

National Vigilance Against Threats Towards Democratic Consolidation in Indonesia

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Article Info:

Abstract

Keywords:

Asymmetric threats,
Democracy,
national resilience, national
values, vigilance

Purpose: This study examines the role of national vigilance in addressing threats and ensuring the successful consolidation of democracy in Indonesia, focusing on internal and external challenges.

Study Design/Methodology/Approach: A qualitative descriptive approach is applied, integrating theoretical frameworks, geopolitical analysis, and data from the National Resilience Laboratory (Labkurtannas). The study analyses the synergy of democratic elements, including political institutions, civil society, and national values, supported by programmes such as the National Values Strengthening Programme by Lemhannas RI.

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Findings: The study indicates that national vigilance is indispensable in countering asymmetric threats such as radicalism, ideological infiltration, and social polarisation. While challenges remain, including weak political ethics and systemic corruption, leveraging democratic elements and strengthening national values can enhance resilience. Programmes promoting *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* significantly contribute to fostering nationalism and addressing modern challenges. The research also highlights the need for integrated strategies to anticipate digital-era threats.

Originality/Value: This study underscores the strategic role of national vigilance as a unifying framework for consolidating democracy in Indonesia. It provides actionable recommendations for policymakers and identifies areas for future research on national resilience in the context of digital and asymmetric threats.

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INTRODUCTION

The National Goals of the Republic of Indonesia, as outlined in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, fourth paragraph, represent the collective aspirations of the nation. Despite these shared ideals, internal and external dynamics present significant challenges to their realisation. These challenges necessitate the cultivation of a collective awareness and a strong commitment to safeguarding national progress and sustainability. Increasing threats, disturbances, obstacles, and challenges (AGHT) emphasise the critical need for national vigilance as a strategic pillar of governance to ensure state continuity. The state, as a sovereign authority, is tasked with the responsibility of implementing well-structured governance to achieve these objectives effectively.

The concept of "Lebensraum", introduced by Fredric Ratzel in 1897, underlines the necessity of adequate living space to secure a state's existence (Korf, 2024). This theory has provided a strategic basis for national vigilance, particularly in countering external threats that risk undermining sovereignty and stability. It remains pertinent in addressing contemporary geopolitical and economic pressures, such as the influence of global capitalism from the United States after the second World War, often criticised as economic and cultural imperialism, and China's territorial expansion into Tibet (Shakya, 2012).

Indonesia, as a sovereign state, faces substantial threats stemming from globalisation and intensifying geopolitical competition. Addressing these threats requires precise identification and the formulation of strategic responses to maintain national sustainability. Lessons can be drawn from the experiences of countries like Syria, Yemen, and Somalia, where inadequate strategies for national vigilance have led to severe socio-political consequences. Similarly, the prolonged conflict in Palestine, driven by Israeli aggression supported by the United States, highlights the critical importance of robust national strategies (United Nations, 2023). In his address on 14 July 2019, President Joko Widodo underscored the importance of national vigilance in countering divisive threats, ideological challenges to Pancasila, and foreign cultural influences (Ramadhan et al., 2019).

This study examines the limited research on the holistic application of national vigilance in tackling threats to democratic consolidation. Existing studies primarily focus on specific elements, such as external threats or geopolitical issues, without exploring comprehensive strategies for national vigilance. This research examines how Indonesia can implement national vigilance to counter both internal and external threats effectively, supporting democratic consolidation. It also aims to contribute to the formulation of adaptive national policy strategies in the digital era and provide practical recommendations for policymakers to strengthen sustainable democracy. The central question guiding this study is: How can Indonesia's national vigilance be applied to address threats and ensure the success of democratic consolidation?.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Studies

National vigilance is a strategic element in ensuring the nation's sustainability and addressing both traditional and non-traditional threats. Drawing on Ratzel's (1897) "Lebensraum" theory, the importance of a state's readiness is emphasised (Korf, 2024). Meanwhile, Buzan et al. (1998) expand the concept of threats to encompass social, political, and ideological dimensions. Asymmetric threats, such as radicalism and the infiltration of transnational ideologies (Nugroho, 2001; Thompson, 1984), underline the necessity of national vigilance as a mitigation strategy. Law Number 17 of 2011 (UU/17/2011) on State Intelligence mandates early threat detection. Additionally, the National Resilience Institute of the Republic of Indonesia (Lemhannas RI) defines vigilance as collective readiness grounded in nationalism and Pancasila, positioning it as a cornerstone for democratic consolidation and national integration (Triwidodo et al., 2024).

Understanding National Vigilance and the Nature of Threats

National vigilance and the nature of threats require strategic decision-makers to possess the ability to detect, analyse, and counter threats that may disrupt state stability. As articulated by Ratzel in 1897, through the theory of "Lebensraum" Korf (2024), it is essential for a state to secure its resources and territory to preserve its existence. In Indonesia, the rise of non-traditional threats such as radicalism, the infiltration of transnational ideologies, and cyber threats has intensified (Nugroho, 2001; Thompson, 1984). In response, the government, through the State Intelligence Agency (BIN), plays a strategic role in threat detection and prevention as mandated by Law Number 17 of 2011 (UU/17/2011).

Simultaneously, as part of the national vigilance strategy, educational initiatives like the Strengthening of National Values aim to foster solidarity and nationalism. Theoretical and empirical evidence highlights the necessity of a holistic national vigilance strategy to address asymmetric threats while safeguarding national security and ensuring sustainable democracy (Buzan et al. (1998); Triwidodo et al. (2024).

Geopolitical Dynamics

The global geopolitical rivalry between the United States and China poses risks of strategic instability in the Asia-Pacific region (Buzan et al., 1998; Barry Buzan, 2010; Ewing, 2015). Non-traditional security theories highlight that threats extend beyond the military domain to include economic and ideological dimensions. The Palestine-Israel conflict in 2023, for instance, has escalated the potential for radicalism in Indonesia, contributing to domestic tensions. To mitigate the impact of geopolitical tensions on national stability, the government must strengthen diplomatic cooperation and national security strategies, as emphasised in the National Resilience Institute's (Lemhannas RI) reports on regional stability.

Intolerance and National Resilience

Radicalism and intolerance remain significant threats to Indonesia's national resilience. Nugroho (2001) highlights that transnational ideological groups often exploit intolerance to undermine national unity. The 2023 report from the National Resilience Measurement Laboratory (Labkurtannas Lemhannas RI) reveals that the tolerance level within the national resilience index remains weak. To address this vulnerability, it is essential for the government to strengthen solidarity and social cohesion through civic education and the reinforcement of Pancasila values. Implementing such initiatives is expected to reduce ideological threats that could potentially disrupt national stability (Buzan et al., 1998).

The State of Indonesia's Democratic Consolidation

Indonesia continues to face significant challenges in its democratic consolidation process. Przeworski (1999, 23-49) asserts that the success of democratic transitions relies on fostering shared political values and strengthening institutional integrity, which form the foundation for democratic stability. In contrast, O'Donnell (2010) emphasises that political ideals serve as the primary motivation for political action. The 2023 report from the National Resilience Measurement Laboratory (Labkurtannas Lemhannas RI) highlights weaknesses in the integration of political values, particularly in tolerance and social solidarity, as reflected in the national ideology index.

Moreover, money politics and corruption remain substantial obstacles to strengthening democratic institutions. Empirical studies indicate that national vigilance must be optimised as a strategic tool to prevent social polarisation and support the sustainability of democratic institutions (Buzan et al., 1998; Nugroho, 2001).

Implementation of National Vigilance

The Indonesian government implements national vigilance through early detection, threat mitigation, and the reinforcement of national values rooted in Pancasila. As a strategic effort, the National Values Strengthening Programme by Lemhannas RI has proven effective in fostering nationalism and raising public awareness of the importance of national vigilance. Theoretical studies indicate that effectively applied national vigilance can counter asymmetric threats while strengthening democratic consolidation.

Furthermore, Ratzel's (1897) concept of "Lebensraum," as elaborated by Korf (2024) and Triwidodo et al. (2024), underscores that national vigilance strategies must be grounded in solidarity and national values to maintain state stability. Thus, national vigilance serves as a critical foundation for addressing both domestic and global threats, ensuring national security, and supporting democratic stability.

METHODS

The study adopts a qualitative research design with a descriptive approach, as outlined by Creswell & Poth, (2024); Lichtman, (2013), using a Conceptual Research Framework illustrated in Figure 1. The research aims to explain how the concept of national vigilance is implemented in Indonesia to address both internal and external threats, with a particular emphasis on strengthening democratic consolidation. Narrative analysis is applied to explore in depth the meaning and scope of national vigilance through an interpretation of policy data, ideological insights, and socio-political factors influencing its implementation.

Grounded in Law Number 17 of 2011 on State Intelligence, this research adopts the principles of early detection, prevention, and deterrence of threats to national security. This approach is deemed relevant as it reveals the strategic relationship between national vigilance and democratic consolidation through the lenses of policy, geopolitical structures, and state ideology. The study focuses on understanding how traditional and non-traditional threats impact the sustainability of democratic consolidation in Indonesia and how national vigilance can be optimised as a mitigation strategy to ensure national security.

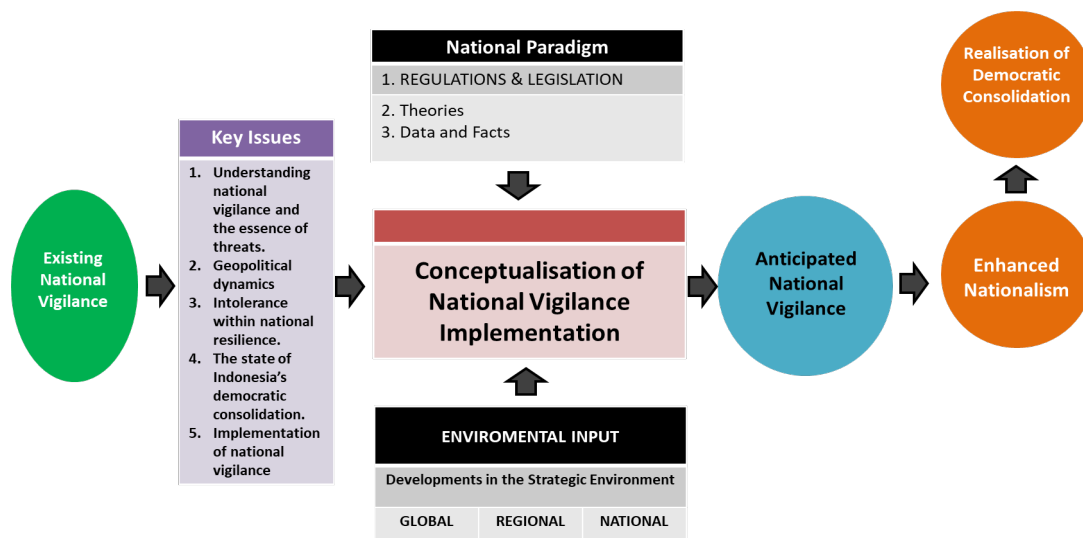


Figure 1. Conceptual Research Framework

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Intelligence-Based National Vigilance

National vigilance in Indonesia is founded on the strategic role of state intelligence as a key element in maintaining national security. As an integral part of the national security system, intelligence serves the primary function of managing strategic information to support policy formulation and decision-making based on factual and data-driven analyses, as mandated by Law Number 17 of 2011. This function includes early detection and warning mechanisms to prevent and counter threats that could disrupt state stability.

As the frontline of the national security system, intelligence ensures that national vigilance remains a fundamental pillar in safeguarding Indonesia's sovereignty and stability. The strategic principles outlined by Sun Tzu align closely with the functions of intelligence, as he emphasises:

“...Those who deeply understand themselves and their adversaries are on the path to victory in battle. Those who understand themselves but not their adversaries have an equal chance of winning and losing. Those who understand neither themselves nor their adversaries are destined for defeat in every battle. Know your enemy, know yourself, and your victory will not be threatened. Know the terrain, know the weather, and your victory will be complete. I can predict which side will win and which will lose based on these factors. In evaluating a situation, three factors must be analysed: oneself, the enemy, and the environment..”

From a theoretical standpoint, the approach emphasised by Sun Tzu (Saronto, 2018) aligns with national vigilance by integrating three core elements: internal factors, external factors, and environmental conditions. This integration enables state intelligence to detect both traditional and non-traditional threats, including radicalism, the infiltration of transnational ideologies, and cyber threats. The strategic information-gathering process aims not only to identify threats but also to formulate preventive measures that can mitigate social polarisation and reinforce democratic consolidation.

This study supports Ratzel's (1897) theory, as discussed in Korf (2024), which highlights the importance of resource management and internal stability in addressing external threats. The intelligence-based approach to national vigilance also resonates with Lemhannas R.I. perspective on the critical role of civic education in fostering national solidarity. The findings indicate that national vigilance rooted in state intelligence functions as a strategic mechanism to safeguard Indonesia's democratic stability and national security.

The Concept of National Vigilance and Threat Perception

National vigilance in Indonesia requires comprehensive information management to address various threats that could endanger the continuity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). The National Resilience Institute of Indonesia (Lemhannas RI) defines national vigilance (Padnas) as a sense of nationalism derived from care, responsibility, and concern for the continuity of community, national, and state life. Padnas encompasses readiness and alertness to detect, anticipate, and prevent threats to the unity of NKRI. This must be grounded in strong ideological conviction and continuous monitoring of changes in both domestic and global situations (Triwidodo et al., 2024).

The values of unity and cohesion are central to the concept of national vigilance. Ernest Renan describes nationalism as "*Le Desir D'être Ensemble*" or the desire to be united, supported by strong solidarity (Ufen, 2024). Citizen readiness, including the ability to detect, warn, and counter threats early, is essential in addressing asymmetric threats that impact various aspects of life.

The responsibility for national vigilance extends beyond the state, involving all societal elements, as threats often take non-traditional forms and are organised by non-state actors (Habibie Center, 2005). The manipulation of internal conditions by external actors poses a significant threat to national resilience, with the potential to disrupt security stability and hinder democratic consolidation.

Threats to Indonesia's democratic consolidation, such as attacks on the Pancasila ideology, demand special attention. Radicalism and terrorism challenge the principles of Pancasila, demonstrating how asymmetric threats can weaken the nation's ideology (Paluin, 2018). According to Thompson (1984), ideology plays a critical role in shaping societal perspectives, making transnational threats like radicalism and extremism a significant risk to the integrity of national ideology. Competing ideologies such as liberalism and communism, which emphasise individual freedom or material contradictions, and transnational ideologies like the *Khilafah Islamiyah* promoted by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), aim to replace Pancasila with systems that contradict Indonesia's national values. The ban on HTI, both in Indonesia and other countries, underscores the incompatibility of such ideologies with democratic values and diversity.

Pancasila serves as a vital unifying foundation for Indonesia's diversity. With over 17,000 islands, 714 ethnic groups, and more than 1,100 languages, Indonesia requires a robust unifying principle to counter ideological threats (Asrobudi et al., 2024). Instilling a sense of national identity is essential to prevent communities from being provoked by materialistic ideologies that could fragment national unity. Thus, Pancasila remains an irreplaceable foundation for preserving national integration amidst the complexity of the country's heterogeneity.

Geopolitical Dynamics in the Evolution of the Strategic Environment

Globalisation and modernisation, while expected to bring universal benefits, also introduce new challenges, such as tribalism, which drives disintegration and cross-

cultural conflicts. Technological advancements accelerate shifts in global values but simultaneously incite resistance to traditional systems, affecting the stability of nations worldwide, including Indonesia. Reflecting on the impact of these global value changes, Ratzel's (1897) "Lebensraum" theory, as elaborated by Korf (2024), underscores that a nation's sustainability depends on its ability to manage strategic resources and maintain internal stability to confront external threats.

The strategic rivalry between the United States and China exacerbates geopolitical fragmentation, heightening global uncertainty. The United States seeks to preserve its hegemony by reinforcing geopolitical dominance, while China enhances its global influence through strategic alliances, including partnerships with Russia, counterbalancing U.S. power. This rivalry reflects non-traditional challenges, as outlined by Lemhannas RI (Triwidodo et al., 2024), which emphasises the importance of national vigilance rooted in national solidarity to maintain domestic stability and respond to global pressures.

Global conflicts, such as the Israel-Palestine dispute, also create domestic repercussions in Indonesia, driven by religious sentiments within society. These challenges highlight the necessity of national vigilance to prevent social polarisation that could threaten national unity. As an ideological foundation, Pancasila plays a pivotal role in countering ideological threats arising from global geopolitical competition (Korf, 2024). Consequently, national vigilance integrated with an understanding of national ideology becomes a key strategy for safeguarding democratic stability and national security.

Strategic Issues of Intolerance in Indonesia's National Resilience

National resilience is often misconstrued as solely national defence, whereas national defence is merely one of the eight pillars comprising comprehensive national resilience. The renaming of the National Defence Institute to the National Resilience Institute (Lemhannas R.I.) through Presidential Decree No. 4 of 1994 reflects a broader understanding of this concept. President Soekarno, in his speech on 20 May 1965, emphasised that modern warfare involves not only military forces but all societal elements, both military and civilian. This assertion underscores the need for national resilience to be comprehensive, encompassing all aspects of life to address asymmetric, non-military threats effectively.

President Soekarno concept of nationalism highlighted the importance of a strong Indonesian identity, supported by cultural diversity as a national hallmark. This form of nationalism entails preserving the nation's unique character rooted in its rich cultural values. National resilience is not merely a protective mechanism against external threats but also an effort to safeguard the nation's integrity from internal challenges, such as intolerance, which poses a potential risk to national unity.

Substantively, national resilience is a dynamic condition that integrates all aspects of national life. The perseverance and robustness of the nation in facing threats, challenges, obstacles, and disturbances (ATHG) aim to protect its identity, integrity, and

survival. National resilience also ensures the continuity of the nation amidst increasingly complex global dynamics. Consequently, a comprehensive concept of national resilience involves not only territorial security but also the reinforcement of national values to confront modern challenges, including the threat of intolerance.

Table 1. Results of the National Resilience Laboratory (Labkurtannas) Lemhannas RI Measurements as of December 2023

No	Resilience Level	Colour	Range
1	Vulnerable	Red	1,00 s.d. 1,80
2	Less Resilient	Yellow	> 1,80 s.d. 2,60
3	Moderately Resilient	Green	> 2,60 s.d. 3,40
4	Resilient	Blue	> 3,40 s.d. 4,20
5	Highly Resilient	Purple	> 4,20 s.d. 5,00

Source: Labkurtannas Lemhannas RI (2023)

Over the past four years (2019–2022), the ideological dimension of Indonesia's national resilience index fell within the "less resilient" category, only improving to "moderately resilient" in December 2023. However, tolerance indicators remain weak, reflecting challenges in national integration, particularly in implementing the values of Unity in Diversity (*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*), which is closely tied to social solidarity. Consistent practice of these values is crucial for strengthening national resilience, whereas poor implementation exacerbates existing conditions.

The socio-cultural dimension also reveals weaknesses, scoring 2.52 in December 2023. Harmony and social order, the key indicators for this dimension, received a red score (1), highlighting significant challenges in preserving national values. These obstacles are further compounded by anti-Pancasila groups attempting to replace the state ideology, posing a serious threat to national integration.

The reform era, while expected to bring positive changes, has introduced new challenges. The euphoria of freedom is often exploited to legitimise efforts to alter the nation's ideology, contradicting the foundations of the state. Threats to Pancasila have become increasingly evident through radical movements such as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) and acts of terrorism aiming to integrate Indonesia into a global caliphate.

The involvement of Indonesian citizens in transnational terror activities, with approximately 6,000 individuals identified as foreign terrorist fighters (FTF), exacerbates this situation. An integrated and strategic approach is urgently needed to safeguard Pancasila as the foundation of national life and to determine the future trajectory of Indonesia.

The State of Democratic Consolidation in Indonesia

The democratisation process in Indonesia, following the fall of the New Order regime, was expected to progress rapidly. However, more than two decades later,

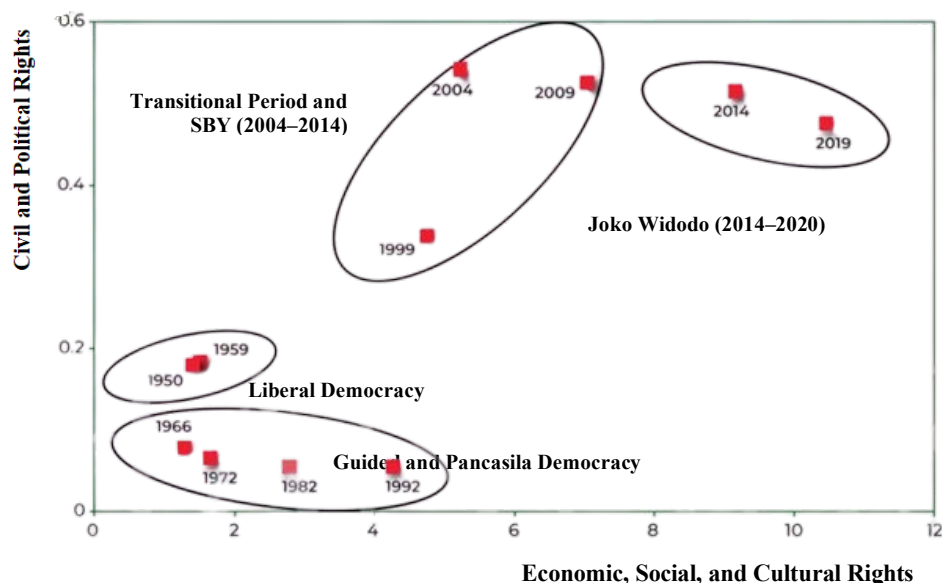
democratic consolidation remains incomplete. The transition from an authoritarian era to democracy was characterised by liberalisation, emphasising the protection of individual rights from arbitrary actions. Democratic consolidation involves integrating democratic elements, such as political parties, social elites, interest groups, and the political community, into a shared agreement on political values to advance the democratic agenda (Nugroho, 200, 26:27).

Despite the replacement of old structures and the implementation of a checks and balances system, the consolidation of democracy faces significant obstacles. Key challenges include the prevalence of money politics, high political costs, systemic corruption, and weak integrity within political institutions (Arrsa, 2014; Ummah, 2014). These issues perpetuate a cycle of public distrust in the political system. Strengthening democracy requires independent judicial and executive institutions as well as active civil society elements to promote accountability and transparency

The 2024 elections highlight the institutionalisation of money politics and the inadequate enforcement of political ethics, further burdening democratic consolidation. Ethical violations in strategic decision-making reflect a lack of adherence to presidential principles and democratic values (Indonesia Corruption Watch, 2024). This condition indicates that a shared agreement on political values has not been fully realised, thereby delaying Indonesia's democratic maturity.

The global trend of democratic regression is particularly relevant to this context. Over the past decade, more countries have experienced declines in democratic quality than improvements (Wijayanto, 2023). Amid this trend, Indonesia must ensure that its democratisation process proceeds effectively to achieve the vision of a mature democracy.

As illustrated in Figure 2, the Y-axis represents the fulfilment of civil and political rights using the liberal democracy index (V-Dem) scores, ranging from 0 to 1. The X-axis represents the fulfilment of economic, social, and cultural rights, measured by per capita income in constant 2015 US dollars. This analysis underscores that strengthening civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights is essential for democratic consolidation.



Source: Presentation on Democratic Consolidation (Andi Wijayanto, 8 March 2023)

Figure 2: Trends in Indonesia's Democratic Regression

Implementation of National Vigilance Towards Democratic Consolidation

National vigilance, or *Padnas*, reflects a sense of nationalism rooted in the four foundational national consensuses: Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) (Triwidodo et al., 2024). The implementation of *Padnas* aims to strengthen national unity and democratic elements to achieve democratic consolidation. By understanding national values, citizens can maintain state stability and counter threats to democracy.

The National Values Strengthening Programme, initiated by Lemhannas RI, fosters nationalism and promotes innovation in realising the motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. This programme equips citizens to address challenges posed by globalisation and technological advances that may conflict with national values. Thousands of participants from various democratic elements have received training, representing a concrete step towards enhancing nationalism and consolidating democracy.

National vigilance embodies a sense of nationalism expressed through the care and responsibility of citizens for sustaining community, national, and state life amid various threats. Its implementation reflects the behaviour of Indonesian citizens inspired by the four foundational consensuses: Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, and NKRI. The noble values within these consensuses must be understood and internalised to strengthen unity and transform democratic elements into a solid force for achieving democratic consolidation. A robust understanding of national concepts enables citizens to actively contribute to preserving state life and anticipating threats to democracy.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that national vigilance is a critical element in ensuring the success of democratic consolidation in Indonesia. It involves the systematic monitoring and strengthening of democratic components, including political institutions, political parties, social elites, interest groups, and the political community, all of which must work cohesively to counter internal and external challenges. Lemhannas RI plays a strategic role in this process through its National Values Strengthening Programme, fostering unity and resilience. Despite the global trend of democratic regression, Indonesia has the potential to strengthen its democracy by leveraging the synergy of these elements and adhering to transparency and accountability in democratic processes. A deep understanding of geopolitics, threat perceptions, and the current state of democratic consolidation is essential for effective implementation.

To maximise its impact, Lemhannas RI is advised to enhance its role as a strategic think tank by involving more democratic elements in its programmes and expanding the analytical capacity of the National Resilience Laboratory (Labkurtannas). Regular educational programmes should be institutionalised as formal requirements for key officials to support democratic consolidation. Additionally, the active participation of civil society is crucial in maintaining national values and advancing sustainable democratisation. Future research should explore the implementation of national vigilance in the digital era to address increasingly complex asymmetric threats effectively.

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