



Implementation of National Defense Policy at the Higher Education Level in Support National Defense

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Abstract

The concept of national defense (conscription) is basically a universal concept. Other terms for prescription are military service, compulsory enrollment, national service. Many countries in the world implement national defense programs. Each country has its own reasons for creating and implementing state defense policies. Indonesia's state defense policy is based on the constitution. The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia established national defense as a citizen's right and obligation. In practice, the state defense policy has been created and implemented since 1961, during the era of President Sukarno's government. At that time, students and government employees participated in the state defense program. A series of laws were created from time to time. Highly educated people are expected to take part in national defense activities. However, from literary sources it is known that the implementation of the state defense policy experienced ups and downs. The research was conducted using qualitative research methods. The three 'research questions' in this research are (i) What is the process of the implementation of Conscription Education Policy at the Higher Education Level? (ii) What factors influence the effectiveness of the implementation of Conscription Education Policy at the Higher Education Level, and (iii) What is the Implementation Model for the Conscription Education Policy at the Higher Education Level according to urgency considering the low outcome of implementing the State Defense policy. Collection techniques are (i) literature review; interviews and data collection with implementers and a number of community members at higher education levels. Determination of participants was carried out by snowballing. The data analysis used is (i) analysis of limited literature sources, (ii) analysis of the responses of a number of policy implementing participants and (iii) analysis of the responses of representation among the policy targets, namely the population, in this case netizens from the higher education level. In this research, it was concluded that the implementation of state defense education at the higher education level has been carried out for a long time. However, the program outcomes still do not meet expectations. The factors that influence whether or not policy implementation is effective include weak synergy between government institutions and universities to implement state defense education policies.

Keywords: *Description; Policy Implementation; The Higher Education Level*

Introduction

The concept of National Defense is basically a universal concept. Other countries have implemented National Defense in various forms and terms, including military conscription, civil service, or a combination of conscription and civil service. According to the New Cambridge Dictionary, conscription is a system by which people are made to join the army. Meanwhile, according to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, conscription: mandatory enrolment of persons especially for military service. Another term for conscription is military service. According to various sources, there are 40 to 50 countries that implement conscription. Singapore implements the State Defense program as National Service (NS). The (NS) program in Singapore is mandatory for adult men who are 18 years old. Education lasts for 2 years.

For every Singaporean citizen, the NS Program is commonplace, even considered a necessity (Chan Ching Hao, 2013). The Swiss government also implements mandatory military service which is almost the same as Singapore. The Swiss government requires male citizens aged 19 to 25 to undergo military training for 18 to 21 weeks. However, there are 5 countries in the world that do not have an army, namely (i). Vatican, (ii). Samoa; (iii). Salomon Islands; (iv). Marshall Islands in the Pacific Ocean; and (v). Switzerland. The Swiss state does not have regular army defense units. however any Swiss citizen who has undergone military training can be mobilized within a short time (72 hours). Swiss law (UU) stipulates that residents who cannot participate in military service can be replaced by contributing to paying taxes (Aeschiman, 2012).

Many countries implement National Defense programs. The reasons for implementing the National Defense policy vary. The French state responded to the dynamics of social and political developments that occurred in the 2010s by reviving national service (NS). The specific goal is for the young generation of France to participate in supporting social cohesion. The French NS program includes service as a volunteer teacher, participating in charity activities, military personnel, police and firefighters (BBC News, 2018). The definition of National Defense in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is the attitude and behavior of citizens who are imbued with love for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia which is based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in ensuring the survival of the nation and four countries.

The Constitution of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, namely the 1945 Constitution, Article 27 Paragraph (3) states that: "Every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in efforts to defend the State," as for public policy which is a derivative of Article 27 paragraph (3) in above is Law Number 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense, Article 9 paragraph (1) which states: "Every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in national defense efforts which are realized in the implementation of national defense. The elaboration of State Defense efforts as intended in paragraph (1) is carried out through (i). Civic education; (ii) mandatory basic military training; (iii). Service as a TNI soldier voluntarily or compulsorily; and (iv). Devotion according to profession. The practice of National Defense was carried out during the era of the First President, Ir. Sukarno. On December 19 1961, President Sukarno proclaimed the 'Tri Commander of the People' (Trikorra) in the context of the liberation of West Irian. Trikorra's call consisted of orders: 1. Fail the formation of the State of Papua (by the Dutch); 2. Raise the Red and White flag in West Irian; and 3. Prepare for general mobilization. On January 15 1962, the Trikorra Order was executed by the West Java Regional War Authority, Colonel RA Kosasih by issuing Kpts Decree 04/7/PPD/61 dated January 10 1962 concerning the Formation of a Student/Student Multi-Purpose Regiment. This step was immediately followed by other regions.

Furthermore, the Deputy Minister for Defense and Security Affairs (Wampa HANKAM) together with the Minister of Higher Education and Science made/issued Joint Decree Number M/A/20/63 of 1963 concerning the Implementation of Compulsory Training and the Formation of Student Regiments

(Menwa) in the Higher Education Environment. Within a short time, Menwa appeared in various universities throughout Indonesia. As a campus organization with members aged 17 to 30 years, Menwa is not immune to organizational dynamics. To overcome this situation, the Coordinating Minister for Defense and Security/Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces (KASAB) General TNI AD AH Nasution instructed via radiogram Number.B/3046/64 that Menwa in Higher Education be under the Regional Military Command (KODAM). From the perspective of Menwa circles, Kusumabarata (2011) said that 1964 to 1993 was Menwa's golden period, where Menwa was known as a youth organization that was patriotic, brave and loved the country. A Kosasih by issuing Kpts Decree 04/7/PPD/61 dated 10 January 1962 concerning the Formation of a Student/Student Multi-Purpose Regiment. This step was immediately followed by other regions. Furthermore, the Deputy Minister for Defense and Security Affairs (Wampa HANKAM) together with the Minister of Higher Education and Science made/issued Joint Decree Number M/A/20/63 of 1963 concerning the Implementation of Compulsory Training and the Formation of Student Regiments (Menwa) in the Higher Education Environment.

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Research Methodology

This research is about the implementation of public policies related to National Defense using descriptive qualitative research methods. This research is an effort to explore the implementation process as an important stage in the public policy process. Policy implementation is the process of how a legal regulation is implemented by the Government and related government agencies. Policy implementation includes the management of resources owned by the Government which in essence are not always adequate, especially in developing countries. Policy implementation also does not always achieve the intended outcomes, or if achieved it is not necessarily effective, because the problems faced are more complex.

This research uses qualitative research methods, according to Yin (2014), which is a choice that fulfills several things, namely: (i). Qualitative research presents a comprehensive (holistic) form of analyzing a phenomenon; and (ii). Qualitative research is more sensitive in capturing descriptive

qualitative information, by relatively still trying to maintain the integrity of the object, meaning that the data collected in the framework of a case study is studied as an integrated whole. Basically, the research method category regarding the Implementation of National Defense Policy at the Higher Education Level in Support of National Defense is included as a case study. Case studies have the following advantages: (i). can provide important information regarding the relationship between existing facts and processes that require explanation and broader understanding; (ii). provides an opportunity to gain insight into the basic concepts of human behavior, especially attitudes and behavior. Through intensive investigation, researchers can discover characteristics and relationships that may not have been previously suspected; and (iii). can present very useful data and findings as a basis for building background problems for planning larger and more in-depth research in the context of developing social sciences. Although case studies can explore a lot of knowledge about the object of study, in reality case studies also contain a number of limitations. including: (i) lacking a strong basis for making scientific generalizations; (ii). the depth of study unwittingly tends to sacrifice the breadth of study, making it difficult to generalize to generally accepted circumstances; and (iii) there is a tendency for case studies to be influenced by the researcher's subjectivity (Yin, 2014) 18 Research on the Implementation of National Defense Policy at the Higher Education Level in Support of National Defense basically involves multiple stakeholders, therefore there are always many implementors in the implementation process.

In fact, the implementation of the National Defense Policy at the Higher Education Level in Support of National Defense has become the concern of many Ministries and Institutions in Government. However, based on the scope of a Law or Executive Regulation, there is always one trustee because the details of the main tasks and functions relate to the responsibilities of a particular unit significantly. Research studies related to the implementation of the National Defense policy at the Higher Education Level in Support of National Defense were carried out at the Directorate of National Defense, Directorate General of Defense Potential, Ministry of Defense, National Defense Education Center Badiklat Kemhan, and Defense University. Data collection was carried out by (i) searching policy documents; (ii) structured interviews; and (iii). WhatsApp communication based data collection. Netizens were asked to respond to the implementation of the National Defense Policy. The invited participants were non-structural/official higher education institutions. Data analysis was carried out with reference to the research questions. Basic assumptions about the problem being researched and willing to provide information.

Results Findings

Role of Policy Implementer

1. Directorate of National Defense, Directorate General of Defense Potential, Ministry of Defense

The Directorate of National Defense, hereinafter referred to as Dit Belneg, is the implementing element of the duties and functions of the Directorate General of Defense Potential of the Ministry of Defense. The duties and functions of the Directorate of National Defense include: (i) carrying out the formulation of National Defense policies, (ii) monitoring, (iii) evaluating and (iv) reporting in the field of structuring and developing National Defense. In carrying out its duties, Dit Belneg carries out functions including: (i) preparing policy formulation in the field of structuring and fostering National Defense; (ii) preparation of regulations in the field of structuring and fostering National Defense; (iii) implementing and facilitating policies in the field of structuring and developing National Defense; (iv) implementing monitoring, evaluation and reporting in the field of structuring and developing National Defense; and (v) 19 administrative and housekeeping managers of the Directorate.

The organizational structure in the ranks of Dit Belneg consists of: (i). Education Environment Sub-Directorate; (ii) Work Environment Sub-Directorate; (iii). Sub-Directorate for Residential Environment; (iv) Administrative Sub-Section; and (v). Functional Position Group. In order to disseminate information on National Defense activities to all levels of society, both in the educational environment, work environment and residential environment, Dit Belneg collaborates with the Ministry and related agencies/institutions (Kemendikbudristek, Kemenag and BNPT), carrying out socialization and dissemination activities for the Development of National Defense Awareness (PKBN) involves figures, experts and academics. Dit Belneg carries out PKBN activities by referring to Law Number 23 of 2019 concerning Management of National Resources for National Defense. In order to realize uniformity in the implementation of PKBN nationally, Dit Belneg has prepared 12 PKBN modules, consisting of 4 mandatory modules and 8 optional modules, accompanied by an executive summary. The mandatory modules and optional modules are interrelated, which were developed according to the tasks and functions as well as local wisdom of Ministries and Institutions, including the Ministry of Defense, TNI and Polri institutions, Regional Governments, and other components of the nation as PKBN organizers. The PKBN Curriculum consists of: (i) Curriculum for Young National Defense Cadres at high school/equivalent level in Introduction to the School Environment (PKS) activities; and (ii). National Defense Cadre Education and Training Curriculum for the Community.

2. National Defense Education Center Badiklat Kemhan

The National Defense Education Center carries out educational and training tasks, evaluation and reporting of training as well as improving the quality of training in the field of forming National Defense Cadres. Apart from that, the National Defense Training Center also carries out the function of technical supervision for the implementation of National Defense Training within the Ministry of Defense and the TNI, including supervision of the preparation of the main equipment for implementing National Defense Training which includes education and training programs for the formation of National Defense Cadres, training personnel and infrastructure for National Defense Training and Training. standardized within the scope of the Ministry of Defense, TNI, and Ministry/Agency Education and Training Agency. 20 National Defense Education Center provides National Defense education and training in the educational environment, residential environment and work environment, which is developed in an integrated, synergistic and comprehensive manner, as part of the national character revolution. The organizational structure of the National Defense Center consists of: (i). Education and Training Planning Sector; (ii) Education and Training Operations Sector; (iii). Field of Evaluation and Improving the Quality of Education and Training; (iv). Subdivision of Administration; and (v). Functional Position Group. References for implementing National Defense Education and training at the National Defense Education Center use existing formal regulations, namely the 1945 Constitution, especially Article 27 Paragraph (3), Law Number 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense, Presidential Regulation Number 97 of 2015 concerning General Policy National Defense for 2015-2019, Minister of Defense Regulation Number 32 of 2016 concerning Guidelines for Developing National Defense Awareness (PKBN), then in its implementation it is supported by Presidential Instruction of the Republic of Indonesia Number 17 of 2018 concerning National Action Plan for National Defense 2018-2019, Presidential Decree of the Republic of Indonesia Number 115 of 2022 concerning Policy for Developing National Defense Awareness, Minister of Defense Regulation Number 8 of 2022 concerning Guidelines for Developing National Defense Awareness. Regarding the implementation of the National Defense Policy at the Higher Education Level in Support of National Defense, the National Defense Education Center has implemented National Defense Cadre training for students (at the level of Young National Defense Cadres) through campus introduction orientation activities (OSPEK) for new students at PTN (Defense University, University Indonesia, and UPN "Veteran" Jakarta), and PTS (Dharma Persada University, Swiss German University and Gunadarama University).

3. Defense University

Defense University of the Republic of Indonesia or commonly referred to as Defense University and abbreviated to Defense University. The official translation of the Republic of Indonesia Defense University is The Republic of Indonesia Defense University or RIDU. The college falls under the Ministry of Defense. The Defense University organizes vocational, undergraduate and postgraduate education in the fields of National Defense and State Defense, with the aim of carrying out development and development oriented towards the Tri Dharma of Higher Education, in order to achieve national education standards and world class defense universities in a consistent manner, preserving national values.

IDU was established with the provisions of statutory regulations, namely Presidential Regulation Number 5 of 2011 and stipulated through the Letter of the Minister of National Education Number: 29/MPN/OT/2009 dated March 6 2009 concerning the Establishment of the Defense University. The Defense University was inaugurated by the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono on March 11 2009 at the State Palace, with the implementation of study programs referring to the Decree of the Minister of National Education Number: 196/E/O/2011 dated September 7 2011 concerning the Implementation of Study Programs at the Defense University in Jakarta. IDU is a higher education institution that specializes in the study of defense science by providing opportunities for TNI, Polri and civil society officers to study and deepen defense science from a military, political, economic, social, cultural and technological perspective with a Diploma III education level. , Bachelor (S1), Masters (S2), and Doctoral (S3). Several foreign universities such as Cranfield University, National Defense University (NDU) of the United States, Rajaratnam School of International Studies Singapore and several universities in Australia and Germany actively support the teaching and learning process at IDU by collaborating in sending teaching staff, curriculum, scholarships and comparative study. State universities such as UI and ITB also collaborate with IDU by sending a number of professors to help with the teaching and learning process. In relation to the activities of implementing the National Defense Policy at the Higher Education Level in Support of National Defense, IDU provides basic National Defense Education and matriculation to all new students from civil and military elements, both in the Doctoral program (S-3), Master's Study program (S- 2), as well as the Diploma III (D-3) program, this is part of the educational agenda with the aim of providing students with provisions to understand the meaning and basic values of National Defense.

Analysis of Policy Implementers

From a review of the content of the National Defense policy, the objectives of the National Defense policy, especially related to National Defense education at the higher education level, are not limited to several Ministries/Institutions. Thus, National Defense policy implementers need to monitor proposed sectoral policies which serve as guidelines for Ministries/Institutions in synergy with the Ministry of Defense or Defense Universities. 22 It should be noted that several Ministries/Institutions have bodies/work units that carry out long-term education and training. As ordered by the constitution, every student needs to understand the basic concept of National Defense.

The State Defense Attitude is the attitude, determination and action to maintain the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. These attitudes and actions are based on a sense of belonging and the desire to maintain the integrity of the nation and state. This attitude must also be based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. This means that the implementation of the National Defense policy at the higher education level in supporting national defense is essentially cross-ministerial/institutional. However, it is necessary to pay attention to how elements of Ministries/Agencies outside the Ministry of Defense can accommodate National Defense policies at the policy level in their respective sectors. The policy implementer, in this case, Major General TNI Ida Bagus P, Director

General PothanKemhan (October 2021) who is a participant in this research, revealed: The Ministry of Defense is trying to integrate a number of bills related to National Defense into the National Resources Management Bill (PSDN) for National Defense. The PSDN Bill for National Defense is a simplification of the National Defense Bill, Supporting Components Bill, Reserve Components, Mobilization and Demobilization Bill. The bill is on the waiting list and will be discussed next year.

The aims and objectives of the National Defense policy have been stated both in the constitution of the 1945 Constitution, as well as in a series of derivative policies, including Law Number 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense. Meanwhile, in conversations with implementers, the task of synergizing the laws is still ongoing. This indicates that the implementation of the National Defense policy at the higher education level in supporting national defense cannot necessarily be identified as successful or not only by certain implementers such as the Ministry of Defense, Defense Universities, and the Ministry of Education and Culture. Efforts to maintain urgency and awareness about National Defense are not necessarily a priority scale for all Ministries. Not only in a bureaucratic environment, but commitment and support from various parties is also needed. This was expressed by participant Major General TNI Ida Bagus P, Director General Pothan Kemhan, as follows: 23 The fundamental thing about universal national defense is the need for awareness of National Defense from all Indonesian citizens from all levels of society, so a strong constitution is needed to achieve This is as stated in Article 27 Paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution (Interview with Major General TNI Ida Bagus P, Director General Pothan Kemhan, October 2021).

Every public policy is the result of joint work between the Government and Parliament (DPR RI). On the other hand, members of Parliament are elements of political parties. Meanwhile, each political party more or less represents groups with different focuses and priorities. So that areas that are important for the Ministry of Defense are not necessarily important for other Ministries/Institutions, this is revealed from the following interview conversation: In its development, the Bill on National Defense was again included in the 2010-2014 Prolegnas list, but National Defense was ultimately not included. in the bills discussed and ratified out of 247 bills and 5 open cumulative bills registered in the 2010-2014 Prolegnas. (Interview with Major General TNI Ida Bagus P, Director General Pothan Kemhan, October 2021). From the description above, the National Defense Bill was included in the 2010-2014 Prolegnas with the hope that the National Defense Policy would have legal force as law, but in fact it did not receive priority to become law.

Citizen Layer Response Analysis

Philosophically, National Defense is an implementation of social contract theory or social agreement theory regarding the formation of the state. In the view of adherents of social contract theory, it is stated that the state was formed because of the desire of citizens or society to protect their rights and obligations in social life so that harmonious, peaceful and peaceful relations can be established. Every citizen has interests, and each interest has the potential to give rise to conflicts of interest in society, therefore the State is presented by an agreement or agreement between citizens in society to protect the rights and obligations of citizens and to ensure that there are no conflicts of interest between individuals in the midst of society.

In connection with the National Defense Policy Pattern at the Higher Education Level in Supporting National Defense, the National Defense Concept needs to be adapted to efforts to anticipate, adapt, or overcome the impact of dynamic developments in the strategic environment, especially in the fields of defense and security, which occur both at the global, regional and regional levels. and national. For this reason, a position and ability to measure existing National Defense capabilities is needed. In fact, the sustainability of the National Defense program itself needs to be measured, in this case the quantification of the status (potential for National Defense) and progress (implementation of the National

Defense Program) from the achievements of the National Defense Program (level of National Defense capability) itself. It is hoped that the achievements of the National Defense Program will become capital in the sustainable development process.

Table 1. Netizen Responses to the National Defense Policy

No	PARTICIPANTS	OPINIONS & ARGUMENTS
1	Jerry Masse, Ph.D (48 years old) (Online Media Activist)	<p>National Defense:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Regarding defending the country, I think the general tips are to maintain the integrity of Pancasila, maintain diversity, maintain local products, and even strengthen local culture. - But to defend the country militarily, there needs to be self-defense training, defense and security studies, and military training for civilians. - Abroad there are already military conscription programs so in Indonesia it is necessary to do it.
2	Ulil Abshor Ramadhani, graduated from FIA UI in 2023; Research assistant at a non- profit research institute; (24 years old)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Regarding the initiation of military service in higher education, I do not agree, for two reasons. First, in terms of priority strata regarding budget use. It is better to use the budget to prioritize/focus on higher education itself, rather than involving students and related parties on campus in the military service program; Second, if we look in the mirror or look at best practices in other countries, I think their interests are different. South Korea and Singapore both face major enemies. They have to be aware. Another thing, in the case of countries with sufficient resources and limited human resources or a limited population, they really need to create military reserve troops. We need <i>awarewith</i> geopolitics. Also our military coverage to meet current needs.
3	Drs. Lisman Manurung, M.Si, Ph.D	<p>Student Training Mandatory: Selective/Voluntary</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Threats to the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia can arise from various directions, including by digital-based covert war. Advances in Information and Communication Technology (ICT), The Internet of Things, Artificial Intelligence (AI) have the potential to disrupt the social and political integration of a nation. ICT becomes a means to achieve goals. War has become a combination of human physical warfare into warfare based on modern warfare tools such as drones and lasers. - Meanwhile, our number of universities has now reached 3,277, with the number of students approaching 10 million. Still far more per population than India, the largest in the world, with 5,349 universities for a population of 1.34 billion. - Regarding conscription, India does not do so, but employs the largest number of Voluntary Forces in the world (https://quora.com).

		<p>As a solution to continue to fulfill constitutional orders, but considering the development of national defense threats, it is ideal to choose India's steps so that it does not become a polemic politics, and at the same time opens up opportunities for citizens to dedicate themselves to their nation and state.</p>
4	<p>Mahir Pratama, S.Sos, M.Si</p> <p>Research Staff at the Secretariat General of the DPR DPR</p>	<p>Defend the Nation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - National Defense is an inevitable concept in maintaining the sovereignty and security of a country. However, to face the challenges of the complex and dynamic era of globalization, a National Defense approach that integrates empirical facts is increasingly important. - For example, in dealing with cyber threats, an empirical facts-based state defense approach allows states to identify real and potential cyber attacks. By analyzing data related to cyber attack trends, attack sources, and digital infrastructure vulnerabilities, the Government can develop effective strategies to protect the country's information systems and other national interests. - In addition, in facing the threat of terrorism, a state defense approach supported by empirical facts allows the state to identify sources of radicalization, recruitment patterns and terrorist networks more accurately. By analyzing intelligence data and information related to terrorist activities, the Government can design appropriate steps and combat them radicalization more effectively. - Another example is in overcoming environmental security challenges such as natural disasters. The empirical fact-based National Defense approach allows the country to identify climate change, extreme weather patterns and other potential natural disasters. By analyzing meteorological, geological and environmental data, governments can develop more effective risk mitigation strategies, as well as prepare more appropriate emergency responses. - However, it is important to remember that an empirical fact-based approach in National Defense is not a guarantee of complete success. There are challenges in collecting data to ensure the integrity and independence of the relevant institutions. - Apart from that, this approach also requires cross-sectoral and international collaboration in facing increasingly complex and cross-border challenges. - Overall, the integration of empirical facts in the state defense approach strengthens the state's ability to identify, analyze and respond to the various security challenges it faces. - By taking steps supported by empirical evidence, countries can increase effectiveness and efficiency in maintaining sovereignty and national security.

5	Dr. Khairul Mahadi Retired DKI Jakarta Provincial Government Official	<p>National Defense Education:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - National Defense education instills a sense of love for the country and forms character in the younger generation. The values instilled from National Defense education will foster a patriot and patriotism spirit that strengthens the nation's resilience. - National Defense education also provides responsibilities and obligations for Indonesia's young generation to defend the existence and sovereignty of the republic. Therefore, formal National Defense education is important for the defense of national sovereignty.
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The description above shows that the outcomes of implementing the National Defense Policy at the Higher Education Level in Supporting National Defense are still far from expectations. Even the quantitative targets mentioned in the plan are very far from being achievable. Moreover, there is skepticism among NGOs that the National Defense program needs to be wary of being a form of militarism, which is not entirely wrong, this is seen from various incidents that occurred on campus by students who have received National Defense training. There has been no serious research into the activities of National Defense training alumni since 2000. It is not clear whether the error was in the training process. From the opinions of netizens above, it can be concluded that participants consider the 'Bela Negara' program to be inevitable. This can be seen from his opinion that the State Defense program is providing citizens in situations of necessity to take part in military or other emergency activities as a form of State Defense. In contrast to Netizen 1's opinion, Netizen 2's opinion is quite skeptical about the National Defense policy in terms of budget and urgency.

In terms of budget, according to Netizen 2, it would be better if large funds for National Defense training on campus were diverted to meet more urgent public service needs. Meanwhile, in terms of threats to resilience, Netizen 2 thinks this is not yet an urgent matter for Indonesia. Netizen 2 gave a comparative example with the situation in South Korea which implemented a broad State Defense policy. It is said that South Korea faces threats from neighboring countries, namely North Korea. Netizen 3, a lecturer, sees the issue of National Defense as a form of involvement of Indonesian citizens to actively participate in achieving national goals, as well as to overcome challenges to national security. It was perceived by Netizen 3 that the presence of state defense participants was not only for defense purposes, but also to overcome emergencies such as disaster emergencies. Any threat to the safety of the population is also within the scope of the State Defense policy objectives. This means that someone who has an assignment as a student or citizen who joins the National Defense program can be involved in dealing with/assisting residents affected by floods or earthquakes. Involvement in disaster matters can also be part of the scope of duties of citizens who join the National Defense group. Furthermore, this netizen estimates that the war in the future will not be a conventional war, but will have entered 28 technological and mass psychological wars.

In this regard, especially with the potential of universities in Indonesia numbering around 3,000, the National Defense program will be part of the solution to the problems faced by the Government and wider society. The 4th netizen, described the importance of integration between practice and the hope of a National Defense program. Even with the National Defense program, threats such as extreme weather and flash floods will be easier to overcome, because of the presence of citizens who are trained to handle National Defense duties, making them easier to deploy to deal with other emergencies. The 5th netizen emphasized the absolute importance of National Defense education for citizens.

According to Netizen 5, this program will form a patriotic young generation, while also being able to protect citizens or other communities. Regarding the second research question, it can be interpreted that the National Defense training program should be carried out in a more planned manner as much as possible. In simple terms, all netizens assess that the National Defense education program is still far from expectations. As for the research participants' answers regarding the quality of the training, it was found that they still felt that it had not been carried out in a planned manner. Indirectly, a proper form of coordination and a single hub is needed, because it is necessary to maintain the accuracy of the criteria to provide quality training materials. A pattern of coordination is needed for the implementation of State Defense education in higher education.

This is because there are many universities, with different resource capacities. In order to maintain National Defense training, especially related to physical training - which in some activities causes fatalities - monitoring is required for all organizers and should be carried out using an approach that is 'familiar' to higher education, namely by using scientific research and evaluation methods. By having a university that has competence in the defense sector, the possibility of violations of training procedures can be anticipated early. In this way, incidents that occur during training can be reduced so that the implementation of National Defense Policy at the Higher Education Level in Support of National Defense can be realized according to the expected goals. A bottom-up approach is deemed necessary to make effective implementation of National Defense Policy at the Higher Education Level in Support of National Defense. The Defense University can be positioned as a member element and organizer in collaboration with task organizers in various Ministries/Institutions to carry out data collection/monitoring so that the results meet the expected outcomes.

Conclusion

The purpose of Law Number 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense and Instruction of the President of the Republic of Indonesia Number 7 of 2018 concerning the National Action Plan for National Defense for 2018-2019 is to emphasize that the National Defense System is a universal defense and security system (Sishankamrata) that involves all citizens, state, territory and other national resources, and prepared early by the Government, implemented in a total, integrated, directed, continuous manner to uphold state sovereignty, territorial integrity and the safety of the entire nation from all threats. From the description in the previous chapter, it is concluded that the outcomes of implementing the National Defense Policy at the Higher Education Level in Support of National Defense are still far from the expected target. Even the quantitative targets mentioned in the plan are still far from being achieved.

Moreover, there is still skepticism among NGOs that the National Defense program needs to be wary of being a form of militarism, which is not entirely wrong - looking at various incidents on campus by students receiving training in national defense. Until now there has been no research regarding the actions of National Defense training alumni since 2000 so it cannot be ascertained where the error lies. The factors which are actually inhibiting factors in achieving the objectives of implementing the National Defense policy include (i). there is still low synergy between various sectors/parties which are expected to collaborate in achieving the National Defense policy objectives; (ii) while from a series of conversations with resource persons from policy implementers, there was a tendency for them to complain about limited funding support, provision of human resources, and (iii). limited space for communication between implementers and policy makers to carry out internal evaluations of the results of National Defense Policy implementation activities which have not achieved the desired outcomes.

Concerning the ideal model for developing the Implementation of National Defense Policy at the Higher Education Level in Support of National Defense, a pattern of coordination is needed for the implementation of National Defense education for the scope of higher education. This is because there are

still many universities, with 30 different resource capacities. In order to maintain National Defense training, especially related to physical training - which in some activities causes fatalities - it is necessary to monitor the organizing elements and approaches that are 'familiar' in higher education, namely by using scientific research and evaluation methods. With the existence of a Defense University that has competence in the field of defense, the possibility of violations of training procedures can be anticipated early so that incidents that occur during training can be reduced to a minimum, so that the implementation of National Defense Policy at the Higher Education Level in Support of the National Defense of the country runs smoothly, good and smooth according to plan. A bottom-up approach is deemed necessary to make effective implementation of National Defense Policy at the Higher Education Level in Support of National Defense. For this, the Defense University is ideally positioned as a member element and organizer of data collection/monitoring on the implementation of state defense policies in collaboration with task organizers in various Ministries/Institutions. If implemented, it is hoped that the implementation of the State Defense Education Policy at the higher education level will meet the expected outcomes.

The model with the Defense University as a hub for data, will enable the implementation of the National Defense policy to be fulfilled according to 'universal' principles, thereby exploring and exploring the latest concepts in developing a model for implementing the National Defense policy in supporting national defense in various study programs. Every state university (PTN) and service college/academy under a non-Kemendikbudristek ministry/institution needs to build collaboration in developing the National Defense education system in accordance with the objectives of the relevant law, which provides appropriate accommodation for various training, especially heavy physical training - which can be provided on an affirmative basis - for example for people with disabilities and participants who do not meet the requirements to take part in physical training.

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