, someone expects security in order to enjoy the production or results of other values. Security can also have different variations. Some individuals, groups, or nations may be safer than others for different reasons at the same time. The level of danger or threat; the amount of value protected is different; and psychological conditions and hopes for the future cannot be compared. Therefore, Wolfers introduces a provisional definition in the relationship between security and hope. Security has an interest not only in the protection of "previously achieved values," but also future hopes and valuable results that will be enjoyed later.<sup>58</sup> Thus, security does not only emphasize the prevention of loss, but also the prevention of blocked achievements. For example, the existence of home insurance in anticipation of increased coverage from future appreciation is an example of the security dimension at the individual level. Thus, Lasswell and Kaplan observed: "Security is high expectancy, position, and potential: realistic expectancy of maintaining influence."<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Bhattacharya, "Explaining the Conceptualisation of Security in Mainstream International Relations Theory."

<sup>57</sup> Nasu, "The Expanded Conception of Security and International Law: Challenges to the Un Collective Security System."

<sup>58</sup> Arnold Wolfers, "National Security' As an Ambiguous Symbol," in *American Defense and Détente*, ed. Eugene J Rosi (New York: Dodd Mead, 1973).

<sup>59</sup> Harold D Lasswell and Abraham. Kaplan, *Power and Security* (New Heaven: Yale

We often associate security with the present condition and the status quo and overlook the importance of the dynamic quality of the value itself. Finally, security also includes minimizing danger and threat. Threats can be seen as anticipation of obstacles to some values. When we talk about protection we usually talk about freedom from obstacles and hindrances to what is enjoyed as a valued outcome. The national interest ultimately becomes security by referring to the valued outcomes desired by those in the effective political base of a nation.

The UN and international standards on national security emphasize balancing national security measures with respect for individual human rights and legal obligations.<sup>60</sup> For example, the global war on terror led to actions that challenged compliance with the Geneva Conventions, highlighting the tension between security and human rights. The UN collective security system has limited effectiveness in enforcing these standards, and there is a growing view that fundamental human rights should be reconciled with national security concerns.

The notion of 'human security' has also added a new dimension to the broadening of the concept of security, as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) introduced it into policy discourse in its 1994 Human Development Report. Human security has subsequently provided the theoretical basis for the development of the 'responsibility to protect' concept as a policy agenda that was formally endorsed in the 2005 World Summit Outcome. One of the key aspects of this concept is that the different human populations of sovereign states and international communities are recognized as objects to be protected from the threat of genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity.

There has been a gradual move towards recognizing a wider range of issues that pose threats to security, with security growing in the areas of economic security, environmental security, energy and resource security, food security, bio-security and health security. The broadening of the security issue was formally recognized when the heads of state met in the Security Council in 1992 and named various non-military sources of instability in the economic, social, humanitarian and ecological fields as threats to international peace and security. In 2004, the Report of the UN Secretary-General's High-Level Panel identified economic and social threats, transnational organized crime, as well as inter-state conflicts, internal conflicts, terrorism, and weapons of mass destruction as threats to global security. The concept of national resilience is merged.

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University Press, 1950).

<sup>60</sup> Amaritasari, "Keamanan Nasional Dalam Konsep Dan Standar Internasional."

During the Cold War, national resilience was often equated with civil defense and military readiness, designed to survive nuclear conflict or foreign invasion. After the Cold War, as interstate wars declined and non-traditional threats increased (e.g., terrorism, pandemics, natural disasters), resilience became broader and more civilian-centered. The emphasis is shifted to: (1) Protecting critical infrastructure; (2) Strengthening governance and institutions; (3) Enhancing public awareness and cohesion; and (4) Enabling continuity of government and services in crises.

Looking into Indonesia framework related to *Bela Negara*, the conception of resilience is closely connected to four levels of resilience: (1) individual resilience such as the ability of an individual to detect and deter oneself from misinformation and violent extremist group propaganda; (2) family resilience such as on how family can support each other in term of crisis; (3) community resilience such as on how community care and able to properly conducting early warning and early response in term of crisis; (4) National resilience such as protecting the nation as a whole. Professionals and government employee are contributing to the achievement of national resilience. Kusnanto Anglo illustrates in the picture below as explains strategic environment of security and politics (Concentric Security) in Indonesia as follows;<sup>61</sup>

Akan terlihat, “transformative trend of some states” (berdasarkan data longitudinal, menghitung political impedance and societal progress dalam global/regional viscosity. Adaptasi dari logika mekanika fluida. Konsekuensi logika ini, atau praxes dari hard scheme mekanika fluida—bahkan quantum physica—adalah adalah re-finery software atas setiap perkembangan theoretical frameworks setiap langkah kemajuan teori fisika.

Untuk sekadar kontemplasi, apakah Polri, policing (civilian plus non-civilian police), atukah law enforcement agencies? functioning untuk safety, crime, or “safety of the all elements of the national state within national boundary.” Perluasan kerangka konseptual ini perlu dipahami oleh para theoretical thinkers polisi, agar tidak salah dalam memotret kapasitas Polri, diferensiasi tugas dan kewenangan.

...

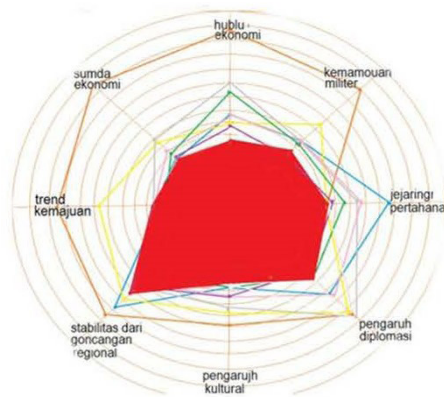
Khusus untuk “kepolisian negara,” harus diperjelas apakah Kepala Kepolisian Negara:

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<sup>61</sup> Kusnanto Anggoro, “Lingstra Politik-Keamanan: Concentric Security,” in *Scholars & Scientists Indonesia Tentang 2045 Dan Respon Polisi*, ed. Hermawan Sulistyio (Jakarta: Ubhara Jaya Press, 2025).

- a) Perumusan ulang tugas perlindungan, pelayanan, peng-ayoman dan kemudian sebagian di antaranya dititipkan ke K/L yang relevan.
- b) Ini bisa diikuti dengan desentralisasi, sebagian tetap dalam kendali pusat, sebagian yang lain attached to local government. Ide ini congruent dan paralel dengan praxes dari prinsip dekonsentrasi pemerintahan daerah; kewenangan administratif didesentralisasikan, sambil kekuasaan (politik) tetap dipegang oleh pusat.

Kusnanto Anggoro Illustration of Strategic Environment of Security and Politics.



Kusnanto's statement can be translated as follows;

It will be seen, "transformative trend of some states" (based on longitudinal data, calculating political impedance and societal progress in global/regional viscosity. Adaptation of fluid mechanics logic. The consequences of this logic, or the praxes of the hard scheme of fluid mechanics—even quantum physics—are the refinement of software for every development of theoretical frameworks for every step of progress in physics theory.

For mere contemplation, is the National Police, policing (civilian plus non-civilian police), or law enforcement agencies? function-ing for safety, crime, or "safety of all elements of the national state within national boundaries." The expansion of this conceptual framework needs to be understood by police theoretical thinkers, so as not to be wrong in portraying the capacity of the National Police, the differentiation of tasks and authorities.

...

Specifically for the "state police," it must be clarified whether the Chief of the National Police:

- a) Reformulating the tasks of protection, service, and shelter and then some of them are entrusted to the relevant K/L.

- b) This can be followed by decentralization, some of which remain under central control, others attached to local government. This idea is congruent and parallel to the practices of the principle of deconcentration of local government; administrative authority is decentralized, while (political) power remains held by the center.

For future resilience, it is important to have an education on technology and sains as indicated by Hermawan Sulistiyo:<sup>62</sup>

Contoh tentang AI, sudah sangat jauh dari akar-akar Sainteknya. Referensi serial Schaum Series pada 1970 an masih digunakan di level pendidikan Saintek universitas. Kini dan ke depan sudah digunakan pada jenjang SMA, dan bahkan SMP. Namun itu semua terjadi di luar Indonesia. Masyarakat pendidikan Indonesia yang sempat memikat dalam pairing, kesetaraan counterparts dengan komunitas pendidikan di negara-negara maju, lalu terseok-seok mengikuti counterparrs tersebut. Pluto yang lucu dibunuh dalam abrupt sudden; dan belum tampak cercah cahaya dalam lorong gelap itu. Similarly, sulit menyatakan AI adalah produk Matematika saja, atau anak kandung Fisika, dan lain sebagainya. Setiap cabang pengetahuan baru sulit pula disebut anak cabang disiplin ilmu tertentu.

Namun tetap saja, dalam lingstra yang lebih spesifik—dalam kosakata ideologis-dogmatis disebut ipoleksosbudhankam—Perubahan tetap mengandung tema-tema kesinambungan dan keterputusan rangkaian events. Jika changes evolusioner atau transvolusioner, lebih mudah dikenali dan diuraikan, untuk menyusun prediksi ke depan. Sejarah memberi pelajaran tentang L’histoire se repete. Tema kesinambungan membutuhkan simpul longitudinal yang menghubungkan dua atau lebih alur single atau multiple disiplin. Betapapun ruwetnya kompleksitas Saintek masa kini—terlebih lagi masa mendatang—tetap ada alur-alur seperti itu. Konvergensi proses tersebut bisa saja menghasilkan perubahan yang—bagi orang awam—tampak mendadak. Semacam revolusi sektoral, replika dari “the real revolution.” Sudden abrupt, holistik, berlangsung cepat, dan seterusnya. Simpul penghubung itu adalah scientists. Sementara roh dalam proses hubung-menghubungkan itu adalah scholar dan scholarship sebagai produknya.

It can be translated as follows;

For example, AI is very far from its science and technology roots. The Schaum Series reference series in the 1970s is still used at the university science and technology education level. Now and in the future, it has been used at the high school level, and even junior high school. But all of that happened outside Indonesia. The Indonesian education community,

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<sup>62</sup> Hermawan Sulistyio, *Scholars and Scientists Indonesia Tentang 2045 Dan Respon Polisi* (Jakarta: Ubhara Jaya Press, 2025).



which was once captivating in pairing, equality of counterparts with the education community in developed countries, then stumbled to follow the counterparts. The cute Pluto was killed in an abrupt sudden; and there has been no glimmer of light in the dark tunnel. Similarly, it is difficult to say that AI is only a product of Mathematics, or a biological child of Physics, and so on. Every new branch of knowledge is also difficult to call a child of a particular discipline.

But still, in a more specific lingstra – in the ideological-dogmatic vocabulary called *ipoleksosbudhankam* – Change still contains themes of continuity and discontinuity in a series of events. If changes are evolutionary or transvolutionary, they are easier to recognize and describe, to make predictions for the future. History teaches us about *L’histoire se repete*. The theme of continuity requires a longitudinal node that connects two or more single or multiple disciplinary streams. No matter how complicated the complexity of today’s Science and Technology – let alone the future – there are still such streams. The convergence of these processes can produce changes that – to the layman – seem sudden. A kind of sectoral revolution, a replica of “the real revolution.” Sudden abrupt, holistic, fast-paced, and so on. The connecting node is the scientist. While the spirit in the connecting process is the scholar and scholarship as its product.

## Conclusion and Recommendation

This study has argued that Indonesia’s current concept of *Bela Negara* remains predominantly framed by militaristic traditions rooted in Cold War-era doctrines and the legacy of Dwi Fungsi ABRI. In the face of digital transformation, hybrid threats, and evolving security dynamics, this narrow approach is no longer sufficient. By applying a normative juridical and comparative analysis, the study has shown how countries like Singapore, Sweden, and the United States have redefined state defense through civic engagement, digital literacy, and whole-of-society resilience frameworks. These models emphasize the role of citizens not only as defenders of territory but as proactive participants in upholding democratic values, national unity, and information integrity in the digital era. The findings directly address the original research problem: the need to reconceptualize *Bela Negara* in Indonesia beyond physical and military defense. This study contributes to existing literature by introducing a civic-oriented, inclusive, and future-facing model of state defense grounded in democratic resilience and legal reform. It responds to a critical gap in both Indonesian academic and policy discourse, where *Bela Negara* has often been under-theorized in relation to non-traditional and digital threats.



To operationalize this redefinition of Bela Negara, the following policy recommendations are proposed:

1. **Revise Legal Frameworks:** Amend existing defense laws to explicitly include digital security, civic education, and national resilience as core components of Bela Negara.
2. **Integrate Digital Literacy in Civic Education:** Update the national curriculum to incorporate digital citizenship, critical thinking, and media literacy as part of Bela Negara education at all levels.
3. **Develop Community-Based Resilience Programs:** Empower local governments, CSOs, and educational institutions to implement participatory defense initiatives—such as digital awareness campaigns, early warning systems, and civic innovation labs.
4. **Adopt a Whole-of-Society Approach in National Security Strategy:** Involve multiple stakeholders—youth, religious leaders, tech communities, and media—in designing and executing national security responses to hybrid threats.

By aligning Bela Negara with contemporary global standards of democratic and digital resilience, Indonesia can build a robust and inclusive defense paradigm—one that not only protects sovereignty but also nurtures informed, resilient, and empowered citizens.

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