

## **The Role of the Indonesian National Army (TNI) in the Total People's Defense and Security System (SISHANKAMRATA) in Facing Hybrid Threats**

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### **Abstrak**

Hasil konferensi nasional SISHANKAMRATA Abad 21 menghasilkan dokumen strategis yang isinya terkait doktrin, strategi, dan postur TNI yang disusun untuk menyesuaikan dengan perkembangan spektrum ancaman atau perang masa depan seperti ancaman hibrida. Artikel ini membahas sejauh mana TNI AD merespons ancaman hibrida berdasarkan dokumen strategis SISHANKAMRATA Abad 21 dengan sistem kerakyatan, kewilayahan, dan kesemestaan. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan library research dengan menggunakan dokumen strategis tersebut sebagai acuan utama dalam mengkaji peran TNI angkatan darat dalam menghadapi ancaman hibrida. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahwa meskipun SISHANKAMRATA telah dirumuskan dengan baik berdasarkan perkembangan abad 21 namun dalam implementasinya masih terbatas dan menghadapi tantangan yang cukup besar terutama persoalan keterbatasan anggaran untuk membentuk pertahanan pulau-pulau besar dan pemenuhan Alat Peralatan Pertahanan dan Keamanan (ALPALHANKAM). Oleh sebab itu, kementerian dan lembaga yang menjadi unsur utama dengan melibatkan TNI dalam menghadapi ancaman nir militer harus menggerakkan seluruh sumber daya nasional dalam hal ini SDA, SDM, dan SDB dalam memperkuat pertahanan nasional, sebagaimana perpres No. 8 tahun 2021 tentang peran K/L dalam melakukan cegah dini terhadap ancaman nir militer. Studi ini juga menunjukkan pentingnya peningkatan SDM untuk menunjang peran TNI dalam merespons ancaman hibrida.

**Kata Kunci:** Peran TNI, Ancaman Hibrida, SISHANKAMRATA, Pertahanan

### **Abstract**

*The outcome of the 21st Century SISHANKAMRATA National Conference produced a strategic document encompassing doctrines, strategies, and the posture of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), formulated to adapt to the evolving spectrum of future threats or warfare, such as hybrid threats. This article examines the extent to which the Indonesian Army (TNI AD) responds to hybrid threats based on the strategic document of the 21st Century SISHANKAMRATA through a people-based, territorial, and total defense system. This study employs a qualitative method using a library research approach, with the aforementioned strategic document serving as the primary reference in analyzing the role of the Indonesian Army in addressing hybrid threats. The findings reveal that although SISHANKAMRATA has been well-formulated in accordance with 21st-century developments, its implementation remains limited and faces significant challenges, particularly regarding budget constraints in establishing defense capabilities on major islands and fulfilling Defense and Security Equipment (ALPALHANKAM) requirements. Therefore, ministries and government institutions acting as main elements, in collaboration with the TNI in facing non-military threats, must mobilize all national resources, namely natural resources (SDA), human resources (SDM), and artificial resources (SDB) to strengthen national defense. This is in accordance with Presidential Regulation No. 8 of 2021 concerning the role of ministries/agencies in conducting early prevention of non-military threats. This study also emphasizes the importance of improving human resource capacity to support the TNI's role in responding to hybrid threats.*

**Keywords:** Role of the TNI, Hybrid Threats, SISHANKAMRATA, Defense



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## INTRODUCTION

On June 14, 2021, the Ministry of Defense, through the Republic of Indonesia Defense University (RIDU), officially held the National Conference on the 21st Century Total People's Defense and Security System (SISHANKAMRATA). In his opening remarks at the conference, the Minister of Defense at the time, Prabowo Subianto, as quoted by the Ministry of Defense's Public Information and Documentation Center (PPID Kemhan, 2021), stated that the purpose of the national conference was to formulate a strategic doctrinal product for the 21st-century SISHANKAMRATA. Furthermore, Prabowo emphasized that Indonesia's defense system is defined as a total defense system that involves all citizens, territories, and other national resources, which are prepared early by the government in a comprehensive, integrated, directed, and sustainable manner to uphold national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of the entire nation from all forms of threats. The essence of SISHANKAMRATA lies in the involvement of all national components, which are divided into three categories: the TNI (Indonesian National Armed Forces) as the main component, citizens who are voluntarily recruited and trained, referred to as the reserve component, and all resources that can be utilized for national defense and security, referred to as the supporting component.

Hybrid threats are becoming increasingly complex and difficult for states to detect and manage. The impact of these threats extends beyond the security sector, affecting economic, political, and social domains as well. One of the major consequences of hybrid threats is their effect on national defense. Hybrid threats can undermine the stability and sovereignty of a country through various means, including disruptions to national security, foreign infiltration and influence, economic vulnerability, information manipulation and propaganda, and the erosion of public trust in institutions (Muallim, 2024). In the SISHANKAMRATA strategic document, the TNI is required to be adaptive to the evolving dynamics of new threat forms, which are influenced by the development of future warfare as a result of advances in weapon technology (Kementerian Pertahanan RI, 2021). The strategic use of force within the SISHANKAMRATA framework relies on deploying the TNI in both Military Operations for War (OMP) and Military Operations Other Than War (OMSP), supported by the reserve and supporting components. The execution of OMP and OMSP aligns with the TNI's core functions as a deterrent force, a response force, and a recovery force.

Hybrid threats are multidimensional in nature, prompting the TNI to assume a greater role in confronting hybrid adversaries. This role serves as a response to the ever-changing environmental conditions. According to Parsons, there are four essential functions required in any system. First is adaptation, which refers to the system's ability to adjust to changes in its environment or surrounding conditions. The second is goal attainment, which relates to a system's objectives that must be formulated and planned based on its capabilities and the means to achieve them. Third is integration, which manages the interrelationship among the other three functions (adaptation, goal attainment, and latency or pattern maintenance); integration often involves adherence to legal frameworks or accepted norms. Fourth is latency or pattern maintenance, which ensures that all established systems operate as intended. Maintaining these systems facilitates the effective implementation of functions and the achievement of goals with minimal obstacles (Jopanda, 2021). The 21st Century SISHANKAMRATA strategic document represents an effort to adapt the TNI's role to environmental developments in order to enhance its deterrence capacity and strengthen national defense. In support of this, the strategic document has been followed by derivative regulations, including Presidential Regulation No. 8 of 2021 on the General Policy of National Defense and the law that governs the role and function of the TNI, namely Law No. 3 of 2025.

Research conducted by Ryacudu has shown that reserve components are crucial for strengthening a total defense system. According to him, relying solely on the main component would be insufficient to address threats; therefore, the TNI's main force requires both reserve and supporting components to reinforce the national defense system and ensure stable national security (Ryacudu et al., 2021). For this reason, the Indonesian Army, when strengthened with reserve components, forms an essential part of realizing the total people's defense system. Meanwhile, research conducted by Christianto Likadja highlights that military forces are influenced by the level of education and skills possessed by their personnel, including those in the reserve component. This also includes the level of integration and coordination among all defense components and the extent to which military personnel (human resources) understand and master military technology and information (Likadja, 2023). Military posture places a strong emphasis on the mastery of technology and information as key elements in determining strength, capability, and force deployment.

The two previous studies discussed above highlight the importance of components beyond the main force in supporting national defense. This study aims to examine the role of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), particularly the Army (TNI AD), in responding to hybrid threats based on the doctrine, strategy, and posture outlined in the 21st Century Total People's Defense and Security System (SISHANKAMRATA). The key research questions addressed in this study are: How does the Indonesian Army (TNI AD) play its role in confronting hybrid threats? And what does the 21<sup>st</sup>-Century SISHANKAMRATA look like in navigating the evolving role of the Indonesian Army?

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

This study employs a qualitative method using a literature review approach. According to Lexy J. Moleong in his book "Qualitative Research Methodology", qualitative research is defined as an effort to understand phenomena in their natural context by directly interacting with the research subjects and collecting descriptive data. Moleong emphasizes that qualitative research aims to explore the meaning behind actions, experiences, or social processes occurring in everyday life. This type of research focuses more on the quality of data, gaining a deep understanding of the behavior, motivation, and perspectives of individuals or groups, rather than merely measuring variables or numbers (Nurhasanah, 2024). Meanwhile, according to Muhadjir, literature research is a study that relies more on philosophical and theoretical processing rather than empirical testing in the field. Due to its theoretical and philosophical nature, literature research often adopts a philosophical approach over other types. The research method includes data sources, data collection, and data analysis (PenelitianIlmiah.com, 2023).

The data sources used in this study include Google Scholar, Tuxdoc.com, Academia.edu, books related to defense studies, the official website of the Ministry of Defense, the TNI (Indonesian National Armed Forces) website, JSTOR Academic Journal Library, ResearchGate, and others. These data were collected and then analyzed based on the concepts of SISHANKAMRATA, hybrid threats, and role theory. The role of the TNI in this study will be examined using the 21st-century SISHANKAMRATA conceptual document, which has been formulated into a strategic document. This document was derived from the results of the national conference on the 21st-century SISHANKAMRATA and is subsequently used as a reference in military doctrine, strategy, and posture. SISHANKAMRATA is a mandate of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD NRI 1945), Article 30, Paragraph (2), which states: *"The defense and security of the state shall be carried out through a total people's defense and security system by the Indonesian National Armed Forces and the Indonesian National*

*Police as the main components, and the people as supporting components."* The published strategic document outlines the defense strategy in greater detail, particularly in terms of task implementation. One of the derivatives of this document is the enactment of Law Number 3 of 2025 concerning the roles and functions of the TNI.

The concept of hybrid threats, although widely criticized, has made it easier for defense actors and analysts to define various forms of mixed warfare. In fact, hybrid warfare strategies have been implemented long before Hoffman studied the phenomenon of hybrid threats. However, this conceptualization facilitates our understanding of different types of threats. According to Hoffman (Herta, 2016), the concept of hybrid warfare emerged during the first decade of the 21st century when several scholars focused on the mixed and blurred nature of future conflicts. Hoffman explains that hybrid warfare combines various models of warfare, including conventional capabilities, irregular tactics, and formations, terrorist actions, including indiscriminate violence and coercion, as well as criminal disruption. Thus, the concept of hybrid threats provides a convenient way to define threats that combine conventional and unconventional warfare, as well as a mix of military and non-military elements. This multifaceted change in threats drives efforts to restructure the strategic concept of SISHANKAMRATA to be relevant to the 21st century, guiding the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) to increase their roles across various sectors. In organizations, role changes among actors are common; within the TNI institution, rotation and reassignment policies for leaders are frequently issued to accelerate institutional capacity in facing various challenges and hybrid threats. Therefore, each actor assigned a specific role at the same time is expected to carry certain responsibilities and values. According to Talcott Parsons (Atkinson, 2023), these expectations are understood through the vocabulary of norms and values — a sense of what is permissible and appropriate in situations, which are said to be embedded through early socialization and operate via internalized sanctions.

Besides Parsons, Mead in Prayudi explains role theory from the perspective of symbolic interactionism, which focuses on the role of individual factors, the evolution of roles through social interaction, and various cognitive concepts by social actors in understanding and interpreting behavioral guidelines for themselves and others (Prayudi et al., 2019). In the context of national defense, as a main component in facing hybrid threats, the TNI performs role evolution to encourage soldiers to be increasingly adaptive and flexible in conducting operations across different regions. The TNI's role is certainly based on established doctrine, strategy, and posture, to facilitate achieving the goal of strengthening national defense through early prevention by the government in a total, integrated, directed, and sustainable manner, in order to uphold state sovereignty, maintain territorial integrity, and ensure the safety of the Indonesian nation from various threats.

## **RESEARCH RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **Characteristics of Hybrid Threats in Indonesia**

Every country faces multifaceted challenges and threats in the modern era. Rapidly changing, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous threats push defense planners and practitioners to adapt strategies and tactics in responding to hybrid threats in the 21st century. Strengthening internal capabilities is certainly essential, especially across all defense components, including human resource development, soldiers' welfare, defense equipment modernization, industrial independence, food security, and so forth. According to Hoffman in (Sarjito et al., 2024), the emergence of hybrid threats reflects the evolution of warfare in the 21st century. Unlike conventional conflicts characterized by clear battle lines and identifiable enemies, hybrid warfare operates in a gray zone where attribution is often ambiguous and the distinction between friend and foe is blurred. Hybrid warfare, as a form of mixed warfare, can



also occur during peacetime through unconventional means as a strategy to prepare for actual war, including efforts to seize land to control certain territories as a planning ground for future conflict. The South China Sea (SCS) conflict should be perceived as a potential threat in the future. China's current behavior can be described as hybrid warfare tactics, including territorial annexation, information campaigns, and utilizing certain parties to exert pressure across various sectors. Claims over specific territories, occupation and deployment of weaponry on certain islands, and the use of fishermen as a means to assert control over disputed areas exemplify hybrid operations, representing a potentially larger conflict that could threaten the stability of Indonesia's sovereignty.

In Indonesia, within the general defense policy framework, hybrid threats are classified as actual threats because their components can be identified in various cases, such as proxy conflicts, economic pressure, disinformation, and so on. According to Abrimantyo, hybrid threats are multidimensional, combining conventional and non-conventional methods. Examples include cyberattacks, disinformation campaigns, economic pressure, propaganda, and support for proxy elements opposing a country's interests or government. A characteristic of hybrid threats is that their actors may change, often involving a combination of actors from multiple states or a mix of state and non-state actors (Kemhan, 2023). One of the most frequent attacks in Indonesia is cyberattacks. According to the Agency for Cyber and Crypto Security (BSSN) statistics recorded by (BPPTIK, 2023), Indonesia experienced 370.02 million cyberattacks in 2022. Compared to the previous year's 266.74 million attacks, this is an increase of 38.72%. The government administration sector became the primary target of cyberattacks in Indonesia, with 284.09 million attacks. These data illustrate how hybrid adversaries can continuously carry out non-military attacks that endanger the stability of the nation and state.

### **Reflection of the 21st Century SISHANKAMRATA Concept**

SISHANKAMRATA is a defense system that serves as a reference for the formulation of doctrines, strategies, and defense postures, including military posture. Therefore, it is important to conduct an evaluation and reflection on the extent of the role played by the Indonesian Army (TNI-AD) in addressing hybrid threats so far. As stated in the 21st-century SISHANKAMRATA strategic document, the result of the national conference in 2021 explains the doctrine, strategy, and military posture of the Army, which we quote from (Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, 2021) as follows:

### **SISHANKAMRATA Doctrine (Threat Classification and Assessment)**

Threats can be classified into military threats, non-military threats, and hybrid threats. Hybrid threats are a combination of two or more military and non-military threats. Military threats are armed threats carried out by state and non-state actors using military tools, methods, or means, such as open warfare, sabotage, armed rebellion, border violations, international terrorism, and other organized international armed crimes. Meanwhile, non-military threats are threats carried out by state or non-state actors with ideological, political, economic, social, cultural, legislative, technological, and security dimensions. The embodiment of the values of the Hankamrata doctrine in the 21st-century SISHANKAMRATA is expected to be reflected in the management policies of National Resources (SDN) in preparing the components and elements of the State's defense and security. The following are the manifestations of the values of people's sovereignty, universality, and territoriality in the development of the Hankamrata posture in the 21st century.

**Table 1: The Form of SISHANKAMRATA in the 21st Century**

Core Values of Doctrine	SISHANKAMRATA Currently	SISHANKAMRATA 21st Century
People's Sovereignty	Community involvement is low and unsystematic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>In facing military threats:</b> gradual and continuous management of reserve and supporting components.</li> <li>• <b>In facing non-military threats:</b> enhancement of the active roles of ministries/agencies, local governments, and the public as key actors in national defense and security.</li> </ul>
Territoriality	The posture is concentrated in Java and Sumatra	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>In facing military threats:</b> a balanced and self-reliant territorial posture based on major islands (Papua, Kalimantan, Sumatra, Java–Bali–Nusa Tenggara, and Sulawesi–Maluku).</li> <li>• <b>In facing non-military threats:</b> enhancement of regional roles through a balanced central–regional governance format.</li> </ul>
The Value of Universality	The development of the posture is not yet integrated, and the involvement of institutions outside the Ministry of Defense/TNI remains low.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>In facing military threats:</b> an effective TNI organization both in peacetime and wartime and the preparation of self-reliant regional logistics.</li> <li>• <b>In facing non-military threats:</b> integration, collaboration, synergy, and inter-agency coordination between main and supporting elements.</li> </ul>

## LAND FORCE MILITARY POSTURE

### Land Force Strength

In terms of strength, the elements developed include organization, personnel, materiel, training, facilities, and doctrine, which are manifested in centralized forces, territorial forces, and supporting forces. To support the concept of defense based on major islands according to strategic compartments, Regional Military Commands (Kodam) as territorial forces are expected to be capable of conducting independent operations, including protracted warfare within the major island territories. To achieve this, one essential prerequisite is the availability of sustainable logistics. Therefore, Kodam/Divisions will be reinforced with additional logistical support units, such as production units and special support units that may be organized under Military Resort Commands (Korem), Brigades, District Commands (Kodim), or Battalions with capabilities in agriculture, livestock, fisheries, health, construction, CBRN (chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear), and cyber operations. In addition, Army main weaponry systems (Alutsista) will be developed based on network-centric warfare, unmanned and robotic weaponry, highly mobile maneuver units with adequate protection, long-range precision field artillery, as well as radar capabilities and air defense artillery (SAM) with multiple-layer air defense (MLAD) characteristics and advanced technology. The projected strength of reserve and supporting land components will consist of citizens, natural resources (SDA), artificial resources (SDB), and national infrastructure (Sarprasnas), aimed at multiplying, strengthening, and expanding the power of the main component (Indonesian Army/TNI AD).

### Land Force Capability

The projected capabilities of the Indonesian Army (TNI AD) as the main component of the land military defense are developed, directed, and enhanced to be able to face various possible military and hybrid threats. These capabilities include intelligence, combat, support, particularly military diplomacy, and territorial development (binter), in order to support a layered defense concept based on the defense strategy of the large islands. Faced with current and future weaponry technology, TNI AD's combat capabilities are built upon advanced command and control systems, maneuvering, firepower, and protection technologies. Confronting a prolonged warfare scenario within the large island defense strategy, TNI AD is

developed with capabilities that support self-reliance in providing logistics based on the large islands. The projected capabilities of the reserve and support components of the land domain are aligned with the capability projections in order to multiply, strengthen, and enlarge the main component's (TNI AD) capabilities in facing military and hybrid threats.

### **Force Disposition**

The disposition projection of the Indonesian Army (TNI AD) includes the disposition of centralized forces, territorial forces, and supporting forces. The disposition of centralized forces is manifested in the deployment of Kostrad and Kopassus units, arranged to achieve operational flexibility and speed of action without being limited by geographical constraints. The disposition of territorial forces is reflected in the deployment of Kodam units, which are tasked with enforcement, territorial resistance, counterattacks, and security restoration. Therefore, the formation and organization of units must be carried out to balance the composition of Combat Units (Satpur), Combat Support Units (Satbanpur), and Administrative Support Units (Satbanmin), ensuring readiness to support the SISHANKAMRATA concept oriented towards the large islands. In the future, at least one combat division will be established on each major island, tasked as the initial responder in the event of contingencies in that large island region. Regarding the disposition of supporting forces, in principle, it is not influenced by geographic location; these activities continue throughout the processes of preparation, maintenance, and resource enhancement to effectively fulfill the needs of both centralized and territorial forces. The disposition projection of the reserve and supporting components of the land domain is directed to enlarge and strengthen the main component of military defense within the units of the Indonesian Army.

### **ANALYSIS OF THE ROLE OF THE INDONESIAN ARMY**

In the 21st-century SISHANKAMRATA strategic document, hybrid threats are identified as serious threats that must be addressed by carefully and relevantly formulating doctrines, strategies, and postures in line with the current global situation. Hybrid threats are no longer potential but have become actual threats that have occurred and continue to evolve, likely persisting in the coming years, originating both domestically and internationally, with implications for state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of the entire nation. These threats include, among others: foreign claims on the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, border violations, foreign intervention, separatism, armed rebellion, piracy, and hostage-taking of Indonesian citizens, terrorism and radicalism, cyberattacks, intelligence and espionage threats, psychological warfare, natural and environmental disasters, theft of natural resources, disease outbreaks, drug trafficking and abuse, ethnic and religious conflicts (SARA), as well as negative impacts from the Industrial Revolution 4.0.

### **Indonesian Army Strategy**

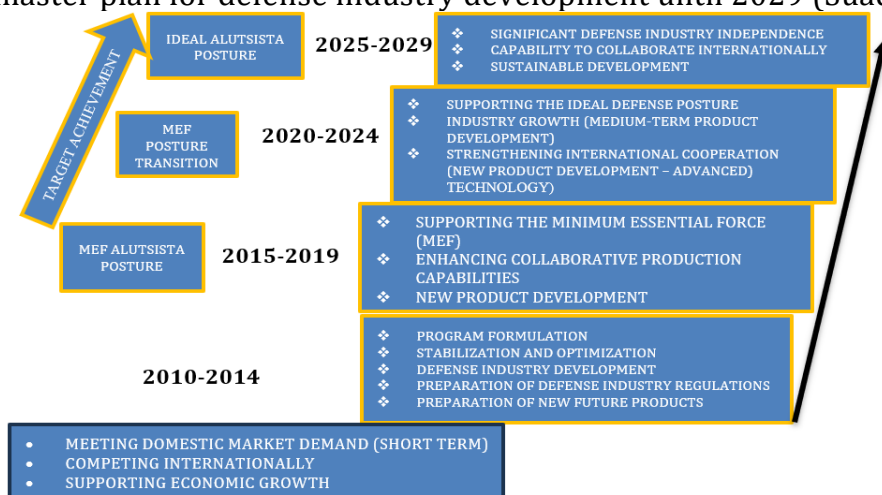
The strategy of the Indonesian Army in responding to hybrid threats is to continuously carry out and enhance preparations to face various possible scenarios. In terms of preparation and development, the Indonesian Army has so far shown increasingly positive progress.

### **Main Component**

In terms of Main Component preparation, this is naturally a development of what has previously been established. This development is based on the needs of the TNI institution to strengthen military defense and deterrence capabilities in facing military and hybrid

threats. So far, the TNI has carried out various preparations through development and guidance that cover the aspects of strength, capability, and disposition. These aspects are divided into several programs, including: First, optimizing the organization within the TNI through the approach of right-sizing and proportional growth. Right-sizing is carried out through optimization aimed at making the TNI institution more adaptive, effective, and efficient in its utilization. This is done through various methods such as reorganization and restructuring of several positions. As stated by the Army spokesperson, there will be rank reductions in several positions, where some positions previously held by Major Generals will be downgraded to Brigadier Generals. This reduction is a form of preparation for future plans to establish a Kodam (Regional Military Command) in every province.

Meanwhile, proportional growth relates to the quantity of soldiers based on needs, ensuring it does not overly burden the state budget (APBN) and enabling efficiency. Along with the development of the strategic environment, on March 26, the TNI Law was enacted, namely TNI Law Number 3 of 2025, with one article concerning proportional growth, which is Article 53 about the extension of service periods for TNI soldiers. This extension is intended to optimize the role of soldiers, especially those with specific expertise, while also increasing the number of soldiers to meet the needs for the establishment of new Kodams in various regions. Besides quantity, the quality of TNI personnel and human resource development also includes encouraging the independence of the defense industry, which must be supported by high-quality human resources. Second, increasing defense capabilities by developing defense and security equipment (ALPALHANKAM) based on technological advancements. Regarding ALPALHANKAM, the Ministry of Defense will encourage the independence of the defense industry to avoid full dependence on imports. According to (Hadi, 2020), the Ministry of Defense has four strategies to achieve ALPALHANKAM independence: First, making ALPALHANKAM independence mandatory to eliminate reliance on imports; second, procurement of ALPALHANKAM must prioritize domestic industry products, with foreign procurement only possible if domestic industries cannot produce them, and must be accompanied by an Offset Transfer of Technology (ToT) fairly given to state-owned enterprises (BUMN) and private companies (BUMS); third, TNI and its units are requested to be pioneers in using domestic products, thereby realizing the slogan “NKRI Harga Mati” (“The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is Non-negotiable”) through loyalty to domestic ALPALHANKAM; fourth, the Deputy Minister of Defense is tasked with supervising the implementation of the Minister of Defense’s policies. Below is the master plan for defense industry development until 2029 (Suadnyana, 2022)



**Figure 1: Defense Industry Development Master Plan**

Source: Indonesian National Resilience Institute/Taskap I Nyoman Suadnyana



Regarding defense industry development, Yusgiantoro, as quoted by Suadnyana, stated that the posture of defense equipment from 2020-2024, as the third phase, is directed at supporting the ideal defense posture, improving industrial work capacity, and enhancing international cooperation. Article 7 of the Indonesian Law Number 16 of 2012 also explains that the development and growth of the defense industry to become an advanced, strong, independent, and competitive industry is the government's duty and responsibility.

### **Reserve Components and Supporting Components**

The reserve component is part of the implementation of SISHANKAMRATA. The reserve component is formed through a voluntary recruitment process and then trained for several months in military exercises to build their physical and mental strength. Since its establishment in 2021, the reserve component has consisted of 8,574 personnel who have been officially appointed and trained. The reserve component will later strengthen the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) in various operational needs (when mobilized), including during natural disasters. In addition to the reserve component, there is also a supporting component, which includes all national resources that can reinforce national defense. According to Law No. 3 of 2002 on State Defense, "The state defense system is a total defense system involving all citizens, territory, and other national resources, prepared early by the government, and carried out in a total, integrated, directed, and continuous manner to uphold state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of the entire nation from all threats."

### **Territorial Preparation**

In terms of territorial preparation, the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) is currently preparing to establish new regional military commands (Kodam) aimed at strengthening the defense of the major islands. Previously, the military focus was centered mainly on Java and Sumatra. Therefore, the TNI requires budgetary support to accelerate the development of these new Kodams to promote a more adaptive and responsive institution, given that the territories will be more accessible in terms of distance. Moreover, the development of Kodams demands advanced technological support to conduct early prevention against various types and forms of threats. In the 21st-century SISHANKAMRATA doctrine, the strategy to face military threats is through a balanced, independent territorial posture, focused on the major islands (Papua, Kalimantan, Sumatra, Java-Bali-Nusa Tenggara, and Sulawesi-Maluku). Meanwhile, non-military threats are addressed by enhancing territorial roles in a balanced central and regional format.

Although the construction of new Kodams is still at the planning stage, this effort reflects an awareness of the importance of balancing defense power between the central and regional levels to close any gaps that state or non-state actors might exploit to create instability within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Hybrid enemies will exploit every potential avenue to apply pressure and destruction to achieve their objectives. Therefore, an evenly distributed organizational structure must be balanced with sophisticated and integrated defense equipment (ALPALHANKAM) within a centralized system. Additionally, the formation of new Kodams will anticipate food crises that hybrid enemies could exploit to take control of a region. The existence of these new Kodams will also strengthen regional self-sufficiency food plans. The TNI hopes to build a strong defense system throughout Indonesia that is integrated and interconnected with a centralized network. However, this ambition faces several challenges, including budget limitations, the unfulfilled independence of the defense industry, and a lack of support from various stakeholders, especially military observers. Amid TNI's limitations in facing multiple

threats, particularly hybrid threats, the SISHANKAMRATA document encourages ministries and agencies to engage proactively in early prevention against both actual and potential threats.

### **The Indonesian Army (TNI AD) from the Perspective of Role Theory**

According to Talcott Parsons' theory, society is viewed as a social system composed of interdependent parts, each performing its role to maintain the overall stability of the system. In the context of national defense with the SISHANKAMRATA approach, the TNI serves as the main force playing a core role in responding to hybrid threats. However, the defense equipment (ALPALHANKAM) and the efforts to establish new regional military commands (Kodam), which remain limited and face many challenges, indicate that the TNI's role in addressing hybrid threats has yet to be fully realized. Given the high expectations placed on the TNI in maintaining national security, cooperation among all elements characterized by popular participation, territoriality, and universality is necessary. This includes support and involvement from ministries, agencies, and civil society as key components in facing non-military threats. This aligns with role theory, which states that one role cannot stand alone without support from other elements. Therefore, the Ministry of Defense has formed the reserve components to strengthen defense and also utilizes supporting components—this represents an evolution of the Indonesian Army's role as a response to hybrid threats. However, aside from budget constraints, the TNI AD faces several challenges, such as political dynamics and rejection from some segments of society regarding roles that overlap with police duties and civilian affairs.

### **CONCLUSION**

The 21st Century SISHANKAMRATA National Conference has produced a strategic document that is highly relevant to current threat developments. However, realizing that it requires a long process and substantial funding. The budget, which has reached hundreds of trillions of rupiah, remains insufficient to meet all the needs of the TNI. Therefore, the role of ministries and agencies as main components in facing non-military threats and strengthening national defense is crucial to assist the TNI in confronting hybrid threats. Through various measures implemented by the Indonesian Army (TNI AD), it is evident that the total defense system continues to navigate multiple steps, including the defense of major islands, the establishment of new regional military commands (Kodam), and the formation of reserve components. Nevertheless, the limited budget available to the TNI has hindered the full realization of its strength in various aspects, including the independence of the defense industry. The existing defense equipment (ALPALHANKAM) remains very limited, preventing the full implementation of the major island defense strategy. The formation of five new Kodams as an initial stage has not been fully achieved. Additionally, the TNI has formed reserve components as a real embodiment of SISHANKAMRATA, although their numbers remain limited. This indicates that the TNI AD has evolved its roles across various sectors, including the placement of active TNI personnel in ministries and state institutions. Although the embodiment of SISHANKAMRATA is still very limited, particularly in utilizing national resources for defense purposes, the ratification of Law No. 3 of 2025, especially Article 47 concerning the placement of active TNI personnel in ministries and state institutions, is expected to encourage policies that strengthen national defense across multiple sectors. Besides Article 47, Article 53 regarding retirement age will increase the number of active personnel within the TNI, with the expectation that these officers will fill the new Kodams to be established. Therefore, the government needs to promote the implementation of Presidential Regulation No. 8 of 2021 as a derivative of SISHANKAMRATA, which involves ministries and

agencies with TNI participation in strengthening defense against various non-military/hybrid threats. Ministries and agencies can enhance human resources, utilize natural resources, and leverage artificial resources to face hybrid threats.

### **Suggestions**

1. It is important for the government to continuously evaluate the role of the TNI in carrying out its duties, especially regarding the presence of active TNI personnel in ministries and agencies.
2. Continue to encourage the establishment of new Kodams as a form of support for territorial defense, particularly for the defense of major islands.
3. It is crucial to conduct further research on the implementation of SISHANKAMRATA and its effectiveness.

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