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Total War Strategy

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The Prince Diponegoro's War Strategy from the Perspective of the Indonesia Total War Strategy

Dadi Rusyadi, Deni D.A.R., Wayan Nuriada



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THE PRINCE DIPONEGORO'S WAR STRATEGY FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE INDONESIA TOTAL WAR STRATEGY

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Abstract

This article will be focused on Prince Diponegoro's War Strategy that implemented Total War Strategy through Guerilla Warfare tactic. The purpose and objectives of this article are analyzing the Prince Diponegoro's War Strategy as the form of People's Total War to be comprehended as the Indonesia's total war strategy in facing threats so the readers will gain knowledge and deep information regarding the implementation of total war strategy. The qualitative method was conducted to create this article through historical research approach in designing the content of this article. The Total War theory was also implemented on this article. Based on the research result, it was found that the Indonesian War conducted by Prince Diponegoro is essentially a picture of the People's total War which are not only carried out by taking up arms, but also engaged in political, social, economic, and cultural fields. The Total War Strategy has applied by fighters both in armed struggle, which Total War values characterized by: populist, territorial, the total, has been embedded in every breath of struggle. Whole community participation in accordance with their respective roles, and empowering all resources maximum national power to be further combined with military power, become a form of "totality" that is powerful in dealing with various forms of threats. From the history of the Indonesian War by Prince Diponegoro which gave birth to the Total War concept, has demonstrated and proven that the involvement of all components of the nation, both military and civilian (non-military) have an important role in accordance with their respective fields.

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Introduction

The Diponegoro War, also known as the Java War (The Java War), was a war that was very tiring for the Dutch and drained a lot of resources, including troops and money or funding, which caused the colonial government to experience a financial crisis (Carey, 2014). The war was led directly by Prince Diponegoro, one of the figures who became the national hero of Indonesia.

This war began in Yogyakarta and spread to Magelang and many areas in Java, so it is often referred to as the Java War. The battle point of this war began in Muntilan, Tegalrejo, to Selarong Cave in Bantul. The war, led by Prince Diponegoro, claimed the lives of about 200,000 indigenous people. While on the Dutch side, it is estimated that around 10,000 people have died. In leading the war, Prince Diponegoro was assisted by great warriors such as Mangkubumi, Kyai Modjo, and Sentot Prawirodirdjo. Diponegoro resistance to the Dutch flared after the Dutch took a series of actions that angered Prince Diponegoro. The theater of the Diponegoro War area in Central Java and East Java (Ningsih, 2021).





The outbreak of the Diponegoro War was triggered by 2 (two) causes, namely the special cause and the general cause of the outbreak of the Diponegoro War. According to sources obtained by the author, the special cause of the outbreak of the Diponegoro War was Prince Diponegoro conflict with Smissaert. Prince Diponegoro, whose real name is Raden Mas Ontowiryo, is the son of Sultan Hamengkubuwono III. In 1825, the Dutch deliberately planted stakes to make a way over the ancestral grave of Prince Diponegoro. That's what made Prince Diponegoro's anger peaked, and declared a war attitude towards the Dutch. Prior to the flood or peg incident, in 1823, Jonkheer Anthonie Hendrik Smissaert was appointed a resident of Yogyakarta. Without knowing why this Dutch figure is known as a figure who is very anti-Prince Diponegoro. The absence of an authoritative leader in the palace environment made Dutch officials, including Smissaert, do whatever they wanted (Makfi, 2019).

Smissaert even always sat in the chair reserved for the Sultan when an official meeting was held. The personal conflict between Prince Diponegoro and Smissaert became sharper after the incident of publicly humiliating each other at a party at the resident's place. At that time, Prince Diponegoro openly opposed Smissaert. That's what made Smissaert cooperate with Patih Danurejo to get rid of Prince Diponegoro from the Yogyakarta palace.

Another particular reason is the incident of the stake above the tomb. In 1825, Smissaert and Patih Danurejo ordered their men to put stakes in order to make a new road. The installation of these stakes intentionally passed through Prince Diponegoro's yard in Tegalrejo without permission. Prince Diponegoro ordered the people to remove the stakes because on that land lies the tomb of his ancestors. However, Patih Danurejo ordered to reassemble the stakes accompanied by the Macanan troops (Kepatihan guards). Prince Diponegoro's followers then responded by pulling the pegs that had just been planted and replacing them with their spears as a symbol of resistance to the Dutch.

This peg incident was an open conflict between Smissaert-Danurejo and Prince Diponegoro which involved armed forces. News of this peg incident quickly spread to the public, and after that, the Diponegoro War broke out on July 20, 1825 (Marwati & Nugroho, 2008).

Based on Prince Diponegoro persistence in fighting against the Dutch East Indies government in 1825-1830, the extraordinary war strategy by gathering strength from civil society, which Prince Diponegoro carried out, is currently known as the People's Total Defense System (Sishanrata). Prince Diponegoro succeeded to convince the people to jointly fight against the colonial rule of the Dutch East Indies and repel the occupation by the Dutch East Indies government.

There are several advantages of Prince Diponegoro, religiously, Prince Diponegoro is a leader who has high integrity because Muslim behavior is carried out every day, including being honest, firm, and brave (Purworejo24, 2019). In addition, Prince Diponegoro also had a high nationalist spirit and was always pro-people. This was reflected in his anti-Dutch attitude. Starting with the increasing influence of the Dutch in royal matters, the oppression of the people was also increasing. Even the Dutch government leased an unlimited number of lands to private Dutch entrepreneurs for plantations. As a result, the land that can be cultivated by the people for agriculture is getting narrower. Even the streets are rented out, and everyone who passes that road must pay taxes (H. Mansur, 2005).

These conditions sparked Prince Diponegoro's anger, so the Diponegoro War or the Java War from 1825 to 1830 occurred. The Diponegoro war made the Dutch East Indies government almost bankrupt in funding the war because of a combination of religious and socio-economic motives. This was exacerbated by the guerrilla war tactics of Prince Diponegoro who moved from one area to another. The war tactics carried out by Prince



Diponegoro's troops turned out to be difficult for the Dutch to crush the rebellion. Prince Diponegoro's war tactics, which always scattered and moved from place to place and then attacked while the enemy was off guard, were known as guerrilla warfare tactics (Sukrismiati & Tri, 2015).

Nurbantoro, et.al. (2022) stated that confidentiality is the key to the success of guerrilla tactics, and the support of the people greatly influenced it. This guerrilla movement then gave birth to a formulation of the concept of Indonesian state defense, Total War, where the support and involvement of all Indonesian people became the main basis in its implementation. The defense of the Indonesian State is total because its implementation involves all citizens, utilizing all national resources, and the entire territory of the country as a unified whole and comprehensive defense. The concept of the Total Defense System was born on the views and thoughts based on the historical experience of the struggle of the Indonesian people, especially during the war of Independence.

In describing the Total People's War, Nasution argues that war is not just for soldiers. The people also fight, armed himself and form an army. That is why soldiers are called people's soldiers and not entities separated. But, it does not suggest the entire population to go to war, 98% of the population just helps and encourages those who do the actual fighting. The most important thing is the relationship between the soldiers and the people because what is being fought for is the people's ideology so the soldiers must be fully rooted in the people's soul; the people are the foundation of the struggle (Cribb, 2001). Total is based on the consciousness of the rights and obligations of all citizens and their beliefs with own strength to keep the state and nation survival as a freedom and sovereign country. Indonesia's Total People's Defense doctrine has always assumed that its future enemy will be militarily superior and that its strategic geography can be both a source of strength and vulnerability.

The basic idea of the principles of guerrilla warfare, as the part of total warfare, is to use all forces (resources) to defeat a stronger enemy. A.H. Nasution wrote in his book that "The Guerrilla War is a Total People's War, where the main condition for its success lies in cohesiveness and mutual trust between the military and the people" (Nasution, A.H., 1980).

Guerrilla warfare, taking advantage of Indonesia's mountainous and forested natural conditions and valleys, can support and adapt the defense strategy of the Republic of Indonesia. In his book entitled "The Evolution of Indonesian Defense Doctrine", Andi Widjajanto's opinion regarding Indonesia's defense strategy is "Indonesian defense doctrine has evolved which is divided into 5 (five) periods, namely the period of the war of independence (1945-1949), RIS (1949-1950), internal war (1950-1959), guided democracy (1959-1967), and the New Order (1967-1998)" (Widjayanto, A., 2005).

This evolutionary study shows that the fundamental character of the Indonesian defense doctrine is the total defense doctrine. The primary strategy is to mobilize all national resources, active defensive titles, integrated operations titles, layered defense conceptions, territorial defense titles, and guerrilla warfare titles. Due to past war experiences, the concept of defense relies heavily on land defense. Therefore, a new strategy must be born from a review relevant to the present.

The idea of Indonesia's defense strategy, according to Andi Widjajanto, is in line with the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense, in Article 1 point 2 affirms, "The state defense system is a total defense system that involves all citizens, territories and resources. other national resources, as well as being 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 (Law No. 3 of 2002 on Defense). Furthermore, point 4 emphasizes that the management of national defense is all activities at the strategic and policy level, including planning, implementation, supervision, and control of the national defense.

Article 1, point 2, and point 4 of the Law on National Defense are also supported by the sound of Article 9, paragraph (1) Every citizen has the right and is obliged to participate in efforts to defend the country, which is realized in the implementation of national defense; (2) The participation of citizens in efforts to defend the country, as referred to in paragraph (1), is carried out through a) citizenship education; b) compulsory basic military training; c) service as soldiers of the Indonesian National Armed Forces voluntarily or on a mandatory basis; and d) dedication in accordance with the profession.

Referring to the description above, in this paper the authors will be focused on Prince Diponegoro's War Strategy, which implemented Total War Strategy through Guerilla Warfare tactic. The purpose and objectives of this article are analyzing the Prince Diponegoro's War Strategy as the form of People's Total War to be comprehended as the Indonesia's total war strategy in facing threats so the readers will gain knowledge and deep information regarding the implementation of total war strategy.

Method

The research methods used in this paper include research approaches and types of research. The research approach used is qualitative; as stated by Lexy J. Moleong, a qualitative approach is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from people and observable behavior. The qualitative approach is directed at the background of the individual holistically (whole). In this case, it is not permissible to isolate individuals or organizations into variables or hypotheses, but it is necessary to view them as part of a whole (Moleong, J., 2009). The type of research used is historical biographies, which can also be called historical interpretation. At this stage, the author uses the theory of "Big Man" and the theory of Sociology "Status and Roles". While historiography is the process of compiling historical facts and various sources that have been selected in the form of historical writing (Sulasman, 2014). Moreover, Abdurahman (2011) also stated that, the historical research method is a "process" test and analyze historical testimony in order to find authentic and reliable data trusted, as well as synthetic efforts on data That kind of thing becomes a historical story that can be trusted.

Reflecting on historical research methods that follow four steps that must be passed, namely: (1). Heuristics, which means the process of collecting data in research through activities finding, clarifying, and detailing data obtained from all data sources. (2). Verification is done by criticizing sources that aim to discover source authenticity and credibility (Syafiqoh, A, 2018). (3). Then the next step is interpretation, interpreting the related facts from the data that has been collected and tested for validity. It aims to chronologically a historical event to produce a historical construction that can be accounted for. (4). Historiography, this stage is writing history by exerting all the power of the mind with writing technical skills, use of quotes and notes collected to make writing that can be used as knowledge for the community to prove a historical writing then it is necessary to be able to decipher the data obtained by look at the historical facts that have been found.

In this case are the stories of the struggle of Prince Diponegoro, who was pro-people during the Diponegoro war in 1825-1830. Prince Diponegoro is one of the many Indonesian heroes who was able to fight and repel the invaders, especially during the colonial period (the Dutch East Indies government), with the strategies and techniques of Prince Diponegoro's guerrilla warfare.



Results And Discussion

For a long time, Diponegoro was furious with the behavior of the Dutch, who did not respect local customs and exploited the people by imposing taxes, especially when the Dutch placed stakes on Diponegoro's land in the village of Tegalrejo, which was the beginning and cause of the outbreak of the Diponegoro War. Diponegoro's attitude against the Dutch openly earned the sympathy and support of the people. On the advice of Prince Mangkubumi, his uncle, Diponegoro left Tegalrejo and made his headquarters in a cave called Goa Selarong. At that time, Diponegoro stated that his resistance was the Sabil war, a fight against the infidels. The spirit of the "Sabil war" that Diponegoro ignited had a wide influence in the Pacitan and Kedu areas. One of the religious leaders in Surakarta, Kyai Maja, joined Diponegoro's troops in Selarong Cave. Prince Diponegoro's struggle was supported by S.I.S.K.S. Pakubuwono VI and Raden Tumenggung Prawirodigdaya the Regent of Gagatan. The Dutch lost no less than 15,000 troops and 20 million guilders during this war. Various ways continue to be pursued by the Dutch to capture Diponegoro. Even contests are used. A prize of 50,000 guilders was given to anyone who could capture Diponegoro, until finally Diponegoro was arrested in 1830.

Open battles with the deployment of infantry, cavalry and artillery troops which since the Napoleonic wars have become the mainstay of the frontal battle on both sides were fierce. Front fighting took place in dozens of towns and villages across Java. The fight took place so fiercely that if the Dutch troops could control an area during the day, then at night the area had been reclaimed by the native troops; vice versa. Logistics lines were built from one area to another to support the needs of the war. Dozens of gunpowder refineries were built in forests and the bottom of ravines. The production of gunpowder and bullets continued as the war raged. The coders and couriers worked hard to find and convey the information needed to strategize the war. Information on enemy strength, mileage and time, terrain conditions, and rainfall made headlines; because the right tactics and strategies can only be built through mastery of information.

Major attacks by the indigenous people were always carried out in the rainy months; Senopaths are well aware of cooperating with nature as an invincible "weapon". When the rainy season arrives, the Dutch Governor will make efforts for a truce and negotiations because heavy tropical rains hinder the movement of their troops. Malaria, dysentery, and so on were "invisible enemies" that weakened their morale and physical condition and even claimed the lives of their troops. When a truce occurs, the Dutch will consolidate troops and deploy their spies and provocateurs on the move in villages and towns; inciting, dividing and even suppressing family members of the princes and leaders of the people's struggle who fought under the command of Prince Diponegoro. However, the indigenous fighters were unafraid and continued fighting against the Dutch.

At the top of the war, the Dutch mobilized more than 23,000 soldiers, something that had never happened then, where an area that was not too wide, like Central Java and parts of East Java, was guarded by tens of thousands of soldiers. From a military standpoint, this was the first war involving all methods known in a modern war. Both open warfare (open warfare) methods and guerrilla warfare (guerrilla warfare) methods are carried out through hit and run and ambush tactics. This is not a tribal war, but a modern war that uses various tactics that had never been practiced at that time. This war was also equipped with psychological warfare tactics (psychic war) through insinuation and pressure, and provocation by the Dutch against those who were directly involved in the battle; and spying activities in which both parties spy on each other and seek information about the strengths and weaknesses of their opponents.



In 1827, the Dutch attacked Diponegoro using a fort system so that Diponegoro's troops were squeezed. In 1829, Kyai Maja, the spiritual leader of the rebellion, was arrested. Then Prince Mangkubumi and his prominent commander Sentot Alibasya surrendered to the Dutch. Finally, on March 28, 1830, General De Kock succeeded in pinning Diponegoro's troops in Magelang. There, Prince Diponegoro stated that he would surrender on the condition that the rest of his Laskar members were released. So, Prince Diponegoro was arrested and exiled to Manado, then transferred to Makassar until his death in Fort Rotterdam on January 8, 1855.

As a tribute to Diponegoro's services in fighting colonialism. In several big cities in Indonesia, there is Diponegoro Street. The city of Semarang also appreciates so Prince Diponegoro's name will always live. The names of places that use his name include Diponegoro Stadium, Jalan Diponegoro, Diponegoro University, Kodam IV Diponegoro, as well as several statues made, the Diponegoro statue at Undip Pleburan, the Diponegoro statue at the Diponegoro Military Command IV and at the entrance to Undip Tembalang.

On the other hand, according to the history quoted by the author of a free article, "In May 1825 the Dutch East Indies government, which wanted to build a road from Yogyakarta to Magelang via Muntilan, changed its plans. The road construction route was diverted across Tegalrejo, which incidentally is the residence of Prince Diponegoro. Prince Diponegoro's anger towards the Dutch East Indies began when the colonial government staked or pegged his ancestral burial ground to be used as a road. Later, Prince Diponegoro replaced the ground stakes with spears" (Republika.co.id, 2016). The stipulation is troubling the community. Public unrest was also exacerbated by high taxes, disrespect for customs, and overexploitation from the Netherlands. Finally, a dispute ensued and expanded to become a war that lasted for five years (Dewi, 2021).

In his struggle against the Dutch East Indies colonial forces, Prince Diponegoro received full support from the people, the ulama, and the nobility. Apart from Prince Diponegoro, the figure who always inspires the spirit and courage of the fighters is Kiai Mojo, who always asserts, "The Diponegoro War or the Java War is a Jihad that must be carried out by all Muslims. The aim was to fight the suffering and misery caused by the arbitrariness and tyranny of the Dutch East Indies government" (Republika.co.id, 2016).

In addition, Nukman & Ayundasari (2021) described that in preparation for war alerts that could occur anytime and anywhere, Prince Diponegoro prepared very well and quickly. Adequate preparation by gathering the Javanese community, spreading its influence through people around Prince Diponegoro, especially from the Islamic community, both from the santri, kiai and ulama circles. From this Islamic community, the santri are primarily the vanguard in conveying their ideas, ideas and knowledge to be disseminated to the Javanese community in the Central Java region to East Java. The students spread widely to remote areas of the village to call for the spirit of Jihad fi Sabilillah.

Diponegoro's resistance received wide acceptance from various parties, from the rural people and the nobles, officials, scholars, and other leaders. Support for Prince Diponegoro can also be proven from the breadth of the map of the battle area. If you look at the battlefield, the battlefield spread widely, not only in the central area of Yogyakarta – Surakarta but also in Central Java and East Java, such as Kedu, Banyumas, Pekalongan, Semarang, Pati, Bojonegoro, Madiun, Kediri and the surrounding areas.

The war ended when Prince Diponegoro was tricked into the negotiating table in Magelang in May 1830 because the negotiations planned by the Dutch were only used as a trap to arrest him. Prince Diponegoro was arrested and exiled to Manado and then transferred to Makassar until his death on January 8, 1855 (Sarjo, 1990).



Responding to the Diponegoro War in fighting and expelling the Dutch East Indies colonial forces who would control the entire Yogyakarta region at that time, and the war that took so long and claimed many lives, both from the Indonesian people and the Dutch East Indies colonial troops, reflected that in the future the military forces The Army must better prepare and modernize its defense equipment in accordance with the current development of science and technology. This is in line with the statement by Doetoyo (2018), in the Bulletin entitled "Satiti Bakti Cakti Army Research and Development Service". In the Bulletin, he said: "The rapid development of science and technology has encouraged globalization and gave birth to a new world, namely a world that seems borderless. Along with the advancement of science and technology, new threats and challenges have never been imagined by humans before. If these challenges and threats are not fully addressed and responded to, it is suspected that they can threaten the implementation of national development and interfere with the achievement of national goals as mandated in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution. In the current perspective, the future threats will be more mixed or better known as "Hybrid Threats". In other words, the current growing threat is not only from the birth of new types of weapons due to the rapid development of military technology. Still, it has metamorphosed into a hybrid threat that can threaten not only the sovereignty of a country but also human existence itself.

Prince Diponegoro's War Strategy in the Perspective of the Total War

The National Defense doctrine explains that: the Total People's War is essentially "a total war for all Indonesian people by mobilizing all national strength and resources to uphold state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of the nation from other nations who threaten or occupy the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. The Total People's War is populist, total and territorial" (Doctrine of National Defense, 2007). Moreover, Ernes, Prakoso, L.Y., Risman, H (2022) stated that the design of the national defense strategy is also directed to the concept of the Total War or "Total Warfare" which involves all components of the nation based on inculcating the values of state defense awareness accompanied by the development of the army's strength The Indonesian National Armed Forces and its defense equipment are the main components of national defense.

The national defense and security system that is total is characterized by populist, total, and territorial. As an Effort to Improve Indonesia's National Resilience (2017) by Anton Suwito: 1) Populist, it means that the state defense and security system is dedicated by and for the benefit of all Indonesian people. 2) Total, it means that all national resources are used as national defense efforts. 3) Territoriality, it means that defense and security forces are carried out spread throughout the territory of Indonesia, according to the geographical conditions of Indonesia as an archipelagic country. In the book Citizenship Education (Basic Concepts of National and State Life in Indonesia) (2020) by Ismail and Sri Hartati, it is stated that the hallmark of a total defense and security system is the combination of active citizens, territories, and national resources, integrated, and managed sustainably (Putri, 2021).

Thus, Diponegoro applies various tactics and strategies which can be said to be in line with Total war thoughts; among others is this war involving all Javanese society, ranging from farmers, religious leaders, and his students, as well as the nobles and his soldiers. Involvement of not all Javanese people are involved directly in the war, they stay in their respective professions, such as farmers who continue to farm and religious leaders who also continue to spread the teachings of Islam in Javanese land. Java war is going on in a very wide area to control how the Diponegoro war divided battle area and assign commanders to lead fighting in their respective territories. In addition, Diponegoro realized that his troops' power and



armament are not comparable to mine Netherlands, so Guerrilla tactics were chosen and applied during the Java war. To add to the difficulty that faced by the Dutch, Diponegoro also asked the merchants and farmers to sell goods to parties Netherlands at a great price expensive, so the Dutch had to bring food from Surabaya (Carey, 2014)

Prabowo, J.S. (2009) added that, the view of total war that includes three elements, which are populist, universe, and territoriality that is manifested in the utilization of the entire territory of the country as a fighting space in developing countries defense strategy to achieve goals, can be related to the guerrilla warfare. In essence, the war tactics carried out by Prince Diponegoro were guerrilla warfare tactics by utilizing the natural conditions in the Yogyakarta area and its surroundings, which are mountainous, valley, and forested. This condition provided an advantage for Prince Diponegoro's troops, so it was appropriate to carry out a guerrilla war by troops led by Prince Diponegoro.

In this guerrilla war, Prince Diponegoro was supported by many scholars and other figures, especially the full support of the surrounding people who were already furious with the Dutch East Indies colonial forces who carried out extortion and oppression for the Indonesian people, especially the people in the Yogyakarta and surrounding areas. Guerrilla warfare, which is fully supported by the people of Yogyakarta and its surroundings, is a strategy for the Total War as stated by General AH. Nasution in his theory is the Total War Theory, which contains the basics of guerrilla.

Based on the book written by Nasution (1980) entitled "Pokok-Pokok Guerrilla" published in 1954, contains several guerrilla topics, including: The War of the Century is the Total People's War; The war effort is not only the effort of the armed forces, but has even become the total effort of the people in various sectors of their lives. The current war is no longer a war between soldiers and soldiers, and it is no longer just a military war. But now it is the people who are at war, the whole people. The war was turbulent in the universe, although the final decision was determined by the victory and defeat of the two-armed forces that faced each other. So, the science of war is not only a special science of war with strategy, tactics, and logistics, but also military politics, politics, psychology, and economics. The battlefield is no longer just a military one, it is also completely political and economic.

Guerrilla War is a war of the little / the weak against the big / the strong; Guerrilla warfare is not because we adhere to a guerrilla "ideology", but because we are required to, because we have not been able to organize a modern organized force, which is equal to the enemy. So, our guerrilla is only at the level of exhausting the enemy, not yet able to destroy it even if part by part. Guerrilla war cannot alone bring the final victory; guerrilla war is only to extort the enemy's blood. The final victory can only be with an army that is organized in an ordinary war because only such an army can carry out the offensive, and only the offensive can defeat the enemy. The defense cannot defeat the enemy, and only the offensive can. Defensiveness is simply temporarily preparing and waiting to go on the offensive at some point. Strategic guerrilla warfare is only defensive. Victory in war is possible only by offensive, offensive by an organized army, or by an equal army.

Guerrilla warfare is usually an ideological war. Guerrilla warfare is a total people's war; Guerrilla soldiers are not just soldiers who bear weapons but are bearers of ideology. The oppressed people, the colonized people, and the people persecuted by the occupation clenched their fists to get rid of the occupation, the oppressors, and the cruel people. The ideology and spirit of independence became a source of strength and ability to start a war against a strong and orderly enemy with all his armies. The guerrillas' actions should not only prioritize the battles but must also prioritize the psychological and socio-economic aspects of pro-pagan movements, non-cooperation politics, scorched earth politics, and so on.



Guerrilla warfare does not mean that all the people are fighting; The people are the joints for the guerrilla. Guerrilla war is a people's war, the guerrilla is born and grows on the people's struggles, the guerrilla struggles with the help, care and protection of the people as well. The guerrilla is the true warrior of the people.

Guerrilla warfare should not be arbitrary. The guerrillas must also be disciplined, they must also organize, they must also train, they must also learn combat tactics, they must also have plans and calculations. The guerrilla must be guerrilla against the enemy so that he remains confused and confused about the situation and the goals of the guerrilla, but must be organized and disciplined to the leader himself.

Guerrilla is based in the people. The people help, care for, and hide the guerrillas and investigate their needs; The guerrilla arsenal is the enemy's arsenal. Weapons and ammunition are essential and very difficult in a guerrilla war. As a child, he can understand how important it is to save energy and bullets.

The guerrilla tactics carried out by Prince Diponegoro in his efforts to fight the Dutch East Indies colonialism was a weak, not destructive strategy. In addition, in the guerrilla strategy, efforts are made to expand the scope of the attack. The goal is to expand the attack so that the opponent can spread his troops too, so that his strength is divided and it is easy to attack. The nature of non-cooperation and scorched earth were also used against the Dutch. The purpose of non-cooperation is refusing to cooperate with the enemy.

The people's role is very large in guerrilla warfare because the people are a source of logistics and assistance for the guerrilla forces. The people and the government of DIY are expected to support the struggle of the guerrilla forces and refuse to cooperate with the Dutch in any case. The scorched earth guerrilla strategy was to destroy vital objects that the Dutch could exploit. Important vital objects for the Dutch could be roads and airfields that could connect Dutch troops inside the city and outside the city as well as outside the Yogyakarta area, as well as other sources that had vital value for the Dutch troops.

From most of these guerrilla points and their advantages, it can be seen that the main purpose of the guerrilla war carried out by Prince Diponegoro in the past, and in the present and in the future, is primarily to defend the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. It is identical as contained in the Decree of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Number: KEP/1255/M/XII/2015. In the decision, it was emphasized "State Defense is essentially all defense efforts that are total in nature characterized by populist, total, and territorial. In the face of military threats, the state defense system places the TNI as the main component, supported by reserve and supporting components.

The great fighting spirit of Prince Diponegoro to fight and expel the Dutch colonial army was inseparable from the strong nationalist spirit and great religious spirit of Prince Diponegoro and his troops (the people of Yogyakarta and its surroundings), so that the struggle produced satisfactory results.

The great togetherness of national and religious principles from Prince Diponegoro with his people, and the Great General AH. Nasution and his troops, all of which are a relationship between civil and military in politics and the system of government. In accordance to the national defense, this total war might be related to be implemented in the future condition where the characteristics are very close interdependence between generations armed forces and productive forces of the nation, which requires planning large-scale government; and also extension of the siege war involving the nation as a whole in both offensive and defensive actions. This is also supported by Hartono & Prakoso (2021) that, the essence of the total war is a war that involves the people with their respective roles in the all regions according to their potential and changing patterns contemporary that developed as a



resistance force or because development of situations and conditions of resource capabilities that compel fight the way with universe war or total war.

For Indonesia, the implementation of national defense and security is not solely aimed at war, but also for realizing peace, ensuring the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, securing national interests and ensuring the implementation of national development. An effective state defense and security system is defense and security that is able to provide a safe and peaceful atmosphere in which people's lives run normally, and relations with other countries both in the region and outside the region take place in harmony and mutual respect.

Synthetizing the Core of Prince Diponegoro's War Strategy as the form of People's Total Warfare in Indonesia

Human resources, especially Indonesian citizens, is a crucial element as stated in Law Number 23 of 2019 concerning the Management of National Resources (PSDN) for National Defense. The considerations include "that every citizen has the right and is obliged to participate in the defense and security of the State as mandated in the 1945 Constitution." Furthermore, "The national defense system is total in nature which involves all national resources which are prepared early by the Government and carried out in a total, integrated, directed, and sustainable manner to uphold state sovereignty, maintain territorial integrity, and the safety of the entire nation from all forms of threats".

The human resources in the form of the reserve component of Indonesian citizens who are involved in national defense and security efforts (the PSDN Law); another component is the natural resources owned by Indonesia, which are so many and varied, including forest resources. The existence of forests in Indonesia is very supportive in war, as was the case in the war of Prince Diponegoro, who used the forest full of valleys in carrying out his guerrilla war against and expelling the Dutch colonial occupation. Forests according to Kartasubrata, explained that "forests, land, and water as natural resources can provide the maximum direct benefit to the community, so that the welfare of the people living around the forest can be further improved without neglecting the sustainability of the forest itself. Therefore, activities are needed to develop communities around the forest by involving them in various forestry activities (Kartasubrata, 1986).

In this case, defending the State is not only seen as a state duty, but also as an honor and trust given by the State to every citizen who should be proud and carried out with full awareness, responsibility, full of spirit, willing to sacrifice for the sake of service to the motherland. nation and state. The readiness of the Indonesian people to support the national defense strategy can be realized through Prince Diponegoro's exemplary legacy to the Indonesian people related to nationalism and his struggle against colonialism, including:

1. Love the homeland. Dutch colonialism gave birth to many people's sufferings such as monopoly on natural resources, forced labor, increased taxes, violence, and immoral acts aimed at the people. In addition to acting arbitrarily towards the people, the Dutch also behaved cunningly and did not respect the kingdoms in Java. According to Vira Maulisa Dewi in the journal Prince Diponegoro in the Java War of 1825-1830 (2020), the increasingly oppressed people and the increasingly lost honor of Javanese traditions strengthened Prince Dipenegoro's decision to reclaim the island of Java which was his homeland.
2. Spirit of Leadership. Prince Diponegoro is known as a leader who can be used as an example. If his leadership is seen when he inherited Tegalrejo after the death of



Ratu Agung (the wife of Sultan Hamengku Buwana I who raised him). According to Ajat Sudrajat in the journal *Diponegoro War: Between the Mahdism Movement and Islamic Mysticism* (1998), at that time Prince Diponegoro succeeded in proving himself as a capable land and plantation owner, clever in managing finances and being open and considerate to those who rented it. or till the land. During his struggle against colonialism, Prince Diponegoro had many prisoners of war. However, Prince Dipenogoro always treated the prisoners of war well and forgave them. So, not infrequently the prisoners of war turned side to Prince Diponegoro. His leadership spirit made Prince Diponegoro highly respected and loved by his people, and deserves to be imitated by today's leaders.

3. Be brave. Prince Diponegoro was a friendly figure, he even forgave many prisoners of war. However, he is also a brave hero. Besides daring to fight the Dutch, Prince Diponegoro also dared to defend the truth. In some texts, it is even stated that Prince Diponegoro did not hesitate to physically fight with people who defended the Netherlands, violated the truth, acted greedy and deceitful, and interfered with the common people's interests.
4. Honest. Prince Diponegoro is known as an honest figure. As a teenager, he often helped his father to choose honest court officials. He can also manage his area honestly without taking property that is not his right. Prince Diponegoro is also known to hate officials who are corrupt, deceitful, and hedonistic.
5. Diligent in learning and obedient to the religion he adheres to. Prince Dipenogoro is the son of the King of Yogyakarta Kasunanan who since childhood received a good Islamic education. Unlike other princes, since childhood, Pangen Diponegoro was a santri who was close to the ulama. According to Peter Carey in *The Power of Prophecy* (1984), Prince Diponegoro is known as a serious and diligent student. Since childhood, Prince Dipenogoro was very diligent and obedient to Islam. He is known as a pious and well-behaved Muslim. Hero Diponegoro's struggle to expel the Dutch was also inseparable from the influence of the Dutch which damaged the moral order and gave birth to behavior that was not in accordance with Islam.
6. Willing to sacrifice. Prince Diponegoro's behavior that can be imitated is also his self-sacrificing attitude and more concerned with the public interest. His struggle against colonialism was not at all easy. However, Prince Dipenogoro was willing to sacrifice himself directly in the war to expel the Dutch.

Based on the description above, war by Prince Diponegoro is a real form of total war carried out with his troops who supported the entire Javanese community. The universe war defined as total war throughout the people by exerting all their strength and existing resources are reflected in war in Java. The nature of the total involving all Javanese people in accordance with roles, abilities, professions and expertise have been proven by the people of Java. Characteristics of the universe manifested in the exertion of strength and resources in Java are mobilized for the sake of the war that lasted long enough. Territoriality in war The universe was also practiced in war by Prince Diponegoro. The war that is happening all over Prince Diponegoro's territory simultaneously move to expel the Dutch. The intensity of the war that experienced by the Netherlands is proof that total war involving the people, territories and resources owned by take advantage of natural conditions through tactics Guerrilla warfare is a war strategy that powerful enough in the face of the invaders for Indonesian nation.



The Indonesian War conducted by Prince Diponegoro is essentially a picture of the People's total War, which is carried out by taking up arms and engaged in political, social, economic, and cultural fields. The Total War Strategy has applied by fighters both in armed struggle, which Total War values characterized by: populist, territorial, the total, has been embedded in every breath of struggle. Whole participation community in accordance with their respective roles, and empowering all resources maximum national power to be further combined with military power, become a form of "totality" that is powerful in dealing with various forms of threats. From the history of the Indonesian War by Prince Diponegoro which gave birth to concept of the Total War, has demonstrated and proven that the involvement of all components of the nation, both military and civilian (non-military) have an important role in accordance with their respective fields. The unilateral claim that the military or political approach is more important often results in endless debates that can cloud civil and military relations. This situation actually weakens the nature of Total War itself.

Conclusion

Prince Diponegoro's war strategy was the form of Total War Strategy by applying the tactic of guerrilla warfare in the past. Diponegoro in fact apply various tactics and strategies which can be said to be in line with Total war thoughts, among others is this war involving all Javanese society, ranging from farmers, religious leaders and his students, as well as the nobles and his soldiers. Involvement of not all Javanese people are involved directly in the war, but stay on their respective professions, such as farmers who continue to farm and religious leaders who also continue to spread the teachings of Islam in Javanese land. Java war is going on in a very wide area, so that to control the way the Diponegoro war divided battle area and assign commanders to lead fighting in their respective territories. In addition, Diponegoro realized that his troops' power and armament are not comparable to mine Netherlands, so Guerrilla tactics were chosen and applied during the Java war. To add to the difficulty faced by the Dutch, Diponegoro also asked the merchants and farmers to sell goods to parties Netherlands at a great expensive price.

It can be concluded that, the Indonesian War conducted by Prince Diponegoro is essentially a picture of the People's total War which are not only carried out by taking up arms, but also engaged in political, social, economic, and cultural fields. The Total War Strategy has applied by fighters both in armed struggle, which Total War values characterized by: populist, territorial, the total, has been embedded in every breath of struggle. Whole participation community in accordance with their respective roles, and empowering all resources maximum national power to be further combined with military power, become a form of "totality" that is powerful in dealing with various forms of threats. From the history of the Indonesian War by Prince Diponegoro which gave birth to concept of the Total War, has demonstrated and proven that the involvement of all components of the nation, both military and civilian (non-military) have an important role in accordance with their respective fields. For Indonesia itself, the strategy of total war has also developed along with the understanding known in the world, to be able to face next generation of war. Totality by involving various levels of society, even not related to the field defense/military, are the essential key to be implemented in the people's total war in Indonesia.

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STATE DEFENDING AND NEO-COLONIALISM

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Abstract

The development of an increasingly modern human mindset cannot eliminate the nature of domination that tends to be put forward. The provisions made are always followed by loopholes that become a way to satisfy the desire for domination. Neo-colonialism is a picture of human love for colonialism and a reminder that colonialism still exists and covered in other motivations at first. These are the reasons for this research. Totality is a comprehensive concept of togetherness to face the threat of neo-colonialism. The nature of totality becomes stronger if it is done with sincerity based on an understanding of love to the nation. Defense the country with efforts of Bela Negara (state defending), illustrate that "nation's soul" strengthening is the main element, which aims to detect and be able to overcome the threat of new colonialism. Research purpose was to analyze the efforts of state defending to face neo-colonialism, using descriptive analytic methods. The conclusion is that neo-colonialism entered in disguise and the implementation of state defending was a powerful way to counteract it. State defending must be introduced early on, through family and the surrounding environment sustainably. Including the development of state defending organization, is needed to expand coordination, interaction and monitoring.

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Introduction

The constitution of a country describes the desires and goals of the country based on historical experience. The long history of the Indonesian nation cannot be separated from the colonialism that the Indonesian people have experienced. The Dutch and Japanese colonialism gave deep scratches, although one day it might not leave a mark on the surface, but the wounds caused have fused with the spirit of unity and integrity that will continue to exist in the bloodstream of every child of the nation. In the 1st paragraph of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution (UUD 1945), it is written, "...then colonialism in the world must be abolished..." (MPR, 2000), which very clearly shows that Indonesia is anti-colonial and will continue to play a role in efforts to eradicate it from the face of the earth. After the 2nd World War ended, colonialization and imperialization patterns were increasingly lost due to strong calls by many countries and world peace agencies. Control over other countries in the form of colonialism and imperialism is currently becoming unpopular. Countries that still want to do it will feel "embarrassed" because the world will oppose it. The United Nations (UN) and many countries will immediately react if there are still such forms of colonialism on this earth.

The development of the strategic environment is fast and modern, along with very rapid technological advances. Advances in weapons, transportation, computer technology, and other fields are increasingly leading to a globalized world. Distance and time don't seem to be a





significant obstacle anymore. What happens in a place can be known right away in a very faraway place. The progress that has occurred covers all fields, including patterns or forms of colonialism as well as camouflage in the life of the nation and state of a country. The natural potential, geographical location, and population of Indonesia have been known by the world since time immemorial, even today Indonesia remains a "target" because of its potential. Bilateral and multilateral relations that are forged can be a medium for the camouflage of colonialization and imperialization. Friendship with countries in the region and globally within the scope of the United Nations, as well as cooperation in various fields, trade relations are a necessity, even though they can potentially be the entry point for neo-colonialism.

These phenomena are happening in today's world, where globalization has brought technological advances as well as relations between countries. Developed countries are increasingly developing their influence by increasing trade relations, politics, and other cooperation. New and developing countries borrow funds/budgets with the consequences of high loan interest and other consequences that can lead to pressure or control in the fields of politics, trade, assets, and so on. This is unavoidable because the relationship requires each other. Strong countries are expected to be able to hold back because they will tend to put pressure on agreements that have been made to strengthen themselves or their alliances. Countries that are in a position of pressure must be more independent, vigilant, and have a stand and principles towards their sovereignty. Because the problem faced is how to restrain oneself and strengthen oneself so that with such understanding, relations between countries can continue to occur in a corridor of mutual respect and prevent new colonialism.

Relations or interactions with other countries are carried out continuously for the survival of human cultural life by prioritizing vigilance. Vigilance is an attitude that is needed to develop a defense in supporting the realization of stable security. As a country, of course, Indonesia already has a basic defense capital that continues to grow. Defense is something that originally existed and was attached to every human being that was given by God from birth (Sirait et al., 2022). In such a way, the defense will continue to develop in line with the growth of individual humans. Defense can also mean defending oneself from threats or potential threats, and at certain times it can function as a system to attack so that the enemy's attacking power becomes weak. When the enemy's attack weakens, we can consolidate to upgrade or renew our defense. When it was independent, the Indonesian state already had a defense formed from noble values that had been actualized since the days of the Sriwijaya kingdom (Kemhan RI, 2014). Then when independence in 1945, these noble values emerged in the form of the nation's initial defense to start life as a country and will continue to grow. The concept of state defense that the Ministry of Defense has made is one of the embodiments of the national defense strategy in "self-defense". How to defend the state can be understood as the core of the national defense strategy and how neo-colonialism can be countered by the total people's defense and security system (Sishankamrata). These questions are the outline of writing this article

Method

The research method used is the descriptive-analytic method to explain and analyze the problems of neo-colonialism and the level of understanding of Bela Negara (state defending) by using literature studies to obtain data, sources, and evidence that support the research. The secondary data was obtained through reference books, research journals, online news, and official online sites, which were used to support the analysis. The selected references or literature are books, journals, and research that is relevant and related to research on neo-



colonialism and state defense. The data that has been collected is then analyzed and categorized in order to make it easier for the author to draw conclusions to answer research questions.

Results And Discussion

After Indonesia's independence in 1945, colonialism gradually began to be abandoned, many areas in Asia and Africa gained independence. The pressure from developed countries and the newly formed UN world peace agency was part of the effort to abolish colonialism. Also, Indonesia, in its constitution, explicitly mandates that it will help to abolish colonialism. Humans have the nature and desire to be dominant over other humans, which is the source of colonialism if not controlled. Colonialism as usual (classic), like the period before the 20th century, is increasingly disappearing, but the character of human domination is "exploring", looking for gaps to be satisfied. Instinctively, humans will try to highlight their character, but also remain consistent with the agreed concessions, namely the abolition of colonialism. So then, the solution is to emerge a new term of colonialism, which is considered and defined as not colonialism. Why is that? Because there is no violence and no extreme coercion that makes a country scream.

The Threat of Neo-colonialism

Neo-colonialism or new colonialism is a term we often hear when a country or region is controlled without violence or war. Because, in general, no country wants to be a colony of another country, all countries want to be independent and manage their own country. Many countries today rely on their cooperation with certain countries on seemingly reasonable terms. Like Chinese investment in Indonesia and other countries, some consider it neo-colonialism. An agreement should not result in a conflict/dispute because there is a mechanism to deal with it. According to M. Tri Andika, in an article entitled "Analisis Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia-China di Era Presiden Joko Widodo: Benturan Kepentingan Ekonomi dan Kedaulatan?", which becomes a question that can lead to a conflict of interest. In conclusion, it is said that there will be no conflict of interest related to sovereignty in the North Natuna Sea (Andika & Aisyah, 2017). This is important because related to a business agreement or the provision of assistance, and there is one solution in the event of a dispute, namely control over assets as a result of a default. On the other hand, it can be an unwritten bargaining power to control the "other," which is not directly related to the object of the agreement. The question of the conflict of interest is due to the possibility of sacrificing sovereignty for the sake of the continuation of an agreement. If this happens, it can be said that there has been a debt trap in which we could have allowed China to interfere with our sovereignty in the North Natuna Sea, so that it is not aggravated or complicated regarding loans or investments that have been and will be given. This is an indicator of the beginning of neo-colonialism. Even if someone/group/state helps someone with the expectation of an unreasonable reward, people will see it as a sign of a new model of colonialism.

Liberal, capitalist, communist ideas, and so on can also be an entry point for neo-colonialism or vice versa, starting with controlling a new country or nation, then these ideas enter. In other conditions, these ideas are a form of neo-colonialism for countries with different understandings. Regarding capitalist understanding, according to Marut (2015), the pattern of capitalism in developed countries and multilateral financial institutions towards Southeast Asia is neo-colonialization, but with the term economic globalization (Marut, 2015). It's just like changing clothes; the capitalist pattern continues with that new clothes. And until now, economic globalization is still happening. Is ASEAN currently being "colonized"? It becomes an



important question because, according to Marut later, that is understood by ASEAN countries. However, economic globalization or the free market system is still being followed, where big countries also carry out market monopolies. Neo-colonialism was so great that the consequences/risks of huge debts were also taken. But the determination and enthusiasm to get out of neo-colonialization continue to thrive in regional nationalism, hoping that one day it can compete in economic globalization. If the regional economy, as well as Indonesia's, is getting better and stronger, it will be able to compete in the free market, which means the capitalist pattern disappears, and neo-colonialism can also disappear.

Dewi & Nurani (2019) also express a similar view that neo-colonialism is a cloak of colonialism to carry out economic domination with the capitalist system through the door of globalization. And exploitatively, it has entered Indonesia and caused turmoil in the political, economic, social, cultural, scientific, and technological fields (Dewi & Nurani, 2019). In the discussion, it is described that the problems that occur are caused by neo-colonialism and must be overcome with nationalism. Neo-colonialism becomes a "scapegoat" is fine because the most important thing is how to overcome it and rise together with the efforts of the state defending as the home of nationalism.

Furthermore, the invasion of one country to another can also end in colonialism if it succeeds, but if it fails, then colonialism does not materialize. The location of the neocolonial process is the reason for the invasion because the reason for colonialism is to expand territory in other countries (Ningsih, 2021). Like the US invasion of Afghanistan with the excuse of looking for Osama bin Laden. This reason can be true; it can also be a hoax. After the wanted one was killed, the United States remained in Afghanistan, controlling the government and fighting the militia forces. For 20 years, the United States invaded but did not continue to colonize because of the peace in August 2021, which was the victory of the Taliban (Machmudi et al., 2021). As is the case today, Russia invaded Ukraine, which was carried out by force, but President Putin said that Russia did not want to occupy Ukraine (Sorongan, 2022). This statement describes an act of violence that is very likely to end with colonialism, but by making a statement not to occupy (in other words, to colonize). So that a new view emerges, where it seems as if an invasion can be carried out on the grounds of not wanting to colonize, although this is not the main purpose, but implies a new colonialism pattern.

State Defending as the Foundation of National Defense

The national defense strategy following Law No. 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense is to use a total defense system by involving all citizens, territories, and other national resources (Indonesia, 2002). This system is called Sishankamrata, with the efforts of state defending being the foundation (Kemhan RI, 2021). The government has formulated efforts to defend the state in a state defense awareness program (PKBN). The Ministry of Defense as the organizer of the State defending business, has established the concept of State defending comprehensively so that all levels of society can implement it. There are five basic values of defending the state that needs to be closely monitored for implementation, namely love for the homeland, awareness of the nation and state, being loyal to Pancasila as the state ideology, being willing to sacrifice for the nation and state, having the initial ability to defend the country (Kemhan RI, 2019).

According to Soepandji and Farid (2018), State defending education is included in the national education system, starting from the level of education of Junior High School and Senior High School to Higher Education (Soepandji & Farid, 2018). In reality, it has been implemented, even since elementary school, but under the name of the subject of PPKN (Pendidikan Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan). In their conclusion, Soepandji and Farid quote what Castells said about



the purpose of constructing meaning or theme construction in people's minds as the essence of a power struggle. Manuel Castells (2010), with his theory of identity, especially the third form of Legitimizing identity, says that the construction of meaning or theme is built by the dominant party to expand their dominance (Castells, 2010). In response to this, changing the name of the subject with a name containing the word "State defending" is something that needs to be done. The introduction of the term "State defending" from an early age will build a sense of familiarity with the term and become easily accepted.

Umra (2019), in his article entitled "Application of the concept of State defending, Nationalism or Militarization of Citizens", said the same thing as Soepandji and Farid, that State defending was included in the formal education curriculum, tiered starting from elementary school. Then Umra said that state defending is not only training and preparing citizens militarily, in this case, as a reserve component. But it should be interpreted broadly to deal with very sophisticated modern wars. In conclusion, it is said that the emphasis on State defending should be non-physical to form character, and it is also the responsibility of the ministry of education (Umra, 2019). The article describes the same understanding with the government. In principle, society is not against State defending, but different societal understandings are feedback/corrections for the government to improve. In terms of participation, the government demands not only the Ministry of Education but also all ministries to participate in the efforts of State defending as a non-military defense reinforcement in the face of threats that have abstract dimensions.

In an article written by Gredinand (2017), which cites the theory of planned behavior or planned behavior from Ajzen (2002), says that there are three main elements that form the desire to want to do state defending. These three things are behavioral beliefs, normative beliefs, and control beliefs. It is also said, in the implementation of the state defending education, it must be able to influence the three elements. Thus the combination of the three will determine the level of willingness or intention of a person to do state defending (Gredinand, 2017). In the article, it is stated that the strength of a person's desire/will is influenced by example (behavioral beliefs), norms (normative beliefs), and environment (control beliefs). In the event that a figure/role model/official does something positive or exemplary, it will be able to bring up attitudes in the people who show an intention to behave as exemplified. The second is the norms or rules that are made as a basis in the hope of influencing and being followed by the community. The third is where beliefs are followed because the environment/the majority have already done so. In terms of norms/stipulations, the government has made, including a module for the state defending education, which will, of course, be implemented. What becomes very important is how to create public confidence that the state defending is needed. The example of the government and state defense administrators needs to be sharpened, according to the first element of the theory of planned behavior. It is hoped that by example and implementing the provisions/norms, a good and appropriate program of the state defending will be a behavioral control. The more positive factors that are included in a behavior program, the stronger the dominance in the positive direction, which makes the desired behavior will be carried out (Ajzen, 2002). So that every citizen will participate in state defending because it turns out to be not as difficult and "spooky" as imagined, and indeed that is what happens in the environment/society.

Furthermore, Arliman (2018) said that children as the nation's next generation are valuable assets that must be protected so that they will become cadres of State defending in the future. In conclusion, it is stated that a sustainable form of child protection will create the next generation of the nation's defenders of the Republic of Indonesia with Pancasila values (Arliman, 2018). Agree with several studies on state defending, which say that state defending must be



introduced from an early age. The ten points of “sustainable” implementation by Arliman must be followed up on how to do it.

According to Soedarsono (2004), character is an intrinsic value that underlies human attitudes, behavior and thinking, which is a combination of external and internal values. External values are obtained from education, experience, skills, and the environment, while internal values, namely talent, intelligence, and temperament, are genetic traits obtained from offspring. The value obtained from genetic traits is an important part to do because it is something that is difficult to change (Soedarsono, 2004). These internal values are manifested by how to do it, starting from the family from infancy and carried out continuously. Many parents "do not have time" to teach and model how to say hello when they meet and say goodbye when they leave. How to try at least once a day to eat together at home, as a picture of togetherness and intimacy. Giving advice so that when walking, you must always be on the side and look left and right when crossing the road. Then get used to praying when going to bed and waking up and before doing activities, wash your hands before eating. Appreciate what is served to eat by finishing the food on his plate, cleaning the dinner table, and helping parents with household chores. Then reprimand if the child makes a mistake proportionally, giving rewards when doing good things or achieving. Many small/trivial things are sometimes forgotten, even though by teaching/setting an example, it means that we have taught children to have the character of state defending.

State Defending "Versus" Neo-colonialism

Neo-colonialism is one of the threats or potential threats that have abstract dimensions and are difficult to anticipate using the usual way/strategy. The abstract nature of threats/potential threats makes colonialism continue to have the potential to occur anywhere and anytime. The government has a much tougher task than it imagined when drafting a constitution. Then a more comprehensive analysis is needed to be able to detect the new colonialism. In the field of intelligence, sharper surveillance, decisive action against violations, and most importantly, fortifying oneself are steps that must be taken. The current era of globalization allows for the entry of the influence of ideologies other than Pancasila and neo-colonialism. Relations with the international community cannot be avoided, so any negative influence from other countries, whether intentional or not, will affect. Like our bodies, we cannot avoid interacting with the surrounding environment, where the potential for disease attacks is very much. The best and most important way is to strengthen the body's immunity to fight viruses or bacteria that enter the body (Padoli, 2016). That is how we respond to neo-colonialism by increasing our defense and security capabilities even more actively.

The government has also made efforts so that all people can understand and have the character of state defending, carried out directly or indirectly. Through the inculcation of the values of state defending externally and internally. Formation of reserve components, seminars about state defending, and other awareness-building activities of state defending. Another application in the implementation of state defending is the establishment of the National Defense University and the admission of vocation, bachelor, master and doctoral degree students in order to participate in educating the younger generation in terms of defense, especially civilians. This acceptance, which covers the entire territory of the Republic of Indonesia, will create defense cadres who will spread throughout the archipelago to explain, assist and give examples of how the defense is carried out, how to defend the country, and so on. Then as a "mentor" in the field of defense, the Ministry of Defense continues to increase interaction and coordination with other government institutions as the main element of the non-



military defense. The interaction and coordination carried out are expected to provide input, motivation, and enthusiasm to ministries and institutions to be able to manage and create, implement the concept of non-military defense, which is its main task as the main element of the non-military defense. The government believes that a total defense strategy based on noble values that have been actualized in life since the days of the Sriwijaya Kingdom (Kemhan RI, 2014) can maintain the standing of the Republic of Indonesia. Therefore, efforts to implement state defending and monitor its implementation in the field continue to be evaluated and sharpened to increase understanding of state defending.

The theory of Ajzen (2002) and Soedarsono (2004), have the same understanding regarding behavior and character. Where Ajzen's behavioral beliefs, namely beliefs that come from within, are based on attitudes that are carried out to direct themselves to do the desired behavior. While normative and control beliefs are beliefs that come from outside the self that is used to carry out the desired behavior. According to Soedarsono, the values that exist within (internally), namely talent, intelligence, and temperament, are genetic traits obtained from offspring that are difficult to change. Meanwhile, regulations, education, experience, training, and those from the environment come from outside (external) to form character and are easily changed. The synthesis of the two theories is that something that is seen, felt, and experienced can evoke or arouse a person's genetic traits to manifest an attitude that leads to the desired behavior. In other words, Soedarsono's internal values "process" what is seen, felt, and experienced into an attitude that leads to the desired behavior in accordance with Ajzen's behavioral beliefs. Behavior that is obtained from this way is said behavior because of awareness or sincerity. Then, if it is done continuously, it will stick in itself and become a genetic trait.

The behavior that is expected from the efforts made by the government and the family must be combined into a homogeneous mixture, such as sugar dissolves in water. This means that the efforts of the government and families in teaching and modeling from an early age are carried out in earnest in order to create the character of state defending. What might happen if state defending has become a national character are:

- a. Reduced the nature of fighting, including the spread of hoaxes and bad news.
- b. Not easily provoked by emotions and resolved problems by deliberation or submitting to the rule of law.
- c. No corruption, collusion, nepotism, and money politics (bribes)
- d. Mutual respect and honor
- e. The level of vigilance is getting higher
- f. The dominance or the rule of law is getting stronger.
- g. Maintain personal and environmental health
- h. And other things

Neo-colonialism entered in disguise towards the weak parts of the government. The next thing that will cause destruction is the splitting of the cleavage. With increasing unity and integrity, it is hoped that threats/potential threats with abstract dimensions will be overcome, including neo-colonialism.

Conclusion

Neo-colonialism or new colonialism is one of the abstract threats/potential threats, which is very difficult to identify. Even the way of violence that is used as a justification for certain reasons, such as not to colonize/occupy, can become a new pattern of neo-colonialism. To



strengthen national defense, the government must continue to improve military and non-military defense capabilities. State defending, as the foundation of national defense, is a powerful way to counter neo-colonialism. State defending is a self-defense force, just like the human immune system, where all kinds of threats can be handled with a strong defense. Furthermore, the role of the government in introducing state defending through the five basic values of state defending continues to be carried out and monitored so that the public will understand the importance of state defending. The introduction of State defending, which is carried out from an early age in the family environment continuously and familiarizes the term of state defending, will be a value that is difficult to change. Furthermore, a strong defense fortress is an effort of State defending that is carried out with sincerity, not coercion, but also serves to ward off other real or abstract threats/potential threats.

Given the importance of State defending, it is necessary to develop an organization in charge of state defending so that it can be carried out more quickly, precisely, directed, and successfully. With the increase in personnel of State defending at the Ministry of Defense, it may even be able to stand alone as an agency, it will expand its authority, and it is hoped that it will facilitate interaction and coordination with other ministries and institutions.

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Lantamal XII Pontianak Strategy in Empowering Maritime Potential in the Region to Strengthen the Total People's Defense System

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LANTAMAL XII PONTIANAK STRATEGY IN EMPOWERING MARITIME POTENTIAL IN THE REGION TO STRENGTHEN THE TOTAL PEOPLE'S DEFENSE SYSTEM

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Abstract

In the regional dimension, West Kalimantan is divided into three dimensions of the territory, namely coastal and island areas, inland areas and border areas between countries. It has a long coastline to the north bordering Malaysia. Based on its geographical location, one-third of West Kalimantan is along the coast and islands facing The Indonesian Archipelago Sea Lane (ALKI I). In accordance with the policy of the President of the Republic of Indonesia regarding the transfer of the New National Capital (IKN) to Kutai Kertanegara Regency precisely in Penajam Pasir Utara. This will have implications for the change of the Indonesian Center of Gravity (CoG) which is also moving from Jakarta to the new IKN. With such conditions in the geographical constellation of national resources, the West Kalimantan region has the potential for security disturbances that can occur in and or by sea. The Main Base of the Indonesian Navy XII Pontianak as one of the defense instruments, has the task to secure and maintain all forms of threats that arise. For this reason, by looking at the current situation of strategic environmental development, the right strategy is needed by empowering all maritime potential in the West Kalimantan region as a national resource to project power from sea to land in order to strengthen the Total People's Defense System (Sishanrata).

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Introduction

For the Nation and State of the Republic of Indonesia, international recognition as an island nation for the first time has a significant meaning since its establishment in the 1982 UN convention on the law of the sea in 1982 Montego Bay, Jamaica, through UNCLOS (United Nations Convention On The Law of the Sea) 1982. This is because the Convention regulates comprehensively and covers almost all sea-related activities.

The new sea law regimes include the island nation, the sea width limit of 12 nautical miles, the Exclusive Economic Zone as far as 200 nautical miles, exploration/mining on the bottom of the deepest ocean, and so on (Diskum TNI-AL, 1995). This means that UNLOS 1982 legally protects all national resources for the benefit of all Indonesian people.

Indonesian Law No. 34 of 2004 Article 9 explains that the Navy, part of the TNI, carries out five main tasks at the last point: Control of Marine Defense Areas (Dawilhanla) (Sekneg, 2004). Based on this task, the concept of the State defense system that initially emphasized efforts to maintain territorial stability shifted to efforts to empower the region. The next one is known as the concept of empowering defense areas. The need to organize defense and security activities in that perspective, as it is known, gave rise to the idea of defense of the



Total People's Defense System. 2018 Navy Chief of Staff (Kasal) Regulation on Doctrine of Control of Marine Defense Areas (Mabes TNI AL, 2018) explains the sea as a strategic medium for the Indonesian nation to show its existence as a maritime nation vehicle for the future. The identity of the Indonesian government contains a comprehensive meaning. Dawilhanla is an effort to shape every marine potential directed as a defense and security forces of the country in the form of Maritime Potential Development (Binpotmar) and the operation of the empowerment of the defense area and its supporting forces. That means that Dawilhanla includes the empowerment of maritime potential in all areas of NKRI, both land, sea and air, and all maritime potentials in it. Based on the Decree of Kasal Number Kep / 1737 / VIII / 2016 dated August 31, 2016, concerning the Principles of Organization and Procedures of Lantamal XII, this article aims to explore and analyze the task of Lantamal XII as the Supporting Implementation Command (Kolakduk) Fleet Command I (Lantamal XII, 2016) is as follows:

- a. Organizing logistical and administrative support for elements of the Navy and other TNI Main Command.
- b. Organizing the development of maritime potential into the country's security defense force at sea.
- c. Organizing limited sea security patrols in the framework of enforcing sovereignty and law at sea in the working area of Lantamal XII.
- d. Carry out other tasks at Kasal's discretion.

Method

The research method used in writing this article is the study of literature with a descriptive qualitative approach. Literature study is to deepen the data based on theoretical studies and other references related to values, cultures, and norms that develop in the social situation studied (Sugiyono, 2013). This type of qualitative descriptive research is a research method that utilizes qualitative data and is described descriptively. The data collection technique used is the study of literature, which is collecting literature related to this research, then analyzing and In conclusion, namely providing an overview through existing data and facts about maritime threats in Indonesia. The type of data used is secondary data obtained from the results of library studies and interpretations of materials contained in books, documents, site access, and freelance articles. The data analysis used is qualitative; the data is related to the problem being studied.

Theory

Sea Power

It is explained that in building a significant sea power in a country, it must have six main essential elements, including 1) geographical position); 2) create the face of the earth (physical conformation); 3) area and length of territory(extent of territory); 4) character of the people; 5) several inhabitants, and 6) the character of government (character of government). A.T. Mahan concluded that sea power is a crucial element in building and towards the glory of a country, predominantly maritime countries such as the Republic of Indonesia.

In His Some Principles of Maritime Strategy (Corbett, 1911), Sir Julian Stafford Corbet was the originator of the birth of the British Maritime Doctrine (British Maritime Doctrine), putting forward scientific theory rather than practice. At that time, Corbett argued that his Navy needed a framework of reference or guidebook in the form of Maritime Doctrine as an

effort to defend his country. According to Geoffrey Till (Geoffrey, 2018), Sea Power is a set of operational strategies for sea control through naval superiority. The power of the sea can be grouped into two parts, namely the sources of power (source) and the elements of strength (component). Geographically, the relationship between the source and the element of power determines the naval power of a country is; Geography, resources, maritime communities and style of government, the elements of strength include fleets of civilian ships, bases/ports and combat instruments.

Sir Walter Raleigh (1554–1618) Alfred T. Mahan (1840–1914) argued about his theory of maritime power. According to Raleigh, "who rules the sea will dominate world trade and eventually rule the world". While according to Mahan "the sea of life, there are many natural resources in the sea. Therefore, it must build a strong navy to guard." This means that by mastering the ocean, a strong Navy is needed. Rear Admiral Henry E. Eccles of the US Naval War College formulated several theories, among others, regarding sea control. Eccles distinguishes control as follows:

- a. Absolute Control is the mastery of the sea (Command of the sea),
- b. Working Control
- c. Control in Dispute.

In the theory introduced by Ken Booth in his book *Navies and Foreign Policies* explains that, the universal role of the Navy anywhere in the world contains the meaning of trinity in the sense that three roles are interrelated and inherent between each other, namely the role of the military, the role of police and the role of diplomacy.

From some of the sea power theories presented above, it can be concluded that the dominant aspects of maritime power are the Location and condition of Geography, Demographics, National Resources, and Government. At the same time, the Navy itself plays a vital role as a control function to control maritime power in an island-based country.

Results And Discussion

The Geographical Context

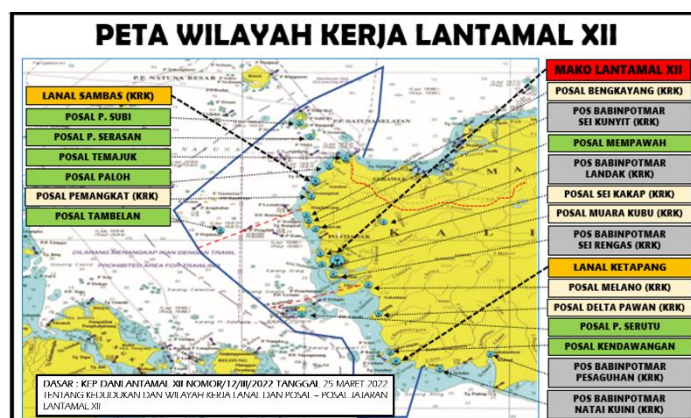


Figure 1. Map of Lantamal XII Working Area

Province of West Kalimantan (Pemprov, 2021) is geographically located at the position of $2^{\circ} 08' \text{ LU} - 3^{\circ} 05' \text{ LS}$ and $108^{\circ} 30' - 114^{\circ} 10' \text{ BT}$. In terms of regional dimensions, West Kalimantan can be divided into 3 (three) dimensions of territory, namely coastal and island

areas, inland areas, and border areas between countries. For coastal and island areas consisting of regencies and cities located in coastal areas, namely Pontianak City, Singkawang City, Sambas Regency, Mempawah Regency, Bengkayang Regency, Kubu Raya Regency, Ketapang Regency, and North Kayong Regency. As for the inland area consists of Kapuas Hulu Regency, Sintang Regency, Melawi Regency, Sekadau Regency, Sanggau, Hedgehog Regency, and Ketapang Regency. Meanwhile, the dimensions of the border area between the countries is an area directly adjacent to Malaysia on the north side, consisting of Sambas Regency, Bengkayang Regency, Sanggau Regency, Sintang Regency, and Kapuas Hulu Regency.

The area of West Kalimantan is 147,307 km² or 1.13 times the area of Java Island and is among the third largest provinces after Papua Province (319,036.05 km²) and Central Kalimantan (153,564.50 km²), while the fourth is East Kalimantan (129,873 km² after deducting North Kalimantan Province). The boundaries of the territory are as follows:

- a. The Karimata Strait borders the western part.
- b. The northern part is directly adjacent to Sarawak (East Malaysia) and East Kalimantan Province.
- c. The southern part is bordered by the Province of Central Kalimantan and the Java Sea.
- d. Central and East Kalimantan Provinces border the eastern region.



Figure 2. Map of administrative boundaries of west Kalimantan Province

The waters of West Kalimantan are part of the Lantamal XII working area with a coastal length of ± 1000 KM consisting of 9 Posal, which is to the North of Posal Temajok and in the South posal Kendawangan as for the boundaries of lantamal XII working area:

- a. Sea Border
 - 1) The North is directly adjacent to the status quo of Malaysia because, until now, there has been no agreement to determine the sea boundary.
 - 2) The West side is directly opposite ALKI I and Kepri Province and, based on kasal decree number kep/326/II/2016 has been determined 3 Posal under Lantamal IV to be under Lantamal XII. (Posal Tambelan Island, Posal Subi Island and Posal Sarasan Island).
 - 3) The South is directly adjacent to the Java Sea.
 - 4) The East is bordered by land.

b. Land Border

The land boundary of West Kalimantan Province, which is part of Lantamal XII Working Area :

- 1) To the North, directly adjacent to the state of Sarawak, Malaysia, the border is a Cross-Border Post (PLBN), including PLBN Aruk Sambas Regency, PLBN Naga Badau Kapuas Hulu Regency, and PLBN Entikong located in Sangau Regency.
- 2) The South is directly adjacent to the Province of South Kalimantan.

On August 26, 2019, the President of the Republic of Indonesia officially announced the location of the new National Capital (IKN) of Indonesia. That is a strategic step taken by the Government of Indonesia to make Indonesia a developed country. As announced by the President, the new IKN location is in Kutai Kertanegara and Penajam Paser Utara Regencies. The IKN location transfer has implications for the Indonesian Center of Gravity (CoG) change, which also moved from Jakarta to the new IKN. As one of the defense instruments, the Navy has the task to secure and defend IKN from all forms of threats coming from the sea. For this reason, deploying force and empowering maritime potential around the region is very important to achieve the IKN's defense goals.

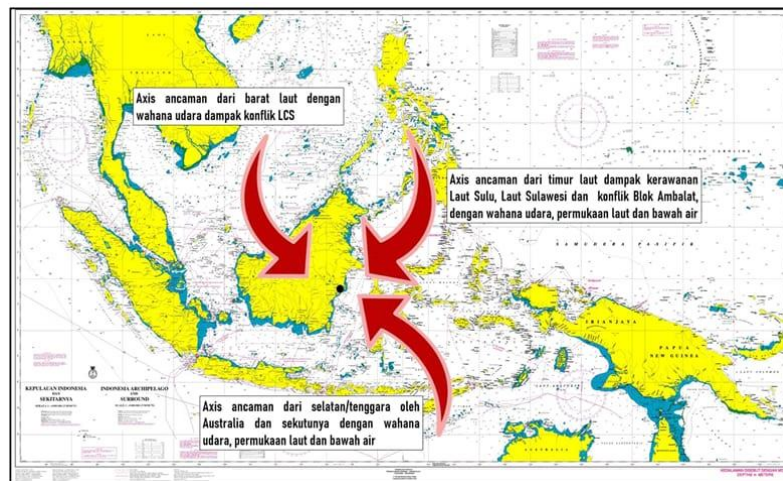


Figure 3. IKN Area Position and Threat Prediction

The Ministry of Defense issued Regulation of the Minister of Defense No. 9 of 2018 on Maritime Policy in support of the world maritime axis as a guideline for all ministries/institutions (Kemhan, 2018). The introduction mentioned that the World Maritime Axis would be realized if the defense of Indonesia's maritime power was adequate so that it would cause a deterrence effect on threats to national sovereignty and security. In realizing Indonesia as the world's maritime axis, the President of the Republic of Indonesia set five main pillars, namely :

- a. Rebuilding of Indonesia's maritime culture.
- b. Commitment to maintain and manage marine resources with a focus on building maritime food sovereignty through the development of the fishing industry by placing fishermen as the main pillars.
- c. Commitment to encourage the development of maritime infrastructure and connectivity by building sea tolls, seaports, logistic and shipping industries, and marine tourism.



- d. Maritime diplomacy invites all Indonesian partners to cooperate in the marine field; and
- e. Build defense power.

Speaking of maritime, following the Regulation of the Minister of Defense No. 9 of 2018 is an area that includes the water column and sea level, both of which is a sea of sovereign territory (territorial sea and inland sea). The sea is not the sovereign territory, but the state has rights and jurisdiction over certain activities (Additional Zone, Exclusive Economic Zone of Indonesia, and Continental Shelf), as well as high seas; the seabed and the land below; coastal areas, and small islands; and the airspace above it.

Indonesia's maritime potential means everything in Indonesian marine waters that can be utilized by the Indonesian population and can improve the welfare of the Indonesian people. The maritime potential in Indonesia is very diverse. It can be seen in various sectors, including the marine biotechnology industry, deep ocean water, marine tourism, marine energy, marine minerals, shipping, defense, and maritime industry. All of this can contribute significantly to the well-being and prosperity of the Indonesian people, depending on how to manage and empower them.

The Main Base of the Indonesian Navy is one of the satkowil in the region. It is the leading sector of empowering maritime potential in implementing Dawilhanla on its apparatus or with other components of the nation to assist the government in preparing marine potential, becoming a defense and security forces, and TNI's unity with the people. The actual manifestation of the empowerment of maritime potential is by fostering maritime potential with objects of geographic potential, demographic potential, social conditions, Detailed Plan of Defense Areas (RRWP), facilities and infrastructure, and Regional Logistics (Mabes TNI AL, 2018).

Sistem Pertahanan Rakyat Semesta

According to the Strategic Document of the 21st Century Total People's Defense and Security System (Sishankamrata), which is the mandate of the 1945 NRI Constitution has been described in various regulations, such as Indonesian Law Number 3 of 2002 concerning State Defense, Indonesian Law Number 34 of 2004 concerning the TNI, Indonesian Law Number 26 of 2007 concerning Spatial Planning, Indonesian Law Number 43 of 2008 concerning State Territory, Indonesian Law Number 39 of 2009 concerning the Ministry of State, Indonesian Law Number 34 of 2014 concerning Local Government, and Indonesian Law Number 23 of 2019 concerning The Management of National Resources for State Defense. The Ministry of Defense, TNI, K / L, and local governments each have a role in organizing Sishankamrata according to their respective duties and functions.

The main features of Sishankamrata are popularity, harmony, and territoriality. Therefore, one of the keys to the success of Sishankamrata is the existence of a well-prepared people's power in the form of spare components and supporting components. Until now, the government has not formed a spare component, so the concept of sishankamrata 21st century needs to be realized immediately.

Pontianak Naval Main Base XII

Pontianak Naval Main Base XII, one of the Main Bases of the Indonesian Navy of the 14 main bases in Indonesia, is the Command of The First Fleet Command Support, Which is directly based under the Commander of The First Fleet Comand (Pangkoamada I). The



existence of Lantamal XII in West Kalimantan is fundamental to maintaining the National Resources of West Kalimantan by fostering maritime potential by conducting routine operations of marine security patrols to provide security guarantees for marine users by conducting enforcement and prevention of all forms of crimes/violations that can occur to protect the national interest.

The insecurity in these waters occurs not only due to the emergence of various criminal acts at sea but also caused by various activities on land that are then connected through sea access. Not optimally empowering maritime potential in the West Kalimantan region requires Lantamal XII to increase efforts to empower maritime potential, namely by carrying out coaching on national resources in the West Kalimantan region as a state defense strategy at sea, so it is expected to make a positive contribution to maintain the integrity of the NKRI region generally. National Resources in West Kalimantan include:

a. Natural Resources.

The natural resources owned by West Kalimantan include agriculture, fisheries, plantations, forestry, and mining. The entire SDA is still under development and processed by the community, companies, and the government.

b. Human Resources

One of the indicators to see the efficacy of human resource development is through the education sector. Human Resource Conditions in West Kalimantan consist of many aspects, namely aspects of knowledge education and mental or behavioral skills, and religious aspects.

- 1) Man as a human being must be built his life following the nature of development. For this reason, its quality and strength must be improved to lift its dignity and dignity.
- 2) The government's development is not only directed at physical development efforts but also strives for a better level of community social welfare. The effort concerns the issue of the rights of the poor, people with disabilities, victims of natural disasters, and other people with social problems to get their services / special from the government under the principles of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.
- 3) The goal of development is to create quality people and societies that are advanced and independent. If the human beings are of high quality, then the economy of the community is strong. Therefore, the heavy point of development should indeed be placed in the economic field. Still, it must be in line with attention to improving the quality of its human resources as economic actors.
- 4) The growth of independent nature in humans and society is carried out through the empowerment of increasing the role, efficiency, and productivity of the people.

c. Artificial Resources

Artificial resources owned by West Kalimantan include ports, airports, and others, all managed by the government and the private sector.



Lantamal XII's strategy in empowering all SDN into an integrated unity to strengthen Sishankamrata

Organizing the development of functions and implementation of human resource development activities, natural and artificial resources, national facilities and infrastructure in the maritime field, and the dynamics of marine development in the Lantamal XII region, among others:

- a. Supervise and control and monitor all activities to foster the potential of maritime geography, maritime service industry, and the possibility of the national fleet to benefit the national defense.
- b. Establishing cooperation with relevant agencies in the field of marine development, especially for the security and empowerment of the outermost most minor islands/border areas and the security of water boundaries in the sea area of national jurisdiction related to Dawilhanla and play a role in helping the Regional Government in efforts to improve the regional fishery industry to improve the welfare of the community.
- c. Collection and updating of potential maritime data as well as the utilization and empowerment of maritime resources to coastal village communities (built village programs in the Lifting area, SEI Kakap, SEI Rengas Pontianak, and Ketapang) and stakeholders to form maritime aspect human resources that have the potential as a reserve and support component to strengthen and as an element of support to the Navy.
- d. Carrying out Regional Defense Coaching (Bintahwil) operation activities through socialization activities of maritime aspects. Primary education of state defense, four pillars of nationality to youth organizations, schools, and other maritime communities to instill the spirit of nationalism and improve the soul and nature of the sea through the assistance of aquatic sports activities, Saka Bahari Scouts, Environmental Preservation, and visits to KRI.

In terms of coaching, in supporting the successful implementation of koarmada I's main tasks, a level of operational readiness is needed an adequate level of professionalism supports that in supporting operational preparedness. However, understanding the primary function of units in training construction faced with limited unit development budgets has not been able to be done adequately. Moreover, it impacts the output of professionalism levels, which is still not in line with expectations. Therefore, to improve the professionalism of lantamal XII Pontianak units, it is necessary to improve ability, skills, and understanding in various operationally, technically, and tactically. For this reason, it is required to carry out lantamal XII personnel training continuously and continuously to maintain and improve the professionalism of lantamal XII unit keeping personnel, by carrying out exercises.

Conclusion

The geographical constellation of West Kalimantan Province requires proper and good management of maritime potential to support the country's defense strategy to maintain the integrity of the NKRI area and make the National Resources Resilient. To be able to establish a national development policy oriented to National Resources so that the potential of maritim can be realized, it is necessary to have a deep understanding of the geographical constellation of West Kalimantan as an island country so that the potential of maritime areas can be increased for the benefit of Geopolitics, geo economy, and geostrategy of Indonesia.



To realize the maritime potential of West Kalimantan National Resources well, it must also be supported by the existence of maritime-oriented national policies with adequate regulatory support, good institutional system support and need to be supported by the availability of maritime human resources, and the adequacy of maritime data and information. Spatial management of the Maritime Defense Area of West Kalimantan is a series of activities carried out in an integrated manner to plan, manage, utilize and develop the potential of maritime resources to increase national resilience.

Acknowledgment

The benefits of this study are expected to be as follows:

- a. Theoretically, to develop knowledge, insights, and ways of thinking about how to empower maritime potential in strengthening the defense system of the people of the universe.
- b. Practically speaking, it is to provide input and recommendations to leaders, educational institutions, and related institutions to:
 - 1) Obtained suitable strategies and formulations in implementing maritime empowerment in the West Kalimantan region to strengthen the defense system of the total people.
 - 2) They know what factors affect the empowerment of maritime potential in the West Kalimantan region to strengthen the defense system of the universe.
 - 3) Knowing how to implement potential maritime empowerment in the West Kalimantan region to strengthen the total people's defense system.

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Indonesian Foreign Policy and its Response to South China Sea Affairs for Regional Stability

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INDONESIAN FOREIGN POLICY AND ITS RESPONSE TO SOUTH CHINA SEA AFFAIRS FOR REGIONAL STABILITY

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Abstract

This research explains the relationship between Indonesian foreign policy and taking the case studies of conflicts in the South China Sea. Today the dispute between the two major countries, such as America and China, is increasingly heating up in the South China Sea discourse, coupled with the increasing dynamics of the strategic environment that directly impact Indonesia's foreign policy and politics. The research method used in this research is a qualitative research method, supported by literature studies. In international politics, Indonesia has determined its position as a country that adheres to the principle of active free foreign policy, which in terms of foreign policy, Indonesia will not be influenced by the hands of other countries. This paper shows that Indonesia's defense policies and strategies in anticipation of the South China Sea conflict have not been properly announced. It was found that defense policy and strategy have not been in line with the foreign policy that pays special attention to the dynamics of the Southeast Asian region, including in the South China Sea. In addition, the latest defense policies and strategies have not paid attention to the dynamics of the South China Sea conflict. Indonesia's defense policy and strategy still consider that the conflation in the South China Sea can be resolved through soft power and does not anticipate the use of hard power that will have implications for Indonesia's national interests.

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Introduction

The development of today's dynamic strategic environment affects the implementation of state defense. Dynamics that need to be observed in the past five years include economic growth, which has implications for the development of military power, especially in the Asia Pacific region. This dynamic greatly influences the increasingly complex and multidimensional patterns and forms of threats, in the form of military threats, nonmilitary threats, and hybrid threats that can be categorized as real and unreal threats. Real threats themselves are a form of threat that is a priority in handling it, including terrorism and radicalism, separatism and armed insurgency, natural disasters, violations of border areas, pumping and theft of natural wealth, disease outbreaks, cyberattacks, and espionage, as well as drug trafficking and abuse while unreal threats are a form of threat in the form of open conflict or conventional war, where the opposite is a force the armed forces of the two countries, currently and in the future, are still unlikely to happen to Indonesia (Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, 2015).

Implementation of state defense is aimed at maintaining and protecting the state's sovereignty, the integrity of the territory, and the safety of the entire nation. State defense





for the Indonesian country is structured in a total defense system, not aggressive and not expansive to protect national interests. Indonesia's defense is structured in a total defense system to achieve national goals. Total defense is essentially a defense that involves all citizens according to their roles and functions, the development of state defense is carried out based on the strategic policy of national development as stated in the National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN) 2005-2025. The development of state defense is directed to build a defense posture that is resilient and has deterrence power as an archipelagic state, the development of state defense directed to be able to answer various possible threats and actual problems adapted to geographical conditions and dynamics of the strategic environment, military defense is directed in order to realize national development that supports the policies of the world maritime axis, especially to realize the strength, capability, and title of the TNI in proportion to face military threats and hybrid threats. Reserve Components and Supporting Components, the Reserve Component consists of citizens, natural resources, artificial resources, and national facilities and infrastructure that have been prepared and organized to be deployed through mobilization to enlarge and strengthen the Main Components (Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, 2015).

As an independent and sovereign state, the implementation of foreign relations of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is based on the principles of equality of degrees, mutual respect, mutual benefit, and mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs as implied in Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Following the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, one of the objectives of the Government of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is to carry out a world order based on independence, lasting peace, and social justice. To realize the objectives intended above, the government of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia has been carrying out relations with various countries and regional and international organizations. The implementation of foreign relations activities mentioned above through bilateral and multilateral forums is devoted to the national interest based on the principle of a free and active foreign policy. According to article 3 of Law Number 37 of 1999 concerning Foreign Relations, free and active foreign policy is a foreign policy that is essentially not a neutral politics; instead, it is free to determine attitudes and wisdom towards international problems and does not bind itself a priori to one world power and actively contributes, both in the form of thought and active participation in resolving conflicts, disputes, and other world problems, for the realization of a world order based on freedom, lasting peace and social justice. Foreign relations are any activities that concern regional and international aspects carried out by the government at the central and regional levels, or other institutions, state institutions, business entities, political organizations, community organizations, non-governmental organizations, or Indonesian citizens. Meanwhile, foreign policy is the policy, attitude, and steps taken by the government of the Republic of Indonesia in carrying out relations with other countries, international organizations, and other subjects of international law to face global problems and achieve national goals (Susetyorini, 2017).

Since independence in 1945, Indonesian foreign policy has been implemented by considering several normative aspects. The normative aspect in question generally consists of the foundations and principles of Indonesian foreign policy. There are three kinds of foundations of Indonesian foreign policy, namely the ideal foundation, the constitutional foundation, and the operational foundation. The ideal foundation and constitutional foundation of Indonesia's foreign policy are Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The operational foundation is more dynamic because it is determined by the government in power. Meanwhile, the principle of Indonesia's foreign policy is free and active. As an ideal foundation for foreign policy, Pancasila provides limits on basic values that must be reflected



in foreign policy. As the basis of the state, Pancasila contains the national ideals and goals of the Indonesian nation, which are the basis for every government regulation and policy at various levels, ranging from the constitution to other regulations under it. Of course, in this case, it includes Indonesia's foreign policy. Implementation of Pancasila in Indonesia's foreign policy, according to Marsudi (2006), Pancasila is an open ideology. It means that the interpretation of Pancasila must be flexible in accordance with the context of the problems and strategic issues. Flexibility is important given that in foreign policy it is dynamic. For example, when there is a threat to national integrity and integration, then the government can find the limits of the orientation to consensus, especially when a crackdown must be taken (Ministry of Bappenas, 2015).

The principle of free foreign policy remains a relevant and important foreign policy principle for the country. Although it developed from a specific and changing historical situation, the principle of being free and active is able to reflect the aspirations of the Indonesian nation in building foreign relations. During Sukarno's reign, for example, the principle of freedom and activity had already appeared in Sukarno's speeches before it was affirmed through a government proclamation on November 1, 1945 that substantially emphasized a friendly foreign policy, non-intervention in domestic affairs, and upholding the UN charter in the implementation of foreign policy. This means that before the start of the Cold War, the principle of being free and active had already begun to be held and socialized by the Indonesian government. After the Cold War's start, the discourse on the principle of freedom and activity was seen as undergoing a shift or expansion of meaning. The concept of freedom in its present sense contains the meaning of independence; that is, it is not under the colonization or domination of other nations and is impartial to any of the blocs or groups within the international power competition (Ministry of Bappenas, 2015).

Indonesia's foreign policy from the era of Abdurrahman Wahid to Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono showed a tendency to put forward the principle of active free politics. Even with several interpretations that vary in each implementation, Indonesia strives to be independent by fostering relations with friendly countries as much as possible. In the Abdurrahman Wahid era, even Indonesia's tendency to be able to foster relations with countries outside the west became an obvious feature. In addition to making many visits to Middle Eastern countries and Latin America, Abdurrahman Wahid made the People's Republic of China the first country to visit while serving as president. ASEAN-China Security Cooperation Also developed on security issues in the South China Sea with the start of discussions on the draft Code of Conduct on the south china sea issue in May 2000. The draft was completed in November 2002 on the 'Declaration on the Conduct of the Parties in the South China Sea' (Sinaga, 2013).

With this in mind, it is necessary to study and understand the relevance of Indonesia's free and active policies in the South China Sea conflict. Security and defense of the country. From this review and understanding, it is expected to produce appropriate policies to support a strong defense.

Method

Research methods are basically a scientific way to obtain data with a specific purpose and usefulness. Based on this, there are four keywords that need to be considered, namely, scientific method, data, purpose, and usability. The scientific way means that the research activity is based on scientific features, namely rational, empirical, and systematic. The research method that will be used in this research is qualitative research. According to Sugiyono (2013), Qualitative research methodology aims to analyze and describe the



phenomenon or object of research through social activities, attitudes, and perceptions of people individually or in groups (Sugiyono, 2013).

Qualitative methods are used in this study to analyze the relevance of Indonesia's active free politics in the South China Sea conflict in order to realize a strong national defense. This research approach is a case study. Case study research is research by defining a specific case. The goal is twofold, namely:

- 1) Illustrate a unique case, a case that has an unusual interest in itself and needs to be described or detailed (often referred to as an intrinsic case); and
 - 2) Qualitative methods were used in this study to analyze the relevance of Indonesia's active free politics in the South China Sea conflict in order to realize a strong national defense. This research approach is a case study. Case study research is research by defining a specific case.
- (Creswell In Rianto, 2016).

According to Sugiyono (2013), data collection techniques are the most strategic step in a study because the study's main purpose is to obtain data. The researcher will not get data that meets the set data standards without knowing the data collection techniques. Two things affect the quality of research data: the quality of research instruments and the quality of data collection. The quality of the research instrument is concerned with the validity and reliability of the instrument and the quality of data collection with regard to the accuracy of the means used to collect the data. Furthermore, when viewed in terms of the method or technique of data collection in this study, the data collection technique was carried out by interviews (interviews), documentation, and a combination of all.

In order to obtain data that can be scientifically accounted for, it is necessary to check the validity of the data. The data triangulation technique is used to check the validity of data. In data collection techniques, triangulation is defined as a data collection technique that combines various data collection techniques and existing data sources. If the researcher collects data by triangulation, then the researcher actually collects data that simultaneously tests the credibility of the data, namely, checking the credibility of the data with various data collection techniques and sources. Triangulation techniques mean researchers use different data collection techniques to obtain data from the same source. In this study, two data collection methods were used, namely interviews and documentation for simultaneous data sources. So, the triangulation technique in this study was carried out by checking the results of interviews with research subjects related to the relevance of Indonesia's active free politics in the South China Sea conflict to realize a strong national defense and its supporting literature (Sugiyono, 2013).

Results And Discussion

Implementation of Indonesian Foreign Policy in defending Indonesia's sovereignty

Foreign policy and Indonesian diplomacy are carried out to ensure the guarantee of Indonesia's national interests, national growth, economic development, people's welfare, national security, and social justice for all Indonesians, as stated in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD NRI). Foreign Policy in Indonesia still diplomatically refers to a free-active foreign policy based solely on national interests. This national interest is the basic foundation in the implementation of governance and the life of the nation-state in achieving national ideals. The nation's founders were willing to sacrifice their souls, bodies, and thoughts to design a concept for Indonesia's position in the hands of



such an intense vortex of foreign policy currents. Among them is the result of Mohammad Hatta's thoughts. Hatta stated that Indonesia's foreign policy is based on the free and active principle, which means that Indonesia is not tied to any of the blocs, both communist and capitalist. But at the same time, it still plays an active role in international associations while upholding national goals (Soebagyo, 2013).

Departing from the description above, it is not an exaggeration to say that the current change in global politics has made international issues more complex. An understanding of the political constellations and the ability to respond appropriately to these issues both now and in the future become indispensable. In some case studies, international political issues are now shifting no longer only related to war and violence but have penetrated into a more complex realm, namely economic, cultural, and even cultural issues. Therefore, the role of diplomacy in the resolution of conflicts that occur between countries becomes very important (Wuryandari, 2008). The reforms have brought about major changes in the structure of domestic politics as well as foreign policy. In the domestic sphere, presidential power over other highest institutions is undergoing changes. Along with the good running of democracy after the new order, Indonesia has again shown its active position in the international forum. Indonesia places ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) as the region's main axis in the international political arena. ASEAN is Indonesia's top corner in dealing with regional issues, including the security turmoil that has occurred in the South China Sea (Sinaga, 2013).

South China Sea area, as one of the largest ocean areas in the world, has a very strategic role, both in terms of economy, politics, and security, thus making this region has great cooperation potential that countries around this region can utilize. The natural resources available in the South China Sea region are also very large, where according to data from the United States Energy Information Administration (EIA), the potential natural resources in the South China Sea are petroleum reserves of 11 billion barrels and natural gas which reaches 190 trillion cubic feet (Tfc) as well as hydrocarbon reserves that are very important as energy supplies. Meanwhile, according to energy consultant Wood Mackenzie, there are oil and gas reserves of 2.5 billion barrels in the region. In addition to having a strategic role as a trade route, the South China Sea area is also an international communication channel that connects the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, making it the busiest route in the world. This sea area is international trade traffic worth no less than 5.3 trillion US dollars annually (Hardoko, 2016). The South China Sea dispute stems from a statement by the Government of the People's Republic of China that claims the entire South China Sea waters in 1947, China created a map claiming most of the territory. The Communist Party, which took power in China in 1949, then created nine-dash lines around the South China Sea region on its official map in 1953 (Tempo, 2016).

Until now, disputes in the South China Sea have directly involved six countries, namely Brunei, China, Malaysia, the Philippines, Taiwan, and Vietnam, related to each party's claims to the Spratly Islands and Paracel Islands. Indirectly, disputes in these waters will also involve other parties affected by the spillover, such as the United States, which strongly upholds freedom of navigation. Indonesia's non-claim to territory in these waters began to be "disturbed" by China's unilateral claims in 1992 when China published a unilateral map of the South China Sea of nine broken lines in the South China Sea (Nine Dots Lines. U Shape Lines or Nine-Dash Map) which enters the Territory of Indonesia's EEZ in the north of the Natuna Islands. When mapped, the conflict in the South China Sea is closely related to the claimants' political, economic, and defense interests. Politically, controlling part or all of the South China Sea would give high political bargaining power. This will also have an economic impact



because the South China Sea is rich in oil and gas content, which will provide many economic benefits if exploited.

Meanwhile, from the defense aspect, control over part or all of the South China Sea area will provide a strategic advantage because the South China Sea is the link between the Malacca Strait and the East Asian region. Indonesia has importance for handling conflicts in the South China Sea because if they cannot be adequately handled, they will impact the stability of Indonesia's and the region's security. It is also in Indonesia's interest to assert its claims to Indonesia's EEZ in these waters located north of the Natuna Islands. Related to that, Indonesia must have relevant and up-to-date defense policies and strategies to anticipate conflicts in the South China Sea (Buntoro, 2012).

Regional countries involved in South China Sea conflicts generally use historical and geographical grounds in contesting ownership of sea areas and two island clusters in the South China Sea region. China, for example, claims the disputed territory based on Chinese ownership of the sea area and the two Paracel and Spratly archipelago clusters since 2000 years ago. Then the Chinese government claimed to have issued a map detailing China's sovereignty over the South China Sea in 1947, known as the Nine Dash Line. Conflict can be seen from various perspectives by looking at the background, the actors involved and their interests, as well as the intensity and breadth of the conflict area. From its background, the South China Sea conflict can be seen from the historical claims of territorial control in the past by traditional rulers that led to claims of ownership by subsequent rulers of the territory of the same kingdom or state. Meanwhile, of the actors involved and their accompanying interests, several countries in the region, both ASEAN members and non-ASEAN, as well as countries outside the region, are their stakeholders (Mirdanis, Saputra, et al. 2013).

Meanwhile, based on several events in the South China Sea, judging from the intensity of the South China Sea conflict, it can be categorized as a low-scale conflict because it has not caused a large-scale armed conflict between feuding countries. However, suppose unmanageable and effective solutions are sought in future developments. In that case, the conflict may become more open in nature and expand widely into an armed conflict between countries in the region. In Law No.37 of 1999 on Foreign Relations in Article 3 states that: "Foreign Policy adheres to the principle of active freedom perpetuated for the national interest" Indonesia is in a unique position in addressing the South China Sea dispute. Indonesia has a long history of never taking sides on numerous occasions, despite its status as a natural leader (hegemon) in the Southeast Asian region. The complex and dynamic geopolitical situation makes a choice to take sides (alignment) very rational. Regarding the South China Sea Conflict, there are tensions between Indonesia and China have resumed recently. China called on Indonesia to stop drilling for oil and natural gas in the South China Sea maritime area claimed by the two; Indonesia calls it the North Natuna Sea. China's increasing aggressiveness in terms of claiming the South China Sea needs to be watched out for and taken seriously because in the South China Sea Area It becomes a struggle for several countries; this is where Indonesia's role is needed Indonesia's policy as a determinant of conflict in the South China Sea. However, there is Indonesia's conflict with China in the South China Sea over the seizure of the Northern Natuna sea area, which is claimed to be in China's Nine dash line for historical reasons; this is due to the weak Indonesian diplomacy (Ra'is, 2019).

Regarding the dynamics of the conflict in the South China Sea, in Indonesia's position, the country's defense becomes threatened if the conflict in the South China Sea is not handled properly and quickly. According to the 1945 Constitution, safeguarding the territory of this country is very important. The case of China, which claims territorial sovereignty over



Indonesian territory, shows Indonesia's borders importance. The Indonesian government should pay special attention to border areas. Do not let neighboring countries, especially Indonesia, which is thousands of kilometers away, claim the territory. In addition, being able to resolve LNU conflicts properly is very important. If not resolved immediately, it could escalate conflicts with China, as is the case of Vietnam and the Philippines, which require the use of small military force to assert territoriality, whether realized or not (Pratiwi, 2017).

The Relevance of Indonesia's Foreign Policy to Realizing a Strong Defense of the Country

Indonesian foreign policy since the early 1990s has always sought to find solutions to mediate potential conflicts in these waters. Its implementation is the Workshops on Managing Potential Conflicts in the South China Sea, which aims to prevent conflicts by promoting cooperation between claimant countries to create Confidence Building Measures (CBM). Indonesia also successfully encouraged states with claims in the South China Sea to agree on a Declaration of Conduct (DOC) of Parties in the South China Sea in 2002, where initial talks were initiated since 1999. DOC is regulated in states that claim maritime territory in the South China Sea so as not to have conflicts in those waters that threaten the stability of the region. Despite many criticisms of DOC, the existence of DOC has at least been able to peacefully address the South China Sea issue even though there is no final solution to the dispute. Over time, the issue of the South China Sea dispute is officially on ASEAN's fixed agenda. In regular ASEAN meetings such as the ASEAN Summit, ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, ASEAN Post Ministerial Meeting, ASEAN Defense Minister Meeting, ASEAN Regional Forum, ASEAN China Summit, and so on, the South China Sea agenda has always been one of the issues discussed. The inclusion of the South China Sea dispute issue in the ASEAN agenda is basically a projection of Indonesia's foreign policy into the ASEAN scope. Several important things are underlined regarding Indonesia's foreign policy toward the South China Sea (Orgaard, 2002).

Every country has national interests to be achieved. National interests can be achieved within the territory of the country itself and can also be achieved outside the territory of the country. In the event that the achievement of national interests is carried out outside the boundaries of the country's territory, the instrument used is Foreign Policy. This is also evident in the implementation of the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Indonesia, which seems to have different characteristics and styles in each period of government. The Old Order period had the characteristic of being closely related to the strongholds of communist countries, as well as a Confrontational style. The New Order period of Foreign Policy has the characteristics of being closely related to the camps of Western countries as well as a Low Profile-Cooperative style. Meanwhile, during the Order of Foreign Policy Reform, Indonesia had the characteristics of being in contact with all countries and an Active-Diplomatic style. Changes in characteristics and styles in implementation are more often highlighted from the aspect of the domestic situation and conditions (Bakry, 1999).

The dynamic illustrates how the South China Sea issue and China's claims to these waters have direct or indirect implications for Indonesia's national identity. Although the Indonesian government has realized that the South China Sea conflict can cause regional security instability and will have a far-reaching impact on Indonesia's national interests. However, the anticipation is still limited to diplomacy efforts alone. Indonesia's pro-active stance on these issues related to foreign policy seems to have not been balanced with defense policies and strategies. Since 1993, Indonesia has paid special attention to China's nine-dash line claim in Indonesia's EEZ and Natuna Sea as listed in a map published by China.



This prompted Indonesia in 1996 to hold a major military exercise in the Natuna Sea with the scenario of a threat of invasion from the north. However, after the military exercises to date, Indonesia's defense policy related to the South China Sea has not been clearly visible. In the aspects of defense policy and strategy, it is necessary to look at how the defense policy alludes to the perception of threats. Refers to the hierarchy in the field of disputes in Indonesia, the general policy of state defense is a reference in constructing a defense force in a time frame. Presidential Regulation No. 8 of 2021 concerning the General Policy of State Defense for 2020-2024 has broadly touched on the perception of threats. Referring to the Presidential Regulation, there are currently two threats that are being faced by Indonesia, namely actual threats and potential threats. From Presidential Regulation No.8 of 2020, there is no specific mention of the South China Sea issue. However, on the other hand, the Presidential Regulation confirms that one of the factual threats faced by Indonesia is conflict in the border area (Yusuf, 2010)."

From the practitioner side, according to Defense Minister Purnomo Yusgiantoro, today, there is a paradigm shift in the world in solving conflation, namely from hard power to soft power. Therefore, Indonesia prioritizes diplomacy in finding solutions to the South China Sea dispute. A different view from Indonesian academics represented by Eddy Prasetyono and Hasjim Djalal. According to them, the South China Sea is seen as a threat to Indonesia's interests. Because actors involved in disputes or interested in the South China Sea are the main actors in the region, such as China and the United States, the impact will be quite significant on Indonesia. Hasjim Djalal's opinion is in line with Eddy Prasetyono's view that the South China Sea dispute has a higher level of threat to Indonesia. The South China Sea has more potential to threaten Indonesia's national interests. This view is based on the reason that the countries in a dispute over the South China Sea area and the countries with high levels over the waters are the major countries in the Asia Pacific region and the countries that have defense alliances with major countries in the region. An example is Malaysia as one of the claimants in the South China Sea has a defense alliance in the Five Power Defence Arrangement (FPDA) along with the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and Singapore. While the Philippines is bound by a defense pact with the United States. Even without the entanglement of a defense pact with the Philippines, the United States is certain to interfere in the South China Sea dispute in the name of freedom of navigation for its navy, particularly in the deployment of forces from the Asia-Pacific region to the Indian Ocean region (Yusuf, 2010).

Departing from this context, Indonesia as an ASEAN anchor country as well as having a strategic position in the Asia Pacific region is certain to be affected by the implications of the South China Sea dispute, although Indonesia is not listed as one of the claiming countries. Moreover, the complexity of the South China Sea dispute involving many actors is certain to threaten Indonesia's national interests, both from the political aspect of regional stability and from the economic aspect, namely Indonesia's energy security, which is derived from gas fields in the South China Sea EEZ. This is where researchers reason why the South China Sea dispute is seen as more likely to threaten Indonesia's national interests. According to the TNI commander, the South China Sea dispute implements a layered defense strategy that includes deterrence, enforcement, and recovery strategies. The deterrence strategy aims to realize the preparedness of all forces and abilities as well as the title of the TNI, which is able to provide a psychological challenge by realizing a formidable deterrent effect, both outward and inward. The enforcement strategy aims to be able to crack down on any threats that interfere with the sovereignty, territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia and the safety of the nation carried out in the form of combat operations to destroy the enemy in his



country, on the way and who have successfully entered the national territory using a protracted war strategy (Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, 2012).

Departing from the state defense strategy developed, quoting from the Commander of the TNI, until now, the TNI still prioritizes deploying forces in selected border areas and conflict-prone areas. The title of TNI power, especially the navy's strength around the South China Sea region, is not considered to have been included in the needs plan that must be realized in the near future. Currently, the title and plan of the TNI judiciary are to deal with possible threats that exist around the Sulawesi Sea. Although there is a potential for conflict in the South China Sea, Indonesia does not expect the outbreak of open war, and all problems are expected to be resolved by diplomacy. The TNI has not yet developed a specific strategy to deal with the South China Sea dispute. Theoretically, the TNI needs a special strategy to deal with the dispute in the strategic water because the forces concerned there are major powers that are militarily much stronger than the TNI. However, considering the hierarchy of state defense, the absence of a TNI strategy specifically designed to deal with the South China Sea dispute is essentially an implication of a defense policy that has not viewed the South China Sea dispute as a threat to Indonesia with greater strategic implications.

Conclusion

In practice, Indonesian policy of dealing with conflicts in the South China Sea is more heavily dotted with foreign policy and has not been balanced by defense policy. Indonesia's role diplomatically in the region in tempering potential conflicts in the South China Sea is quite prominent in seeking a peaceful solution at the diplomatic level. The lack of a prominent defense policy in anticipation of the South China Sea conflict makes the policy adopted not yet balanced, in the sense that there is no meaningful anticipation from the defense aspect if the word Indonesian diplomacy in the South China Sea fails to achieve the goals that have been set. Defense policy, particularly with regard to the construction of a force under the Minimum Essential Force (MEF), has not seen the dynamics of the highly fluid strategic environment in the South China Sea as a threat and challenge to be anticipated. In other words, there is a synchrony between foreign policy and defense policy that should not be allowed to occur. Indonesia's defense strategy has not been specifically designed to anticipate spillover conflict in the South China Sea. However, Indonesia's current defense strategy does not specifically pay attention to the possible conflict dynamics in the South China Sea.

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THE ROLE OF INDIGENOUS INSTITUTIONS IN ACHIEVING THE STATE DEFENSE PROGRAM IN WEST SUMATERA TO SUPPORT THE DEFENSE OF THE COUNTRY

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Abstract

The Province of West Sumatera has Minangkabau Customary Institutions, namely 19 LKAAM (Minangkabau wide Association of Village Adat Council) at the regency/city level, 179 LKAAM at the district level, and 1274 KAN at the *nagari* (village level) with a population of 580,232. The partnership between the LKAAM and the West Sumatera government accommodates the distribution of aspirations of indigenous communities in terms of preserving indigenous values in the community. LKAAM has a purpose in preserving Minangkabau customs and culture, to the next generation by institutionalizing and increasing community participation, to succeed regional development within the framework of national development altogether. The authors will discuss the role of indigenous institutions in achieving the state defense programs in West Sumatera to support the state defense. This following article utilize library research as the research method, obtained from various literature sources. Based on the result of the discussion, it shows that the existence of LKAAM as an indigenous institution has a strategic role in realizing a developed and independent Minangkabau community, depicting the philosophical nuances of "*Adat basandi Syara' and Syara' basandi kitabullah*". The local government reaps the benefits and functions of LKAAM, in accelerating regional development, especially in achieving state defense programs.

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Introduction

Indonesia has a population of highly diverse ethnic groups, based on the results of the research conducted by BPS and ISEAS (Institute of South Asian Studies). This research shows the existence of 633 tribes, including tribal and sub-tribal groupings in Indonesia. As an archipelagic state, the Republic of Indonesia is a country with numerous tribes and rich cultural diversity. Indonesian society has received international recognition as one of the most plural societies in the world, following the United States and India (Sudiadi, 2009).

All ethnic groups have their own customs and cultures that have become the wealth and pride of the community itself, one of which is the custom of the Minangkabau people in West Sumatera. Minangkabau philosophy of life is reflected on the traditional Minangkabau proverb "*Adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah*" which means "*Adat (custom) is founded on the syarak (sharia), syarak is found on the holy Quran*". According to sharia, this proverb serves as a principle for Minangkabau people in carrying out daily life, which is "*rahmatan lil alamin*" (Ridwan, 2014).

West Sumatera is a province on the island of Sumatera, with Padang as the capital. This province has an area of 42,012.89 km², located along the west coast of Central Sumatera, with highlands stretching across the eastern part of Sumatera. West Sumatera is located between



00° 54' North Latitude and 30° 30' South Latitude and between 98° 36' -101° 53' East Longitude and traversed by the equator. West Sumatera consists of 19 regencies/cities, 179 sub-districts, and 1,274 *nagari* with a population of 580,232, composed of 2,810,407 men and 2,769,825 women (BPS West Sumatera Province, 2021).

Almost seventy-seven years since Indonesia gained independence, recurring issues regarding nationalism are still becoming a discourse. This discourse has relevance to the research since conflicts frequently occur in areas with tribal or religious nuances. These conflicts could possibly lead to separatism. Nationalism acts as an integral part of national insight and is deeply rooted in the nation. Nationalism continues to thrive dynamically and become a part of national history. Due to the spirit of nationalism, this nation prevailed and broke free from the shackles of colonization. Therefore, to face complex issues, a nation must maintain the spirit of being victorious and the attitude of defending the state that has been passed down by the founding fathers, including maintaining the spirit of unity. The spirit of unity is recognized as the nation's strength and acts as the base of the state defense.

Nationalism is an understanding or teaching to love a nation and the state or the awareness of a member of a nation, who has the potential to sustain a nation's integrity, prosperity, strength, and identity (Nurhakim, 2019). Nationalism means to take pride in being united in a heterogeneous society, which consists of various tribes, beliefs, customs, and other social behaviors. The diversity in the nation becomes one in the nation's motto, "*Bhineka Tunggal Ika*" and is bound in a unitary state called Indonesia. To overcome issues that erode the sense of nationalism as a consequence of the developing technology and information flows, various elements of the nation must devote maximum efforts to sustain the sense of nationalism. One of them is by instilling values of nationalism through the state defense program as one of the steps to anticipate the loss of the value of nationalism in Indonesia.

Based on the issues mentioned earlier, these issues indicate that the sense of nationalism in indigenous people has begun to erode; thus, there is a need to cultivate the value of nationalism through the state defense program. This article will reveal how Indigenous Institutions' role in achieving state defense programs in West Sumatera to support state defense.

Method

The research method used in this article is library research, obtained from various literature sources, such as books, literature, websites, scholarly articles, magazines, research results, and so forth. This research is conducted by using a qualitative approach to find out or describe the reality of the events studied, thus making it easier for researchers to get objective data (Sugiono, 2015).

Results And Discussion

As a part of the international community, Indonesia is going to encounter internal and external factors, that stem from the current development of geopolitical conditions and situations. Global issues, for instance, invasions and territorial disputes, are no longer dominant. However, it is far from developing into things that lead to economic globalization. Transnational threats in the form of an armed separatist movement, terrorism, radicalism, environmental damage, and social-political inequalities is caused by the current development of the global era.



Amid the strong tailwind of globalization that threatens the existence of nationalism and the foundation of the nation-state, all parties are encouraged to emphasize the importance of defending the country to its citizens. Every citizen is besought to always think, act, and fight to defend the country. The state-defending effort is required to withstand various threats and conflicts in the era of global capitalism. The state must be secured, protected, and defended since the state is protecting the citizens.

Globalization can exert changes in the lifestyle of Minangkabau indigenous people. People tend to choose new cultures over local ones, which are deemed more practical. The younger Minangkabau generation has little interest in learning and preserving Minangkabau cultural heritage. This serves as one of the causes why Minangkabau culture is forgotten in the present day. The lifestyle of today's society differs greatly from the past. This is also one of the impacts of globalization; hence it needs a more serious solution. Other impacts of globalization, including technological advancement, is very beneficial but can also be harmful to the mentality of indigenous people in Minangkabau.

In Indonesia, the concept of *wawasan nusantara* (Indonesian archipelagic vision) is used in dealing with the geopolitical dynamic. Indonesian archipelagic vision is how the Republic of Indonesia regards itself and its surrounding by optimally utilizing its geographical position and conditions, and sparking the spirit of all nation's youth to be responsible and motivated in achieving national goals. The national goal has been inscribed in the preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia of 1945, "... shall protect the whole people of Indonesia and the entire homeland of Indonesia, and in order to advance general prosperity, to develop the nation's intellectual life, and to contribute to the implementation of a world order based on freedom, lasting peace and social justice."

In realizing national goals, the state defense factor is very fundamental to ensure the viability of the state. The existence of a state depends heavily on its ability to deal with various forms of threats, both internal and external threats. The Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 23 of 2019 concerning The Management of National Resources, the general provisions of article 1 (one), explained the essence of the state defense is all efforts to maintain the sovereignty of the state, the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the entire nation from threats and upheavals, which threaten to the integrity of the nation and state. Of course, state defense can run optimally with the support of all Indonesian citizens, which is realized in state defense awareness and will eventually birth a strong sense of nationalism.

The act of defending the state became the spirit of the People's Security Defense System (*Sishankamrata*), in which all components of the nation participated in the state defense efforts as mandated by the law. *Sishankamrata* involves all citizens, regions, and other national resources, set early by the state and is organized in a total, integrated, directed, and continuous manner. Defending the state is expected to appear as a practice built on belief, value, attitude, and societal perspective, involving all citizen; ranging from the youth to the elderly.

State defense awareness has been mandated in the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945 as mentioned in several articles, namely Article 30 paragraph (1), states each citizen has the right and obligation to participate in defending the state, and paragraph (2) states the conditions on defense are regulated by law. Further elaboration regarding the state defense is inscribed in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia number 3 of 2002 concerning the defense of the state, Article 9 paragraph (1) states that every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in the state defense efforts, realized in the implementation of state defense, and paragraph (2) The participation of citizens in the state defense efforts,



as intended in paragraph (1) is organized through civic education, mandatory military basic training, being drafted in the armed forces, which is being done voluntarily or compulsorily, and devote themselves in accordance with the profession.

Every citizen is obliged to secure, protect, and defend the state from threats that threaten state sovereignty and territory (Subagyo, 2015). According to Suwarno (2011), the obligation to defend the state is performed by all citizen according to Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, Indonesian archipelagic insight, and national resilience. State defense efforts are not only the duty of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), but also all Indonesian people (indigenous people). This underlies the implementation of the state defense program by the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia and all relevant institution.

The state defense program cannot be implemented in a heedless manner and must be performed systematically and directly through training and education because education serves as a mean in developing the sense of nationalism based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution (Hirnissa et.al, 2009). The indoctrination of state defense awareness towards every citizen as their responsibility in maintaining the viability of the nation and state is very important, in order to be able to defend the country from internal or external threats and military and non-military threats. Rights and obligations regarding the state defense have been written in the 1945 Constitution in paragraphs of Article 27 and 3. In these articles, it is explained that defending the state is the determination, attitude, and action of every citizen in an orderly, thorough, integrated and continuous manner, based on their devotion to the motherland, awareness of the Indonesian nation and state, and adherence to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution for the unity and development of the Republic of Indonesia.

During the official opening of the State Defense Education in 2022, the Governor of West Sumatera said:

Amid globalization, state defense programs are still not well utilized. There is indications of declining moral values, ethical values, values of being victorious, values of patriotism, the spirit of unity, the sense of nationalism, whereas the sense of primordialism is surging. This state of affair should not be allowed to occur continuously as this will undermine the nation's integrity. Therefore, collective awareness in the nation is required to revitalize and re-actualize national values that are still intact in society. The state defense efforts are essentially a pattern of attitude and behavior of citizens, instilled by their devotion to the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The implementation of state defense becomes a joint responsibility, which is realized in the spirit of nationalism, a high sense of nationalism, and embedded in the attitudes and behavior of every citizen. Consequently, the governor invites every citizen in West Sumatera always to maintain the situation in their region, which has been harmonious, safe, and comfortable, so that the devotion to the motherland continues to grow amongst them (Kominfortik Office, 2022).

Efforts in achieving the state defense program by the West Sumatera Regional Government was a response to the Vice Minister of Defense's directive, M. Herindra, during the National Conference of State Defense (Rembug Nasional Bela Negara). During this conference, the Vice Minister of Defense verbalized to the representatives of Institutions, including regional government institution, Indonesian Armed Forces, and Indonesian National Police, on Wednesday, March 24th 2021 in Jakarta:

The Ministry of Defense hopes to build a common perception and uniformed role of procedure, as well as a joint commitment in organizing PKBN in every Institution, including regional government, Indonesian Armed Forces and Indonesian National Police. The joint



commitment and common perception act as a form of responsibility in helping to build the awareness of state defense as the nation's quality and be able to actualize it in daily life. The state defense awareness of the state's citizen serves as the social capital as well as the strength of the nation. Therefore, every citizen has to be prepared to face military or non-military threats, which is actualized in voluntary participation as a reserve component and a supporting component (Bureau of Public Relations of the Ministry of Defense, 2021).

The existence of indigenous institutions in West Sumatera has a great potential for the state defense interest, consisting 19 LKAAM (Minangkabau wide Association of Village Adat Council) at the Regency / City level, 179 LKAAM at the district level, and 1274 KAN at the *nagari* (village level) with a population of 580,232 people. (West Sumatera Province in Numbers, Province in Figures, 2021). According to Naim (1984), *nagari* customary density is the highest customary consultative and consensus representative institution, which has existed and being passed down for generations in the *nagari* community <https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nagari> in West Sumatera. KAN guards and conserves Minangkabau customs and culture under the supervision of LKAAM, starting from the sub-district to the province. LKAAM is collaborating with the West Sumatera government, which accommodates the distribution of aspirations by indigenous communities in terms of preserving indigenous values in the community. LKAAM has the purpose to preserve Minangkabau customs and culture to the next generation by institutionalizing and increasing community participation, in order to be successful in regional development in the framework of national development. The function of LKAAM itself serves as a means to coordinate the customary density of *nagari* according to the customary structure in the *nagari* system within the province of West Sumatera and other regions, whose ethnic communities adhere to the Minangkabau customary system (AD ART LKAAM, 1971).

According to Al Rafni, et al (2008), the value or identity of life in almost all *nagari* in West Sumatera had already shifted and the cultural value/identity had begun to disappear, i.e.:

- a. The role of *ninik mamak* has shifted; the role has been very prominent, the leadership pattern of *barajo ka mamak*, *mamak barajo ka panghulu* has dwindled.
- b. The sense of solidarity/togetherness has faded and the loss of *saiyo sakato* and *sanasib* (a sense of nurturing and compassion) as a sense of happiness.
- c. The principle of *musyawarah* (consensus decision-making) began to wane.
- d. The decreasing sense of *raso jo pareso* (feeling and will) as well as shame culture in Minangkabau society.
- e. The function of *tungku tigo sajarangan* (*ninik mamak*, *alim ulama*, and *cadiak pandai*) has diminished.

Indigenous people were also inquired on their perspective of the role of indigenous institutions in preserving customs (marriage, *sako-pusako*, and other noble values). Their answers showed and proved the diminishing function of indigenous institutions. Indigenous institutions lack of functionality has weaken the position and role of indigenous leaders amongst indigenous people and indigenous people has little understanding or knowledge about indigenous values in their region.

Solving issues according to *nagari* way of living is being done on a particular manner; every issue that occurred in a *nagari* must be resolved in *bajanjang naiak and batanggo turun* (in accordance with authority). This meant that every issue must be solved starting from the bottom; starting from *mamak*, then to the head of the people. If the problem is not yet



resolved by the head of the people, it will be forwarded to the tribal chief. If it is not yet resolved, the issue will be proposed to the Village Adat Council. The Village Adat Council decision will be forwarded to *kemenakan* (nephews/next of kin) through a certain structure; starting from the tribal chief, then to the ethnic leader, to *mamak*, to the legatee, to *kemenakan*, and finally to the son. It is increasingly clear that the role of KAN (the Village Adat Council) is important in managing Minangkabau society. KAN regulates various issues that occur in the structure of *kemenakan*, *berkaum*, *suku*, *berkorong*, *jo berkampung* (family life, society, and desire).

The existence, history, and development of *nagari* as a territory in the lowest level of governance is stated in Article 18 b paragraph 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia of 1945. This article states that *nagari* is a union of indigenous people. The Republic of Indonesia recognizes and honors the union of indigenous people and their traditional rights for the rest of their lives, in accordance with the development of society and corresponding to the principles the Republic of Indonesia as stipulated in the Law. The term "*nagari*" is another term for 'village' in Minangkabau region. This term is explained in Article 6 paragraph (2) of Law No. 6 of 2014 concerning villages, which states the usage of the term "villages" or "customary villages" as intended in paragraph (1), where the term is adjusted to a more well-known term in the region. A *nagari* in Minangkabau region is similar to a small state, which consists segments, for instance a *nagari* government is being led by *Wali Nagari* (Chief of Village). A *Wali Nagari*'s task is organizing and managing affairs in their own *nagari*, which includes customary affairs, which are a challenging issue in the Minangkabau community (Anwar, 1997).

The Minangkabau people's life principles have a philosophical foundation as stated in the Minangkabau motto, "*Alam Takambang Menjadi Guru, Dima Bumi Dipijak, Disinan Langik Dijunjuang*" (Hakimy, 1988). This motto acts as Minangkabau people's life principle, which is "*being a person*", wherever they are, in the Minangkabau domain or in the Minangkabau region. In the Minangkabau domain, this principle is categorized as a standard principle in leadership and society (Yulika, 2017).

According to the Regulation of the Great Customary Institutions of the Republic of Indonesia number 1 of 2009, article 3, customary institutions have their respective roles, duties, functions, jurisdictions, and duties:

- a. Accommodating and distributing public opinions to the government and settling regulations relating to customary law and local community customs.
- b. Sustaining and preserving virtuous customs or habits as an effort to enrich the regional culture and empower the community, in the government, in the region development, and in the community development.
- c. Creating a democratic, harmonious, and objective relations between the ethnic chief (*kepala adat*) and the government.
- d. In order to carry out the task referred, customary institutions have functions in carrying out data collection programs, to develop policies with the aim of supporting government programs to run smoothly, as well as to sustain the regional development and the community development.

In the *nagari*/village government system, customary institutions has a role in carrying out the government, as explained in the Regulation of the Great Customary Institution of the Republic of Indonesia Number: 1 of 2009 Article 3, where customary institutions and village governments have their respective roles in the village in carrying out their respective duties, in achieving the village's goals. Customary institutions participate in aiding the the



government programs being implemented to run accordingly, helping to develop the community, especially maintaining local customs to maintain the diversity. In carrying out the role of village government, cooperation with customary institutions is needed. The village government has the authority to regulate and take the community's interests in the community and there is interference with customary institutions.

In order to maintain *nagari* as a unitary customary jurisdiction, the West Sumatera Regional Government establishes an organizational structure and working relationship between LKAAM, KAN, and the Regional Government based on PERDA/7/2018 on *nagari*:

Organizational Structure and Working Relationship Between Indigenous Institutions and Local Governments in West Sumatera

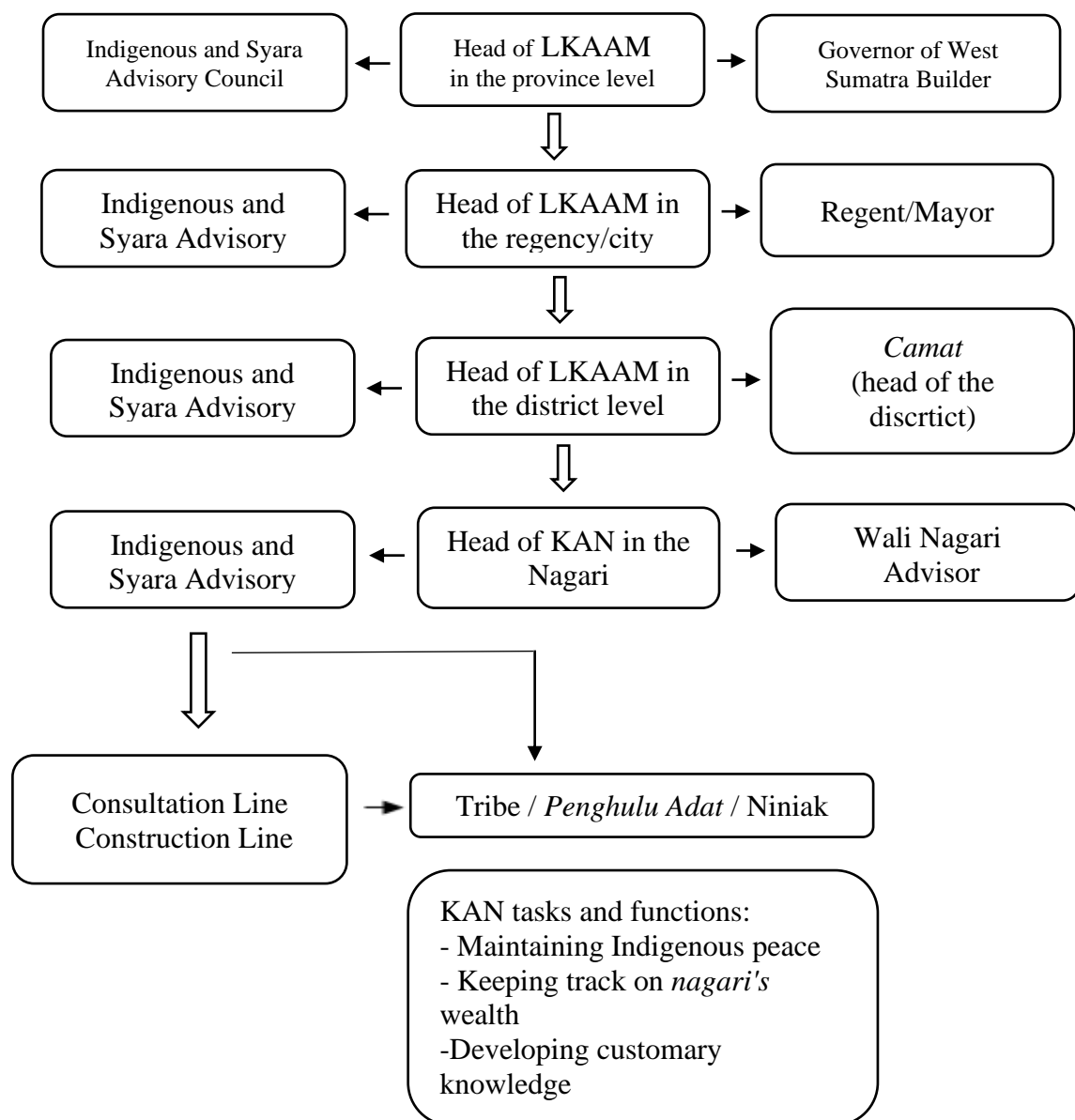


Figure 1. Secretariat of LKAAM West Sumatera



This is what was conveyed by the Governor of West Sumatera, Mahyeldi Ansharullah Dt. Marajo, in the opening of an event, the Ninth Grand Discussion (*Musyawahar Besar*), of LKAAM West Sumatera in the traditional meeting room of the West Sumatera LKAAM Office, on Thursday, December 16th 2021. Governor Mahyeldi said, LKAAM as an indigenous institution has a strategic role in realizing a developed and independent Minangkabau community, according to the philosophical motto "*Adat basandi Syara'and Syara'basandi kitabullah*". The local government strongly experienced the benefits and functions of LKAAM, in accelerating the development. It is evident, since numerous issues will be resolved only when there is an active participation by the indigenous leaders, especially in the affairs of "*sako pusako*". Not every issue can be solved through legal and government approach. These issues could be resolved through the role of indigenous figures, namely *niniak mamak* through *adat* councils (West Sumatera Public Relations Bureau, 2021).

Based on the explanation above, it is increasingly clear that the existence of LKAAM as an indigenous institution is very strategic in the Minangkabau customary environment. Therefore, opportunities and potentials available are very strategic for the West Sumatera Regional Government to support regional government's development programs, especially state defense programs. So far, various efforts and activities have been put into action by the West Sumatera Regional Government in achieving the state defense program, but there has been no evidence on the empowerment of LKAAM itself in achieving the state defense program. The purpose of indigenous institutions' empowerment in West Sumatera is to give an understanding to leaders and administrators of the government, then they will issue a statement about the state defense program in the Minangkabau community. After that, informations regarding the state defense program will be forwarded to all *kemenakan* in the customary institution, so that they can form state defense cadres who will collaborate with other nation components to strengthen the stat defense.

So far, the state defense program implemented by the West Sumatera regional government has only generally targeted and reached schools and community organizations and has not yet reached customary institutions by program. As the basis of the implementation of the national state defense program or PKBN, it has been strengthened by the Government Regulation No. 3 of 2021 concerning Guidelines for the Implementation of Law No. 23 of 2019 concerning PSDN for State Defense. State Defense is a right and obligation mandated in the 1945 Constitution Article 27 paragraph (3). The rights and obligations of State Defense are also regulated in Law No. 3 of 2002 Article 9 and consolidated by Law No. 23 of 2019. From the various provisions mentioned above, it can be understood that *Bela Negara* is a constitutional right and obligation of every Indonesian citizen that every Indonesian citizen must abide by.

The role of Indigenous Institutions in West Sumatera in achieving the state defense program became the main framework utilized to support the state defense. In order to be a social capital as well as the power of the nation, every Indonesian citizen must be prepared, when faced with non-military and military threats. If one day the state requires their participation, which is going to be actualized in voluntary participation as a reserve component and as a supporting component. Hence, it is necessary to build a common perception, a united path, as well as being committed in achieving the state defense program through empowering indigenous institutions in the region, as a form of responsibility in participating in shaping the stature of the nation, which is aware of the state defense and be able to actualize it in everyday life.

The existence of *masyarakat* (citizen) in customary institutions as part of the component of a nation is strongly related to the state defense. The indigenous community



has a very important role in a state, namely in defending its state, as stated in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. To carry out the mandate of the 1945 Constitution, it is necessary to enforce it into concrete programs or activities for every social stratification. The obligation to defend the state is not only to be carried out by the military, but also to be carried out by those who are not military, especially when faced with non-military threats such as unarmed threats, that is endangering or have implications to threaten the state sovereignty, the integrity of the state's territory, and the safety of the entire nation.

The state defense program becomes mandatory for every citizen in general and the people of West Sumatera, through indigenous institutions, as support in accomplishing the state defense program, which is beneficial of the state defense. There has been no significant role of indigenous institutions as yet in achieving the state defense program in West Sumatera, despite its very strategic role in the state government. As stated in article 1 of The Regional Regulation of West Sumatera Province Number 7 of 2018 concerning *nagari*, it is stated that *nagari* has united the indigenous people genealogically and historically, has a certain territory, has its own wealth, is authorized to choose its leaders through *musyawarah*, organized and took care of the the local community interests according to the philosophical motto, "*Basandi syarak, Syarak basandi kitabullah*" and is based on the origin and local customs within the territory of West Sumatera Province. Thus, in improving the state defense successful outcome in West Sumatera, the existence of indigenous institutions is very strategic. Subsequently, the existence of indigenous institutions in West Sumatera in achieving the state defense program is deemed beneficial for the state's defense.

Conclusion

Amid the torrent of globalization, which threatens the existence of nationalism and the foundation of the state, all parties are encouraged to emphasize the importance of the state defense program to its citizens. Every citizen is required to always think, act, fight, and strive to defend their state. The heavy tailwind of globalization impacts dwindling moral values, ethical values, values of victory, patriotism, the spirit of unity, the sense of nationalism, whereas the sense of primordialism is surging.

This situation cannot occur continuously because it is going to threaten the nation's integrity. Therefore, collective awareness by every element of the nation is required to revitalize and re-actualize national values that are intact in the community. One of the efforts is through increasing the role of indigenous institutions in West Sumatera in achieving state defense programs to refine the people's attitudes and behaviors imbued by their devotion to the Republic of Indonesia, according to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Minangkabau Customary Institution, also known as LKAAM (Minangkabau wide Association of Village Adat Council) serves as a forum for indigenous organizations to accommodate and channel people's aspirations to local government in resolving various issues in the community. In addition, the existence of indigenous institutions creates democratic, harmonious relations, and empowers the community to support the improvement of local government and the community welfare. The existence of LKAAM as an indigenous institution has a strategic role in realizing a developed and independent Minangkabau community in the philosophical nuances of "*Adat basandi Syara' and Syara'basandi kitabullah*". The West Sumatera Regional Government strongly experienced the benefits and functions of LKAAM, in accelerating development, physically and in the form of state defense programs. This is evident, since numerous issues is only going to be resolved, when there is an active role and participation from indigenous figures and institutions, especially in the affairs of "*sako pusako*". Not every issue can be solved through legal and local government approaches but it is greatly helped



by local wisdom that is solved through the role of indigenous figures, namely *niniak mamak* in Minangkabau customary institutions. These issues could be resolved through the role of indigenous figures, namely *niniak mamak* through customary institutions.

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Factors Affecting Japan In Resolving the Issue of Jugun Ianfu With South Korea Through a ‘Finally and Irreversibly’ Agreement Between Japan and South Korea in 2016

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FACTORS AFFECTING JAPAN IN RESOLVING THE ISSUE OF JUGUN IANFU WITH SOUTH KOREA THROUGH A 'FINALLY AND IRREVERSIBLY' AGREEMENT BETWEEN JAPAN AND SOUTH KOREA IN 2016

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Abstract

Jugun ianfu or comfort women is a term for women who are used to meet the sexual needs of Japanese soldiers during the colonial period until the end of World War II. After rejecting the program from the Asian Women's Fund (AWF) which was formed by the Japanese government to resolve the issue of *jugun ianfu*, activists and the South Korean government urged Japan to resolve the issue again. However, the Japanese government did not give a positive response. In fact, in 2014 the investigative team under Shinzo Abe stated that the statement acknowledging the direct or indirect involvement of the Japanese military in the creation and management of the comfort station was not based on facts and was the result of negotiations with South Korea. However, in November 2015, the Foreign Ministers of Japan and South Korea met and agreed to resolve this issue by drawing up a 'Finally and Irreversibly' Agreement. The author uses a qualitative method with the main data source in the form of literature to analyze why the Japanese government finally softened and agreed to resolve the issue of South Korea's *jugun ianfu* by compiling a 'Finally and Irreversibly' Agreement. The changes that occurred on the part of the Japanese government were caused by various internal and external factors, such as economic problems faced by Japan, decisive action from South Korea, pressure from the United States, the strengthening of the economy and defense from China and the increasing nuclear capabilities of North Korea.

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Introduction

During the Japanese colonial period until the end of World War II, the Japanese government established a system called a comfort station where Japanese soldiers could seek entertainment through *jugun ianfu*. *Jugun ianfu*, in English referred to as comfort women, are women who are used to meet the sexual needs of Japanese soldiers. At first, these *jugun ianfu* were Japanese women who had already worked as sex workers in Japan or also Japanese women who suffered from sexually transmitted diseases. However, to prevent the spread of sexually transmitted diseases from the *jugun ianfu* to the soldiers, women from outside Japan were sought to become *jugun ianfu*. The *jugun ianfu* are placed in a place called a comfort station.

The comfort station, which was established in early 1932 in Japan and in various countries where Japanese troops were stationed, stopped operating until the end of the Pacific War in 1945. Comfort stations can also be used as a sign that the area is under Japanese





control because it was established where Japanese troops were at. According to Soh (1996), the number of women who served as *jugun ianfu* is estimated at around 70,000 to 200,000 people from various countries and it is also estimated that 80% of them came from the Korean Empire at that time.

The issue of *jugun ianfu* came to the fore in the 1990s with the emergence of the women's movement in South Korea. In late 1991, a former South Korean *jugun ianfu* testified about his life as a *jugun ianfu* and filed a lawsuit against the Japanese government for responsibility for the war crimes. According to Soh (2001), since the beginning of 1992, women leaders from both South Korea and Japan, former *jugun ianfu* from South Korea, and legal experts have urged international organizations, including the United Nations, to carry out a series of formal examinations and investigations related to this issue. They wanted a formal apology from the Japanese government, compensation, memorial monument construction, and correction of Japanese history textbooks to teach the truth about *jugun ianfu*.

On 11 January 1992, the Asahi newspaper reported that a Japanese historian named Yoshiaki Yoshimi found official documents that wrote about the involvement of the Japanese military in the creation and management of the comfort station (Soh, 2001). This discovery eventually made the Japanese government admit its involvement in the establishment of the comfort station and then conduct further investigations regarding the issue. After conducting an investigation, Cabinet Secretary Yohei Kono issued a statement acknowledging the Japanese military's direct and indirect involvement in the establishment and management of comfort stations and the deployment of *jugun ianfu*. Yohei Kono expresses his apologies and regrets on behalf of the Japanese government to all women who suffer from immeasurable pain and incurable physical and psychological injuries as a result of becoming a *jugun ianfu*. The Japanese government will also face the historical facts regarding *jugun ianfu* and is determined not to repeat it by etching the problem in memory through the study and teaching of history.

This statement gave rise to opposition within the Japanese government. Many think that the former *jugun ianfu*'s main problem is economic compensation. Japan cannot compensate each individual because war crimes compensation has been paid to South Korea along with the signing of the Treaty of Normalization of Relations between the two countries. However, in 1994 Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama formed a coalition with three parties (the Liberal Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the New Sakigake Party) to convince the other members of the Diet that compensation should be given to every former *jugun ianfu*. Finally, it was decided to form the Asian Women's Fund (AWF) which acts as an institution for delivering compensation for former *jugun ianfu* in the Philippines, South Korea, the Netherlands, Taiwan, and Indonesia through health, welfare, and other projects.

The establishment of AWF received mixed reactions, not only from Japan itself but also from the countries of origin of the former *jugun ianfu*. Several parties accept the presence of AWF, but there are also those who do not accept it. According to Kimura (2016), AWF received criticism because the funds used were not funds from the Japanese government but funds from the private sector. Of the total 238 former *jugun ianfu* known by the South Korean government, only about 61 people received funds from AWF. In March 2007, AWF disbanded after completing its project. However, in the same year, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe stated that there was no coercion by the Japanese authorities on the victim, and there was also no reliable evidence of such coercion (AFP, 2007). But then Prime Minister Shinzo Abe retracted that statement and said he would uphold the 1993 Kono Statement.



Activists from South Korea continued to hold demonstrations so that Japan would acknowledge and give a formal apology. The South Korean government itself also always mentions the *jugun ianfu* issue at every opportunity to meet with the Japanese government. Then in 2015, the Japanese and South Korean sides held talks on the issue of *jugun ianfu* which later resulted in an agreement to resolve the matter. The Japanese government officially apologized and acknowledged its military involvement in the establishment and management of the comfort station. The Japanese government will also provide funds that officially come from the government budget to institutions formed by South Korea. This fund will be used to help heal former *jugun ianfu* from South Korea. This agreement is declared by both parties as the final agreement and cannot be changed. According to Kim (2015), both parties also agreed to stop criticizing each other regarding this issue of *jugun ianfu*.

There has been a change in the attitude of the Japanese government, especially Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, toward the South Korean *jugun ianfu* issue. Therefore, the writer wants to analyze why the Japanese government finally softened and agreed to resolve the issue of South Korea's *jugun ianfu* by compiling a 'Finally and Irreversibly' Agreement. By examining these problems, we can understand what factors influence a decision or policy on a problem.

Method

The author uses a qualitative method with the main data source in the form of literature to analyze why the Japanese government finally softened and agreed to resolve the issue of South Korea's *jugun ianfu* by compiling a 'Finally and Irreversibly' Agreement. Qualitative methods are research conducted to understand a phenomenon based on the participants' point of view so that researchers can identify problems directly because they are involved in participant activities or by investigating with a narrative approach and collecting stories from participants (Creswell, 2014). The data used to analyze is literature books, journals, reports, and internet articles. The data collected will be limited to the process of resolving the *jugun ianfu* issue since most of the former South Korean *jugun ianfu* refused to receive assistance from the Asian Women's Fund until a 'Final and Irreversibly' Agreement was formed between Japan and South Korea.

The data that is prioritized is Japan's attitude towards the South Korean *jugun ianfu* issue from 2007 to 2016. The data obtained are the efforts made by South Korea to resolve the issue of *jugun ianfu*, the attitude of the international community regarding the issue, the response of the Japanese government regarding urges to resolve the issue of *jugun ianfu*, as well as matters that influence the change in the attitude of the Japanese government in responding to the issue.

The Emergence of the *Jugun Ianfu* Issue and the Establishment of the Asian Women's Fund as a Form of Japan's Responsibility

Women activists in South Korea staged a demonstration demanding that the *jugun ianfu* issue be raised after a presentation by an Ehwa Women's University student named Yun Chung Ok about the relationship between *jugun ianfu* during the colonial period and *kisaeng* tourism in modern-day Korea (Soh, 1996). This presentation was held in April 1988 at the International Conference on Women and Tourism on Jeju Island, South Korea. *Kisaeng* is a professional entertainer who in the early 1960s, was used to entertain overseas visitors. According to Soh (1996), on 6 June 1990, a member of the upper house of parliament in Japan asked the government to investigate the issue but was rejected by the government who insisted that the comfort station was a private enterprise.



Women's organizations in South Korea are constantly holding demonstrations. Then in November 1990 several women's organizations joined forces and formed *Chongdaehyop*, or in English called the Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan (KCWS) under the leadership of Yun Chung Ok and Lee Hyo Chae (Soh, 1996). KCWS is an organization created to focus on fighting for justice for former *jugun ianfu* from South Korea. One of the famous demonstrations from KCWS is the Wednesday Protest, a demonstration every Wednesday by KCWS and several former *jugun ianfu*. This Wednesday Protest was first held on 8 January 1992 when Prime Minister Miyazawa visited South Korea, with a demand for the Japanese government to carry out a full investigation and fulfill its responsibility to restore the rights and dignity of the victims. However, until the late 1990s, the response given by the Japanese government was not a good response.

In mid-1991, the situation changed drastically when Kim Hak Sun, a former *jugun ianfu* from South Korea, told the public about her bitter experience as a *jugun ianfu* (Hayashi, 2008). Kim Hak Sun along with two others former *jugun ianfu* then filed a lawsuit against the Japanese government at the end of 1991. Kim Hak Sun's courage to tell the public about this *jugun ianfu* aroused the courage of other victims. In 1992, a former *jugun ianfu* from the Netherlands named Jan Ruff O'Herne came forward to testify because she was inspired by the courage of Kim Hak Sun. Activists from both South Korea and Japan, former *jugun ianfu*, and legal experts urged international organizations, including the United Nations, to carry out a series of formal examinations and investigations related to the issue. In addition to KCWS's efforts to gain international support in order to pressure the Japanese government to take responsibility, the issue of *jugun ianfu* has attracted the attention of the international community, especially feminists. According to Kimura (2016), in August 1992, feminists from Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, and other Asian countries held the Japanese Military's 'Comfort Women' Asian Solidarity Conference in Seoul.

Not only are feminists interested in this issue of *jugun ianfu*, Japanese historian Yoshimi Yoshiaki is also interested in investigating the issue further. Finally, on 11 January 1992 Yoshimi Yoshiaki managed to collect official documents stating the involvement of the Japanese military in establishing and managing the comfort station (Soh, 2001). Yoshimi Yoshiaki's discovery finally made the Japanese government, which was then led by Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, admit to the public about the involvement of the Japanese military in the *jugun ianfu* system. The Japanese government then also began to conduct a deeper investigation into the issue. Finally, on 4 August 1993, Chief Cabinet Secretary Yohei Kono issued a statement containing the results of an investigation into the *jugun ianfu* case. That statement acknowledged that the Japanese military was directly or indirectly involved in the establishment and management of comfort stations and the deployment of *jugun ianfu* (Asian Women's Fund, 2007). In addition, most of the recruitment was carried out by the private sector at the request of the military where the recruitment process itself was not in accordance with the will of the *jugun ianfu*, for example through persuasion, coercion, and so on. Chief Cabinet Secretary Yohei Kono also expressed his apologies and regrets on behalf of the Japanese government to all women who suffered from immeasurable pain and incurable physical and psychological injuries due to being *jugun ianfu*. The Japanese government will also face the historical facts regarding *jugun ianfu* and determined not to repeat it by engraving the problem in memory forever through the study and teaching of history.

In 1994, Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama formed a coalition with three parties (the Liberal Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the New Sakigake Party) to convince the other members of the Diet, the national legislature of Japan, that the Japanese government needed to compensate each former *jugun ianfu*. Finally, it was decided to form



the Asian Women's Fund (AWF) which acts as an institution for delivering compensation through health, welfare, and other projects for former *jugun ianfu* in the Philippines, South Korea, the Netherlands, Taiwan, and Indonesia. The establishment of AWF as a form of Japanese responsibility regarding the issue of *jugun ianfu* has received various responses. At first, many thought that the main thing pursued from the emergence of this issue was economic problems where Japan had to compensate each victim. In fact, the victims want justice in the form of the Japanese government's acknowledgment of its military involvement, an official apology, and the writing of the history of *jugun ianfu* in Japan's history textbooks, not just money.

In 1997 and 1998, The South Korean and Taiwanese governments also provided financial support to former *jugun ianfu* in their countries, equivalent to reconciliation money or compensation from the Japanese government, so they did not have to accept the money that would be disbursed from the AWF. Although there were quite a number of rejections, not a few of them finally accepted the reconciliation funds from AWF. The victims and activists were divided into two sides, those who refused and those who accepted. AWF made its first assignment in the Philippines on 13 August 1996 followed by South Korea on 11 January 1997, Indonesia on 25 March 1997, Taiwan on 2 May 1997, and the Netherlands on 25 July 1998 (Asian Women's Fund, 2007).

Changes in the Attitude of the Japanese Government

South Korea is the only country out of the five target countries for the Asian Women's Fund (AWF) program that strongly rejects the agency's program. Activists in South Korea, especially the Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan (KCWS) rejected the AWF program because the funds used in the program were not purely a budget from the Japanese government rather raised funds from various groups of Japanese society. When AWF came to South Korea to run the program, there was seven former *jugun ianfu* who signed up to receive the program. After receiving the compensation money and the letter, the seven former *jugun ianfu* received criticism from South Korean activists as well as other former *jugun ianfu* who did not want to accept the AWF program. Due to the enormous pressure from activists in South Korea who rejected the program, AWF finally suspended its program and tried to find ways to improve its program so that South Korea could accept it.

However, under the leadership of Kim Dae Jung, the South Korean government decided not to ask for compensation money from the Japanese government. The South Korean government and KCWS will provide subsidies for living expenses to former South Korean *jugun ianfu* who refuse the AWF program. The South Korean government then gave the subsidy to 142 people but did not give it to former *jugun ianfu*, who had received compensation money from AWF. AWF made various efforts to get the South Korean government to accept their program, but the response from the South Korean government did not change until finally on 1 May 2002 the program was terminated. The South Korean government and activists continue to demand better accountability from the Japanese government. Wednesday Protest is still being run by KCWS. President Roh Moo Hyun, who was initially less active in the issue of *jugun ianfu*, also began demanding the Japanese government to immediately resolve the issue since 2003. In addition, the Center of Research and Documentation on Japan's War Responsibility (JWRC) issued an Appeal on the Issue of Japan's Military Comfort Women on 23 February 2007 which contained facts about the military's involvement in the system establishment, control, and management of the comfort



station and also concluded that the system is a more overt and detailed sexual slavery than licensed prostitution in Japan (Hayashi, 2008).

In 2007, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe issued a statement that there was no evidence of coercion of women in Japanese colonies during World War II to become *jugun ianfu*. It was even reported that the Japanese Diet at that time decided to change the part of Kono's statement that acknowledged the direct or indirect involvement of Japanese soldiers in the recruitment of *jugun ianfu* where the recruitment was carried out by force. Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's statement received criticism from the international community, including the United States, which then forced Prime Minister Shinzo Abe to withdraw his statement and apologize to the victims. Prime Minister Shinzo Abe did the same when he was re-elected to be Prime Minister of Japan in 2012. On 20 June 2014, an investigative panel commissioned by the Shinzo Abe government announced that Kono's Statement was drafted under pressure from Seoul and was a by-product of diplomatic negotiations, not the discovery of precise facts. This also caused a negative response from the international community (Kim, 2014).

But after that, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's attitude towards the issue of *jugun ianfu* changed. In 2015 during a visit to Washington, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe clearly stated his commitment not to change Kono's Statement and to try to avoid provocative remarks on the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II (Sneider, 2016). This problem finally found light after a meeting held by the Foreign Ministers of Japan and South Korea at the end of 2015. In the meeting, both parties agreed to resolve this issue by drawing up a 'Finally and Irreversibly' Agreement in which Japan will provide funds from their state budget. Then, South Korea will form an institution that will provide welfare programs for former *jugun ianfu* in South Korea. Prime Minister Shinzo Abe also apologized to the victims who had been injured and suffered both physically and psychologically.

Decision-making approach in Japan's decision to resolve the *Jugun Ianfu* issue with South Korea in 2016

A decision-making approach is an approach used to analyze why a country takes a certain action. Richard C. Snyder's decision-making approach explains that the state is an actor who acts in certain circumstances where the action depends on the interpretation of the situation in which they are (Allison, 1971). In this approach, it is explained that there are two factors that influence the decision-making process. First, everything that is in the state, such as society, culture, domestic politics, social groups, political elites, public opinion, and the mass media. The first factor is referred to as the internal factor. Second, everything that is abroad or what is commonly referred to as the international system, such as friends, foes, international organizations, diplomatic regulations, policies of other countries, and so on. This second factor is referred to as the external factor. The Japanese government's decision to finally settle the *jugun ianfu* issue with South Korea in 2016 was also influenced by various factors. These factors are divided into two, internal factors and external factors.

Internal factors in Japan's decision-making to resolve the *Jugun Ianfu* issue with South Korea in 2016

According to Ku (2016), trade relations between South Korea and Japan continued to decline, from 108 billion U.S. dollars in 2011 to 95 billion U.S. dollars in 2013 and declined again in 2015 to 72 billion U.S. dollars. Meanwhile, exports and imports with China continued to increase. China even became the first export destination for South Korea. Therefore, in Japan's eyes, South Korea seems to prefer China as its strategic partner. When Shinzo Abe



took office as prime minister in 2007, Japan's economy was still doing well and is still the second-largest economy in the world. But in 2010, China finally surpassed Japan and was ranked as the second-largest economy in the world. Japan itself is experiencing serious economic problems, and Prime Minister Shinzo Abe is trying hard to fix them. Therefore, with an agreement to resolve the issue of *jugun ianfu*, Japan can improve its economic relations with South Korea. It is hoped that increasing trade relations with South Korea will help the Japanese economy.

Japan itself has a desire to take a leadership role in the international arena. However, the issue of *jugun ianfu*, which has spread internationally and involves various international organizations and other countries to urge the Japanese government to take responsibility, has damaged Japan's image in the international arena. The Japanese government insists that the war crimes issue has been resolved through the normalization of relations agreement and even denies any evidence that the recruitment of *jugun ianfu* uses force. This makes Japan get a bad image from the international community. The head of the United Nations Human Rights Commission who praised Japan's active role in preventing violence in the conflict also criticized and urged Japan to immediately resolve the issue of *jugun ianfu* because if not, it would mean that Japan would continue to violate the human rights of the victims (United Nations, 2014). Therefore, with an agreement to resolve this issue, Japan can slightly improve its image in the eyes of the international community and can also pave the way to achieve its goal of taking a leadership role in the international arena. In addition, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe also wants the next generation of Japan to not have to keep apologizing for the previous generation's actions. This can be realized through the 'Finally and Irreversibly' Agreement because with the final and irreversible agreement; the South Korean government also promised not to discuss this issue again at any high-level meeting they will attend.

External factors in Japan's decision-making to resolve the Jugun Ianfu issue with South Korea in 2016

External factors that influence Japan's decision-making to resolve the *jugun ianfu* issue with South Korea in 2016 can be divided into two. First, a change in the strategic environment in the region affects Japan's geopolitics and geostrategy. Second, there is *gaiatsu* or external pressure on the Japanese government to immediately resolve the issue of *jugun ianfu* with South Korea. According to Cornett (2016), Jakub Grygiel defines geopolitics as a human factor within geography and geostrategy follows geopolitics by describing the foreign policy response to geopolitical context. Brzezinski (1986) explains the distinction between geopolitical, strategic, and geostrategic as:

The words geopolitical, strategic, and geostrategic are used to convey the following meanings: geopolitical reflects the combination of geographic and political factors determining the condition of a state or region and emphasizing the impact of geography on politics; strategic refers to the comprehensive and planned application of measures to achieve a central goal or to vital assets of military significance; and geostrategic merges strategic consideration with geopolitical ones.

The strategic environment is the relationship of situations or phenomena that are currently occurring and their development in the scope of a global, regional, and or within a country. This situation is related to strategic issues in order to achieve the national interests of various countries. Changes in the strategic environment that influence Japan's decision-making are



China's increasing economic and defense capabilities and the increasing development of missiles in North Korea.

China's growing economy followed by an increase in the defense sector is often said to be an effort to balance power against the domination of the United States. China continues to send naval and armed patrol boats into surrounding waters to assert its control over territory claimed by Japan, Vietnam, the Philippines, and others. In addition, China is also starting to develop its missile technology. At that time, China was also expanding the capacity of the Yulin Naval Base on Hainan Island and will introduce submarines equipped with missiles with a range of 8,000 kilometers. With such a large range, China is able to attack U.S. bases in Asia and Hawaii (Spitzer, 2011). When fired from the ground, the farthest distance China's missiles can reach Darwin, Australia. If the missile is fired from the sea, then the missile can reach Guam, United States. According to The Washington Post, Guam is an important base in the Pacific for nuclear submarines and aircraft, and there is about 5,000 US military personnel there (Bender, 2016). Meanwhile, if the missile is fired from the air, it can reach Hawaii. This, of course, is a matter of concern not only for the United States but also for Japan and South Korea. Japan and South Korea are alliances with the United States and are geographically closer to China.

In addition to threats from China's growing economic and defense sector, North Korea also continues to develop missiles and nuclear weapons. According to Choe (2015), North Korea, which in May 2015 had successfully carried out a missile test they were developing, said that they had conducted a missile test again in November 2015. North Korea already has the capability to attack the United States, U.S. military bases in the Pacific, and U.S. alliances, South Korea and Japan (Klingner, 2015). The development of nuclear and missile weapons is enough to worry the international community, especially the United States and its allies, South Korea and Japan. Changes in the East Asia region's strategic environment made the United States pressure Japan to immediately resolve the issue of *jugun ianfu* with South Korea.

According to Ku (2016), the United States needs good cooperation with South Korea and Japan, including sharing important military-related knowledge, in order to form an effective missile defense system to weaken China's missile capabilities and also as a deterrent to North Korea's missile and nuclear threats through the missile defense system in Northeast Asia. In 2007, the United States House of Representatives passed Resolution 121, which stated that Japan must recognize and be held responsible for the sexual slavery of young women (also known as *jugun ianfu*) during its occupation from 1930 to the end of World War II, official apology through a public statement by the Prime Minister of Japan, strongly and repeatedly refuting all claims that the *jugun ianfu* system never existed, and must educate current and future generations about this horrific crime while following the recommendations of the international community with respect to *jugun ianfu* (Wolfe, 2014). President Obama himself also tried to resolve the issue of *jugun ianfu* by discussing it directly during his visit to Japan and South Korea after briefly mentioning the issue at the trilateral nuclear security meeting held by President Obama in March 2014 (Sneider, 2016).

Gaiatsu (外圧) literally means foreign pressure or pressure applied from one country to another. According to Miyashita (1999), *gaiatsu* is an attempt by another country, either explicitly or implicitly, to make Japan do things it would not do. Japan's biggest *gaiatsu* is the United States, Japan often follows what the United States wants even though the interests of the two are not the same. Japan's response to pressure from the United States stems from the gap in the interdependence relationship between the two countries. It can be seen that Japan is more dependent on the United States than vice versa. This dependence relationship



gap then gave the United States great bargaining power over Japan. However, *gaiatsu* to resolve the issue of *jugun ianfu* with South Korea did not only come from the United States government. Wednesday Protest continues to be carried out by Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan (KCWS).

According to Ku (2016), the Korean-American community in the United States has also involved by constructing several *jugun ianfu* monuments in various places, including Glendale, California, and Palisades Park in New Jersey. International organizations also urged Japan to recognize and immediately resolve the issue of *jugun ianfu*. On 6 August 2014, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Navi Pillay, criticized a report by the Government of Japan in June 2014, which stated that it was impossible to confirm that the women who became *jugun ianfu* were forcibly recruited (UN, 2014). Pressure on Japan also came, of course, from the South Korean government. If President Roh Moo Hyun and President Lee Myung Bak held the Japanese government accountable regarding the *jugun ianfu* issue through statements at every meeting with Japan, President Park Geun Hye took firmer action against the Japanese government. President Park Geun Hye does not want to hold a bilateral meeting with Prime Minister Shinzo Abe if there is no understanding between the two countries regarding the issue of *jugun ianfu*. Even at the 2015 South Korea-China-Japan meeting in Seoul, President Park Geun Hye did not include Prime Minister Shinzo Abe at a meal with Chinese leaders (Tisdall, 2015).

Conclusion

Japan's decision to resolve the *jugun ianfu* issue with South Korea through the 'Final and Irreversibly' Agreement in 2016 was driven by internal and external factors. The internal factor that drives Japan's decision is the existence of economic problems. By improving relations with South Korea, Japan hopes that it can improve trade relations that had previously been declining. In addition, wanting to take a leadership role in the international arena and the desire for the next generation of Japan to stop apologizing for the previous generation's mistakes were also factors driving this decision. This agreement is referred to as the Finally and Irreversibly Agreement so this agreement is indeed the last agreement between Japan and South Korea on the issue of *jugun ianfu*. So that if later the two countries change leadership, which may not be of the same mind as the current leader, the agreement cannot be changed again. The two countries also no longer criticize each other regarding the issue of *jugun ianfu*. Negative views on Japan due to this issue can be an obstacle for Japan in taking a leadership role in the international arena.

The external factor that influenced Japan's decision was the change in the strategic environment in the East Asia region, where China experienced significant economic growth, which also boosted its defense sector. In addition, North Korea is also continuously developing its missile weapons. These conditions affect the geopolitics and geostrategy of Japan. Japan itself is also still dependent on the United States in the defense sector. With the increase in missile weapons technology from both China and North Korea, this can become a threat to Japan. Resolving the issue of *jugun ianfu* with South Korea can further strengthen the Japan-US-South Korean alliance relationship. Various external pressures or *gaiatsu* were also one of the factors driving the decision to resolve the issue of *jugun ianfu* with South Korea. Pressure to immediately resolve the issue of *jugun ianfu* came from women's activists in South Korea, international organizations, the Korean-American community in the United States, and also from the South Korean government itself. Through the explanation above, it can be concluded that external factors in Japan's decision-making to resolve the issue of *jugun ianfu* with South Korea were the most influential factors.



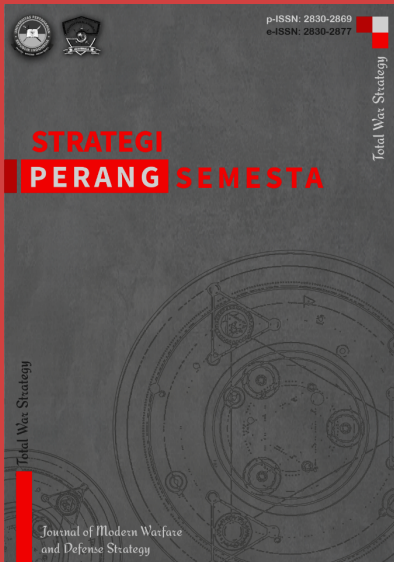
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China's Military Presence in the South China Sea and the AUKUS Alliance on Indonesia's Defense Strategy: A Review of the Land Defence Aspects

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CHINA'S MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA AND THE AUKUS ALLIANCE ON INDONESIA'S DEFENSE STRATEGY: A REVIEW OF THE LAND DEFENCE ASPECTS

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Abstract

As its economy developed, China managed to improve the combat capabilities of its military and defense industry. The presence of China as a new power that has the potential to become hegemony in the region, has caused anxiety for countries in Southeast Asia. Complexity in the region grew after the United States, Britain and Australia formed a new military alliance "AUKUS" in 2021. The research method used is qualitative descriptive, according to Sugiyono, descriptive method is research that describes the state of the object being studied as it is, according to the situation and conditions when the research is carried out. Theories used balance of power, and Stap-to-war. China's military modernization makes the country strong and has the potential to become hegemony in the region. This situation prompted the region's country to improve its military capabilities, produce weaponry and military equipment, and even form military alliances. The AUKUS is a balance of power to offset China's influence, by building nuclear-powered submarines, and is currently developing mach-5 hypersonic missiles. The U.S.-China rivalry makes the LCS region a single geostrategic theater. Indonesia implements an active defense strategy, with pays attention to aspects of geographical conditions as an island nation.

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Introduction

The existence of contemporary dynamics in the strategic environment in the global, regional, and national strata always develops from time to time. It is known as VUCA, a situation full of volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity in the current period. Today's global constellation has triggered rapid and exponential changes in science and technology, one of the main driving forces that revolutionized the characteristics of conflict and warfare (Ryacudu, 2021). The waters of the South China Sea have strategic value from an economic and military aspect. Judging from its geographical location, the South China Sea borders the Philippines, Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, and the PRC. In some parts, there is a jurisdictional overlap between claimant states (the Philippines, Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, and the PRC), causing the potential for conflict in these regions to be quite high. Due to unilateral claims to the territorial waters, China's presence in the South China Sea has created new tensions in the Southeast Asian region. As one of the countries in it, Indonesia is also affected by regional tensions, from security and economic aspects, especially those related to the waters of Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone in the North Natuna Sea (Tandy et al., 2019).





The development of security issues is heating up, creating threats that cause regional instability, including conflicts in the South China Sea. As a result of the emergence of these phenomena and issues, in response, there was a re-establishment (Reborn) of the quadrilateral security cooperation of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QSD) group covering Japan, the United States, India, and Australia in 2017. The Quad is a response to China's actions that have included the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in the Communist Party Act (statute) in 2017 (Nurhasya, 2018).

The heated conflagration in the SCS has encouraged conflict-involved countries to increase military strength and combat capabilities by conducting military exercises, either unilaterally or jointly with other (bilateral) countries in the south China Sea waters, and such activities have increased tensions and triggered an escalation of conflict in the region (Poltak Partogi, 2013). Currently, China has been willing to compromise with its neighbors in the face of border cases onshore, but in disputes over maritime features and ownership of oil and gas reserves offshore, China is using a more coercive approach (The Secretary of U.S. DoD, 2021). This led to the countries involved in the dispute seeking to improve their military combat capabilities and the domestic military industry to create a balance of power in the region.

China has claimed sovereignty over the Spratly and Paracel islands and other mainland features depicted in the "nine-dash line", in addition to which China has also created two new administrative districts to take control of the Paracels and Spratlys. The PLA Navy, China's coast guard and maritime militias have been deployed to carry out patrols in the SCS area, as well as interfere with the implementation of oil, gas, and natural resources exploration of the claimant country. In response to the unilateral and ongoing actions of PRC fishing vessels, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Vietnam have publicly rejected Beijing's nine-dash line claim and used the force of international law to support their country's right to maritime sovereignty (The Secretary of U.S. DoD, 2021). Since 2014, the Spratly Islands have become a large construction site, turning coral islands into permanent artificial islands. In less than a year, it was able to create a new land of more than 10 Km², and Fiery Cross Reef, which was submerged at high tide, is now a 3,100-meter-long airstrip and a new port of 63 hectares (Vuving, 2016).

China is a powerful and independent country where its rise did not involve or mobilize a coalition to help it fight the United States, and today China has risen with its military equipment industry (Nayan, 2007). In military activity, China is determined to take a more active role in advancing the armed forces to support its foreign policy goals. In the 2020 revision of China's national defense law, China commissioned the PLA to strengthen national interests abroad and empower the PLA in global economic and diplomatic activities, as well as carry out military capacity development for operations tasks outside China's border areas, in the interests of security and support its global development (The Secretary of U.S. DoD, 2021).

Since 1990, the Chinese military has been rapidly developing and making it a sophisticated and optimized combat force to keep pace with American strength, in all aspects of key capabilities, in the areas of missile technology, fighter jets, attack submarines, and surface ships (Townshend et al., 2019). On the other hand, the U.S. strategy seeks to build partnerships with other countries, which serve as a bulwark against China. One of them is known as "The Quad," which consists of the US, Japan, Australia, and India. The Quad was formed in addition to cooperating in the economic and technological fields and cooperating in the military to deal with Chinese aggression (Ward & Mclary, 2021).

China's aggressiveness in the region is predicted to surpass the United States economically by 2027, where the economic progress will take place gradually, escalatively and

collaterally, thus successfully increasing military capabilities (military buildup) in line with the support of its country's military budget. It is estimated that by 2050 China's billionaire capabilities will be on par with the United States. Currently, China has an Anti-Access/Acreage Denial (A2/AD) defense strategy, focusing on Long-Range Precision Strike, Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD), Surface and Undersea Operations, Information Operations (IO), Space and Counterspace, Cyber Operations, Integrated Air Defense System (IADS) capabilities (Risman, 2021). With the strategy that can be seen in the image below:

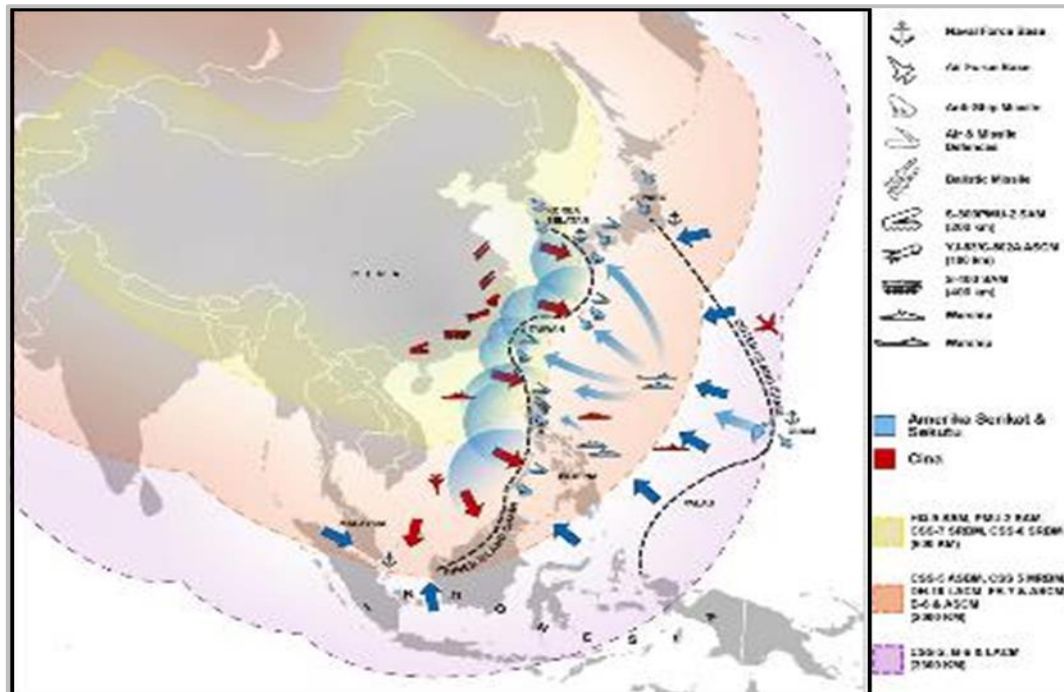


Figure 1. Theater Rivalry of China versus the US and allies

In 2021 the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia announced a trilateral security alliance to deal with 21st-century threats under the name AUKUS. The alliance combines the military capabilities of the alliance countries so that it has greater capabilities. AUKUS also assists Australia in acquiring technology and producing nuclear-powered submarines in order to fulfill its submarine fleet. To date, only six countries in the world own and operate nuclear-powered submarines, including America, Britain, China, France, India, and Russia (Anggraeni, 2021). The AUKUS alliance agreements and agreements cover key areas such as artificial intelligence, cyber warfare, underwater capabilities, and long-range strike capabilities, and cover nuclear components and nuclear defense infrastructure on a limited basis (Ward & McLary, 2021). The existence of nuclear-powered submarines will add to the strength of the Royal Australian Navy's submarine fleet, all of which are currently still diesel-powered. There is an increase in military power in the region to block China's growing influence in the region (Muhammad, 2021).

The Australian government announced plans to add upcoming United States troops to its country to develop defense projects. After the statement, the United States increased the strength of its military personnel in Australia, including bombers. Here is the data of U.S. forces in the Australia Region: Darwin 2,200 US Marine, in Palau 100 US Marine and 100 US Army. This proves that the United States will not leave Australia alone (Muhaimin, 2021). With the establishment of a new defense alliance, AUKUS that builds a nuclear-powered submarine industry on Australian territory and also strengthens the warfighting capabilities of the three

countries, it will affect security in the region and cause concern for Indonesia and countries in the region because it will trigger an increasing rivalry between China and the United States (ANTARA, 2021).

Method

The method used in this research is a qualitative descriptive method. According to Sugiyono, the descriptive method is research that describes the state of the object under study as it is, according to the situation and conditions when the research was carried out (Sugiyono, 2017). Meanwhile, the focus of the study is the influence of the dynamics of the South China Sea strategic environment and the AUKUS alliance on the strategy of land forces in Indonesia's defense. This descriptive research is carried out through a process, from looking for problems to be used as research objects to theories used to analyze existing data and documentation (Sugiyono, 2018).

Results and Discussion

Dominance of China's Role in the South China Sea Region

The South China Sea region has become conflict-prone water area and become a struggle for countries in the region, because they contain abundant natural resources, oil and natural gas and are supported by their strategic location, located on the route of international merchant ships crossing (Partogi, 2013). In 1992, China announced claims to the South China Sea and a nine-dash-line map as part of its territorial territory and asserted that the territory belonged to Beijing (Ward & Mclary, 2021). Recently, the situation of the South China Sea, with an area of about 3.5 million km² has begun to heat up again and involves many state actors, especially countries in the region. Although it does not rule out the possibility of intervention and the interests of non-Asian countries involved in the conflict (Poespojoedho, 2019).

In steps-to-war theory explains that the issue of territorial boundaries of states can make conflicting or competing parties more hostile and encourages them to take escalation measures. This theory provides an explanation of the causes of the occurrence of war based on several interrelated factors; competition, military building, alliances, ruling leaders, repeated military disputes, and others, so that every step and action can potentially lead to war between rivals and contiguous countries (Khan, 2020). In dealing with and resolving territorial issues between states, it is necessary to have good and friendly relations. Interactions between the warring states are very important if the warring countries fail to agree through negotiation. They tend to use a coercive strategy, which will ultimately worsen the situation and increase the possibility of war (Khan, 2020).

China began the reclamation of islands in the South China Sea region in 2013 and completed the construction of infrastructure for four outposts on the coast of the Spratly islands, namely; Johnson, Gayen, Hughes, and Cuarteron, which are equipped with administrative buildings, weapons bases and cannon base sensors. In 2018 China developed another 3 Spratly island outposts, namely; Coral Fiery Cross, Subi and Mischief to enhance the ability to detect military and military presence in the region (Prayoga, 2021). In July 2020, tensions in the SCS began to escalate. At that time, China held five days of military exercises near the Paracel islands, while the U.S also did the same by deploying two of its aircraft carriers, the USS Nimitz and the USS Ronald Reagan, in adjacent areas. The incident caused the two countries to accuse each other and blame each other for who triggered the tension.

Tensions intensified after China took new steps to strengthen its position in the South China Sea. By applying the new rules as a form of a major power in the region, every submarine, warship, nuclear-powered vessel, or ship carrying radioactive materials and harmful substances must report the position of its vessel when entering the territorial claim waters of the South China Sea. The Chinese government will take a firm stance if the vessels threaten its national security (Sorongan, 2021). While the United States has implemented Freedom of Navigation (FON) in the South China Sea region as international water and will defend the freedom of sailing in the region, where we urgently need that freedom in trade and military interests.

Meanwhile, China's latest military activities will be carried out in the waters of the South China Sea, disputed by several countries, increasing tensions in the region. The planned military exercises will be implemented in waters about 25 kilometers south off the coast of Hainan Province, China. The exercise was a form of China's reaction after the United States issued a warning of China's growing military and economic presence in waters ranging from the South China Sea to the Pacific Islands. The China Maritime Safety Authority warned that during the implementation of the military exercises, the 100 km² South China Sea area would be closed to maritime traffic for 5 (five) hours (Tim detikcom, 2022).

The Rapid Development of the Chinese State Military

Spending on defense funds is a form of continuous investment to improve military capabilities so that the country will be able to deal with the ever-changing dynamics of the environment. The rapid economic development has allowed the Chinese military to gain access and support to create a variety of new technologies with civilian dual use to support weapons innovation (Lee, 2008). Military progress has been elevated to a priority equivalent to economic development. China continues to strengthen its military power to deal with any threats, disturbances, and obstacles, so that its military has the ability to fight and win modern wars (Lee, 2008).

China has an advantage in coastal areas, where the Chinese Army Navy (PLAN) and maritime paramilitary forces have taken control of the Spratly Islands and serve as a base for advanced operations in the South China Sea. PLAN also uses Chinese patrol boats and corvettes to enhance its maritime security (Hackett et al., 2021). Today the Chinese Navy has grown to become the strongest and largest in Asia. By 2020 the strength of its submarine fleet grew to more than 70. The rapid growth of China's strength, so any strategic policy implemented by China, will definitely have a great influence and have an impact on stability in the Indo-Pacific region until 2035 (The Secretary of Australian. DoD, 2016).

Some distinctive features of China's military development that deserve attention from countries in the region are; first, China is more focused on achieving an overall increase in military strength in the long run. Second, China will significantly improve its submarine combat capabilities by massively increasing submarine strike capabilities against aircraft carrier combat groups. Third, China's economy and technology are the dual pillars to sustain its military development (Lee, 2008).

The rapid modernization of China's armed forces has caused China to have greater influence than countries in the southern China Sea region. The rapid development of the PLA Rocket Force's capabilities as seen in the realistic implementation of exercises in 2020. The exercise aimed at improving combat capability and readiness, the ability to rapidly mobilize, and the ability to operate in a complex electromagnetic environment, as well as integrate all supporting elements (The Secretary of U.S. DoD, 2021). China has deployed a series of formidable precision missiles and other counter-intervention systems to weaken its rivals. In

2020, PLARF advanced its long-term modernization plan to improve and develop military technology, namely:

- New generation intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs).
- Medium-range ballistic missile (IRBM) DF-26, capable of carrying out conventional and nuclear precision strikes against land and sea targets.
- Creating an operational system of hypersonic weapons, medium-range ballistic missiles (MRBM) capable of DF-17 hypersonic glide vehicles.

China has succeeded in the modernization of its ballistic missiles, where the PLARF has a variety of short-range, medium- and long-range ballistic missiles as well as ground-launched cruise missiles. PLARF's land-based missile forces can carry out precision strikes based on air and sea. Today the PRC is also developing intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and increasing the power of nuclear-capable missiles (The Secretary of U.S. DoD, 2021). China's success in the modernization of ballistic missiles, so that it has the maximum range of missiles, so that Chinese missiles are able to attack directly against American and allied bases that are in Japanese territory as well as those in Singapore. China's success in modernizing its ballistic missiles is seen in the picture below (Townshend et al., 2019):

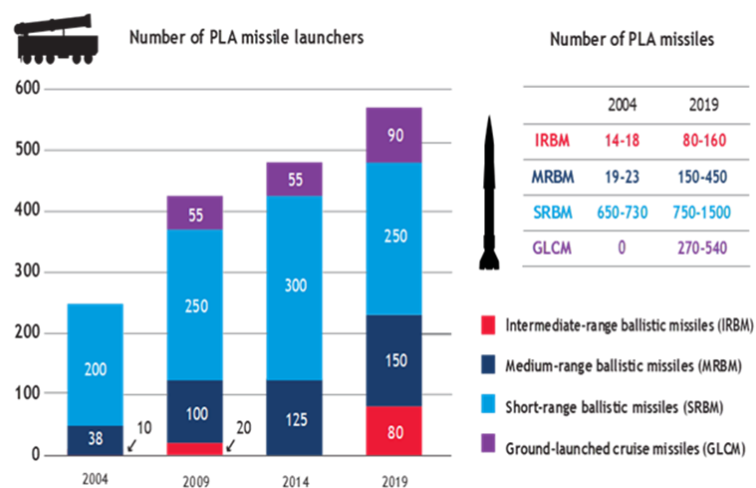


Figure 2. Development of China's Ballistic Missile Ownership in 2004-2019

According to the Vice Chairman of the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff that China will gradually become the country with the strongest military capabilities in the world, this is seen Beijing's success in launching hypersonic missiles. China briefly launched a hypersonic medium-range missile, the DF-17, in 2019. The missile can travel about 2,000 kilometers (1,200 miles) (Eqqi Syahputra, 2021). With the modernization of the strength of the armed forces, China successfully has the strongest and largest air force in Asia and continues to pursue the fifth generation of fighter technology, from the aspect of naval strength, China has a submarine fleet of more than 70 units of combat-ready submarines (The Secretary of Australian. DoD, 2016). Military modernization is an investment, so China has developed new networking technologies, the use of space, enhanced cyber capabilities, and developed electromagnetic warfare, targeting enemy control network centers. The new technology about the network makes it easier to provide a comprehensive and real-time picture of the enemy's military capabilities, location and movement so that that enemy maneuvers can be clearly known (The International Institute for St, 2021).

The Pentagon states that China is expected to be able to increase the number of nuclear warhead inventories to 1,000 units by 2030; this rapid progress is beyond the Pentagon's estimates. In the middle of the 21st century Beijing is expected to be able to match the power of the United States as a superpower, where currently China already has nuclear Triad technology, namely the delivery and launch system of nuclear-explosive missiles by land, air and sea, where America and Russia previously owned this nuclear Triad system (Iswara, 2021a). PLARF is developing intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) that will significantly improve its nuclear-capable missile forces with more survivable delivery systems and will increase nuclear warhead production, and the PRC appears to be doubling the numbers of launchers in some ICBM units (The Secretary of U.S. DoD, 2021).

AUKUS as a Form of Balance of Power in the Regional Region

The Balance of Power theory created by Morgenthau focuses not only on military capabilities and deterrence but also on all structures that contain relations between countries. The Asia-Pacific region is seen as the most suitable region to understand the importance of a role in building multilateral interactions. A country can maintain its survival in the structure of the international system by using a country's balancing strategy can improve its military ability to balance power with other countries (Planifolia, 2017).

The U.S. remains committed to enhancing cooperation with its allies and partners. It will continue to cooperate by focusing resources and attention on the Indo-Pacific region by rebalancing its strategy and strengthening alliances and militarist cooperation (Townshend et al., 2019). The United States, The United Kingdom, and Australia formed a new AUKUS alliance on September 15, 2021, with the aim of mutual assistance in building military capacity and strength and assisting Australia in developing a fleet of nuclear-powered submarines. That means Australia will become the seventh country in the world to operate a nuclear-powered submarine (Ward & Mclary, 2021).

China's increased military capabilities then have the potential to dominate the South China Sea region, and this will lead to new threats, where the threat not only has a direct impact on the United States, but also on alliance countries that are geographically close to China. Because of that, America felt the need to strengthen its military in the region (Planifolia, 2017). America has focused and prepared for high-intensity conventional combat operations to counter a balanced enemy (Walt, 1985). The following are the data on military power for the balance of Power (The International Institute for St, 2021). A more detailed and clearer explanation of the comparison of military forces between these powerful countries is clearly outlined in the figure below:

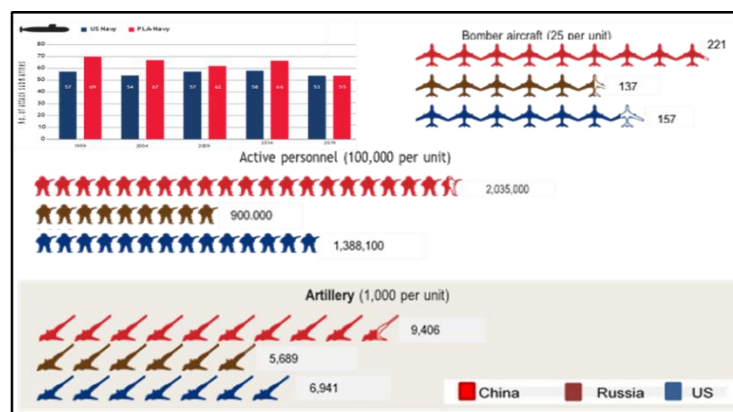


Figure 3. Comparison of military strength



The effect of the LCS conflict and the development of AUKUS on Indonesia's defenses on the Land Dimension

In the face of this uncertain, complex, and dynamic strategic environment, several countries in the region are interested in conducting military alliances with other countries. This is due to the striking differences in the aspects of one country's capabilities with another, particularly military capabilities, economic strength, and advances in military technology. To measure the strength of a country that is expected to provide a threat, it can be seen from the country's capabilities in several aspects: industrial capabilities, military capacity, economic strength judging by its total Gross National Product (GNP), and technological advances (Walt, 1987). In the balance of threat theory, it is explained that to see the level of threat, the Balance of Threat has a measuring power in looking at our national strength and the opponent's strength, which is then used as material for balance against the threat. Four things measure the strength of the state in making an impact against the threat, namely; state power (aggregate power), geographic proximity, offensive military capabilities (offensive power), and the ability to show aggressiveness towards opponents (perceived aggressiveness) (Walt, 1987). Where this element of aggregate power is a resource owned by a country, which is influenced by military power, natural resource wealth, technological progress, population numbers, and industrial development (Planifolia, 2017).

Tensions and conflicts in the South China Sea also occur between several ASEAN countries whose sea boundaries are squeezed together and with China, which claims the South China Sea, and the United States, which has economic and political interests over this region. The potential for open conflict has prompted countries to optimize their country's civil-military relations in maintaining the sovereignty of the seas (Djuyandi et al., 2021). The existence of potential conflicts in the LCS area and the existence of AUKUS will heat up the strategic environment in the region is a hot spot that must be considered in the context of regional security by countries in ASEAN (Yusuf, 2021). Under the 2021 AUKUS agreement, Australia will acquire 8 (eight) advanced nuclear-powered submarines capable of secretly performing long-range missions. AUKUS will be a means of sharing unspecified cyber capabilities, artificial intelligence, quantum, as well as undersea capabilities (Aditya J, 2021). In April 2022, U.S President Joe Biden along with leaders from AUKUS announced plans to develop hypersonic missiles, counter-hypersonics and electronic warfare capabilities. The missile, called the Hypersonic Air-breathing Weapon Concept (HAWC), is powered by a speed of Mach 5 or five times the speed of sound and has the ability to have a long cruising time. With the speed and maneuverability of hypersonic cruise missiles will be able to evade the tanks of the defense system and execute attacks quickly (Pristiandaru, 2022).

Indonesia pays particular attention to the potential for conflicts expected in the SCS region by strengthening the title of existing danur military force to enhance the country's defense capabilities and establishing new combat units to provide a deterrent against any growing threats in the region. All combat, combat assistance, and operation support units will be integrated into one command and control. In the implementation of combat operations, it will be equipped with an operating control system based on network-centric warfare (Pambudi, 2019). For Indonesia, the principle of "active defensive" defense has always been applied in managing the country's defense, non-aggressively and not expansively, and prioritizing state sovereignty to ensure national interests (Kemhan RI, 2015).

Indonesia's defense doctrine, which is defensively active, requires Indonesia to defend state sovereignty against foreign invasions. For this reason, the arrangements for the placement of military units are arranged in proportion to continuous tactical and strategic

considerations and are adjusted to the characteristics of Indonesian geography. The deployment of military units also served as a deterrent force, an enforcement force, and a recovery force. To ensure regional security, Indonesia rebuilt military bases by establishing an integrated TNI unit and the Joint Command of the Defense Area. The development of this military force does not aim to compete, but as a form of improving the defense and security of Indonesia's territory. And Indonesia ensures that this development of military power does not trigger a domino effect in the form of military competition with countries in the region (Pambudi, 2019). In the placement of military forces in the region, these military units have been compiled and placed in accordance with tactical and strategic considerations while still paying attention to aspects of Indonesia's geographical conditions as an archipelagic country (Kemhan RI, 2015). The following is a map of the placement of military units in the territory of Indonesia (The International Institute for St, 2021), described in the figure below.



Figure 4. Map of the strength of military units in Indonesia.

The visualization of Indonesia's state defense is regulated by phasing as follows; firstly attacking and destroying the enemy when the enemy is still in his country, secondly if the enemy is still able to attack it will be destroyed on sea travel (above sea level of the exclusive economic zone), third if the enemy is still able to carry out an attack then it is destroyed in the coastal area, fourth if the coastal defense can be penetrated then carry out a protracted war and fifth if the military capabilities supported by reserve and support components already have the strength and ability, then further drive the enemy out of the territorial territory of the state (Supriyatno, 2014).

In accordance with The Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 34 of 2004 concerning the TNI, where the TNI as a means of state defense has the task of maintaining state sovereignty, the territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia and protecting all Indonesian blood spills from all forms of threats. The use of TNI force is based on state policy and adapted to the conditions faced by the Indonesian nation. In the main point of the TNI AD development policy in accordance with the Decree of the Commander of the TNI Number Kep/1024/XII/2020 concerning the Doctrine of the Indonesian Army Kartika Eka Paksi in 2020, it is stated that the development of the deployment of Army forces is an inseparable part of the state defense efforts in the land aspect. The concept of deploying the forces of the Indonesian Army is based on the concept of defense of large islands capable of reaching the



surrounding series of small islands. Thus, the Indonesian Army needs to prepare itself to carry out the stages of protracted warfare, with the strategy of placing TNI AD units, centrally deploying forces, and deploying territorial forces, and deploying supporting forces. The centralized force that has been prepared consists of deploying Kostrad troops and deploying Kopassus troops, and deploying regional forces consisting of 15 Kodam units (Kemhan RI, 2015).

Every country in the world, including Indonesia, has the right to maintain survival and defend its homeland from various threats. In the face of threats that are the impact of a strategic environment that is uncertainty, complexity, and dynamic, the country's defense is generally structured with a layered defense strategy, which combines layers of military defense and layers of non-military defense as a defense unit that supports each other, so that Indonesia will be able to rely on its capabilities and not depend on other countries (Kemhan RI, 2015). Indonesian state defense functions to realize and defend the entire territory of the Republic of Indonesia as a defense unit to protect the country from all threats (UU RI Nomor 3 Tahun 2002).

Conclusion

The dynamics of the strategic environment, which illustrate the US-China rivalry, have made the Indo-Pacific region a single geostrategic theater that will drag regional countries into the vortex of Indo-Pacific dynamics, including Indonesia which is the fulcrum of the Indo-Pacific. Cotemporary dynamics in the region always develop over time, where the situation is fraught with volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity.

The competition between the United States and China is heating up with the formation of the AUKUS Military Alliance in 2021. On the other hand, China has been increasingly aggressive in carrying out its foreign policy and military strategy. Even in the recent period, it has seen more intensive use of coercive approaches to deal with disputes over maritime features and ownership of oil and gas reserves, as well as restrictions on shipping in the South China Sea region. So the existence of China has the potential to cause new threats, where it not only has a direct impact on the United States but also on the alliance countries geographically adjacent to China. So America needs to strengthen the military in the region and prepare for conventional, high-intensity combat operations to counter a balanced enemy. Countries in the region have been dragged into improving their military capabilities by increasing the arms industry, military exercises, increasing defense budgets, military cooperation and diplomacy, and participating in military alliances.

Over time, threat predictions have also developed, where the existence of China and the existence of the AUKUS alliance are threats that should be taken into account by countries in Southeast Asia. Currently, China's threat to Indonesia is evident, in 2021 China officially asked Indonesia to stop oil and natural gas drilling exploration in the North Natuna region, and China also protested the implementation of the Garuda Shield military exercise conducted in August 2021. This encourages Indonesia to better prepare its military in order to face the dynamics of the strategic environment that VUCA, by strengthening and optimizing existing military forces and forming new military units to provide deterrence against any threats and disturbances. The deployment of military forces, especially the army is arranged proportionally and adapted to the characteristics of Indonesia's geography, where military strength, serves as a deterrent force, enforcement force, and recovery force.

The placement of land forces includes units with centralized forces, scattered forces (regional commands), and supporting unit forces spread throughout Indonesia's territory to

maintain the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Indonesian state. The Army as a ground force is deployed to strengthen the deployment of the navy and air force in accordance with the possible presence of threats to the integrity and sovereignty of Indonesia's territory.

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Understanding Democracy in the National Interest Amidst the Dynamics of the Strategic Environment is VUCA

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UNDERSTANDING DEMOCRACY IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST AMIDST THE DYNAMICS OF THE STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT IS VUCA

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INDONESIA

Abstract

The dynamics of the development of the strategic environment is very rapid by experiencing VUCA conditions which are heavily influenced by Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity, and Ambiguity that occur in almost every country, therefore the need for tactics from a country through understanding in order to create interests that will be achieved by a country, understanding Democracy is an understanding that is highly appreciated by the world, because with democracy humans prioritize their rights, like a double-edged knife that has benefits for human life, the development of democracy can also be used for crimes, such as the development of radicalism, proxy wars and crime using high technology, including the current global problem of the Covid-19 outbreak that can change the pattern of a country's strategic environmental system, the research method used is descriptive qualitative method, using data sources from reports, print media, and online media. The results of research on Democracy in achieving national interests in the midst of the dynamics of the VUCA strategic environment are very wary of because they can change the stability of a country's defense and security.

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Introduction

VUCA is an acronym for Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity, and Ambiguity. If translated clearly, VUCA is anomaly, uncertainty, complexity, and also obscurity. The US Army War College first introduced VUCA to describe the geopolitical situation in Afghanistan and Iraq after the cold war. Like its acronym, VUCA is an analytical process in making decisions, planning, managing risks, and solving problems driven by these four factors; anomalies, uncertainties, complexities, and obscurity. VUCA is also based on a fairly strong disruption, especially from changes in consumer behavior based on the speed of technology. Kasali (2017) explains that disruption exists because of more practical offering practices and lower prices than existing services, so many people switch to these services.

After the crisis in COVID-19, VUCA became even more intense and very influential on world developments in the face of an outbreak that has killed more than 3 million people and plunged the country into recession. Currently, countries' future is becoming increasingly uncertain (Juaningsih et al., n.d.). In the VUCA era, many changes occurred accompanied by uncertainty, an uncertain level of complexity, and ambiguity that was not easily explained. Departing from these elements in the VUCA era, technological developments have also become the main influence of these changes. This is a challenge and a new threat in the development of the times that are faced now. It is no longer a real threat with weapons, but the challenge is the potential for attacks on the ideology and understanding that is being embraced. This change will certainly affect society as the main driver of nationalism and the



realization of democracy. In response to this, the development by the Indonesian government with the ideology of Pancasila and known as a democratic state as well as the empowerment of technology as a medium for debriefing, inculcating and educating national values needs to be carried out as a form of response to this challenge.

In Indonesia, the acceleration of digital transformation into everyday life began to run officially and massively when in 2018, the Indonesian government made a commitment to implementing the Industrial Revolution 4.0 by launching "Making Indonesia 4.0" (Soraya et al., 2022) which is an initiative the Indonesian government in implementing the strategy and roadmap of the Industrial Revolution 4.0 in Indonesia which is guided by the values of Pancasila and implements a democratic attitude in making a policy. In relation to achieving the ideals of a country to achieve a national interest faced with the challenges of the strategic environment that has been influenced by VUCA, the volatility of very fast changes that are influenced by access to easy information, Uncertainty about what will happen in the next minute which is complex. The problem is multi-dimensional with ambiguity influenced by real and unreal threats that occur in a country, this also happens to the State of Indonesia which adheres to the Pancasila democratic system. This understanding explains that humans are essentially free and independent beings.

In addition to providing freedom of religion, the democratic understanding of Pancasila provides freedom of assembly, association and association. In Indonesia, freedom is regulated in Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, it is stated that freedom is responsible and acts to express opinions in public. Likewise, with other countries. They formulate democracy and freedom based on the constitution of their respective countries and cultures. Because democracy is not an easy concept to understand, democracy has many connotations and meanings, is varied and dynamic (Wuryanta, 2018). If people do not understand the terms of democracy, then democracy will not be directed. As a result, freedom becomes wild and uncontrolled, disrupting stability in achieving national goals. Including freedom of income, expressing opinions is no longer based on facts, but based on personal or group interests, where these interests often conflict with the interests of the community and the state, as a result, democracy looks fragile, and corruption is increasingly rampant and hijacks the policy formulation process that should involve the people. Politicians maintain power by manipulating regulations, limiting freedom of expression, and changing the constitution to expand and extend the powers of power that are exercised within a democratic framework. Moreover, in cyberspace, there are widespread rumors of hoaxes that can provoke people to become uncomfortable with the current government.

Method

Research is a scientific way to obtain data with specific purposes and uses. In this paper, the researcher uses a qualitative method with a descriptive approach. Qualitative research relies on various schools, traditions or theoretical orientations, all of which emphasize the importance of developing and compiling theories that are characterized by empirical inductiveness. Characteristics in the level of scientific thinking through research must be a clear object of study, with the use of certain systems and methods (Koentjaraningrat, 2007) (Hardani et al., 2020).

This approach aims to describe the case descriptively by observing people, institutions or research objects that interact in a social environment. Descriptive research will make a systematic, factual, and accurate description of an object's facts and properties. Qualitative research relies on various schools, traditions, or theoretical orientations, all of which emphasize the importance of developing and compiling theories that are characterized by



empirical inductive (Suyanto, 2010). From this description, the author describes the notion of democracy in achieving national interests in the midst of the dynamics of the VUCA strategic environment.

The researcher focuses on the dynamics of the strategic environment that is VUCA in understanding a democratic state that occurs in Indonesia by being faced with the dynamics of the strategic environment that is VUCA and the problems of democracy. One of the problems is that there are still individuals/groups who prioritize personal/group interests and are influenced by community activities worldwide. cyberspace that can affect the stability of national security.

Results And Discussion

Threat of Democracy

Departing from the history of the implementation of democracy in Athens, especially after the defeat of Athens to Sparta, which was marked by the decline of the city, the deterioration of morality and leadership, Plato saw democracy as 'rule by the poor'. People can do whatever they want and have nothing to do with authority (Sorensen, 2014: 3). However, some people are more ideal. Aristotle, for example, was of the view that democracy is a form of government that is implemented only to support the majority of the people, especially the poor (Sorensen, 2014: 5). A similar understanding is held by Marxist-Leninists (Communists), which is defined through the illustration of a question "whether politics is carried out in the interests of the main people, or to serve the interests of minorities, especially the owners of capital (Ebenstein, 2006: 162). has been accepted by almost all governments in the world. Even authoritarian governments embellish the attributes of democracy to describe a ruler. Democracy is basically a set of ideas and principles about freedom but also includes a set of rules and procedures that are formed through local culture and processes. In 431 BC, Pericles, a prominent Athenian statesman, defined democracy by setting forth several criteria:

1. government by the people with the full and direct participation of the people;
2. equality before the law;
3. pluralism, namely respect for all talents, interests, desires and views; and
4. respect for a separation and personal territory to fulfill and express individual personality [Roy C Macridis, 1983:19-20).

In this world, there are many kinds of democracy adopted by various countries. Among them are Constitutional Democracy, Parliamentary Democracy, Guided Democracy, Pancasila Democracy, People's Democracy, Soviet Democracy, National Democracy, and so on. All these concepts use the term democracy, which according to the origin of the word, means "the people are in power" or "government rule by the people" (Sunarso, 2015), Indonesia adheres to Pancasila democracy. Pancasila democracy is based on the personality and philosophy of life of the Indonesian nation, the characteristics of Pancasila democracy, namely the existence of elections, conducting deliberation to reach consensus, and human rights. According to Dardji Darmodihardjo, the meaning of Pancasila democracy is the understanding of democracy from the Indonesian people's personality and philosophy of life. The embodiment of this democracy is in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution 'The Definition of Pancasila Democracy, Katadata.Co.Id'[accessed 16 January 2022]. As a manifestation of Pancasila democracy which reflects the original culture of Indonesia's ancestors and at the

same time, the identity politics of all Indonesian people. Pancasila democracy is marked by deliberation (Futanu, M, & Gunawan, 2020).

The term Pancasila Democracy was born as a reaction to Guided Democracy under Sukarno's government. The idea of Guided Democracy, as it is known, has been legally standardized in the form of MPRS Decree No. VIII/MPRS/1965 concerning Principles of Deliberation for Consensus in Guided Democracy as Guidelines for Deliberative/Representative Institutions. According to Hariyono (2014: 100), the development of democracy in Indonesia seems to have found its momentum in the Reformation Era. After the fall of the Suharto regime as President, the bureaucracy and the military became the initial targets for not engaging in practical politics.

The Ministry of Home Affairs no longer handles the implementation of general elections, but the authority is taken by the independent General Election Commission (KPU). This has a great impact on community participation in determining the desired direction of the destination, but new problems arise when every community is given freedom of speech, people tend to be uncontrolled in expressing their opinions in cyberspace, with information data that is not yet clear, according to Constitutional Justice Wahiduddin Adams, as a country, Indonesia has an obligation to protect, promote, uphold, and fulfill the rights to freedom of opinion and expression, as a part of human rights, as mandated in Article 28I paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution. However, even though it is fundamental in nature, the right to freedom of opinion and expression is not an absolute right. Even in the United States, one of the countries with the strongest constitutional protection for freedom of opinion or speech in any country in the world, there are still limitations. ("Provisions on Freedom of Expression in the Constitution, the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia," n.d.). Based on research conducted on Tidar University students taken from 110 respondents. This research was conducted within one week in 2020 using the quota sampling research method, namely by distributing questionnaires to students via Google Docs (Google Forms). The questionnaire asks for knowledge of information about problems that exist in the government (Rahmawati, Muslichatun, & Marizal, 2021).

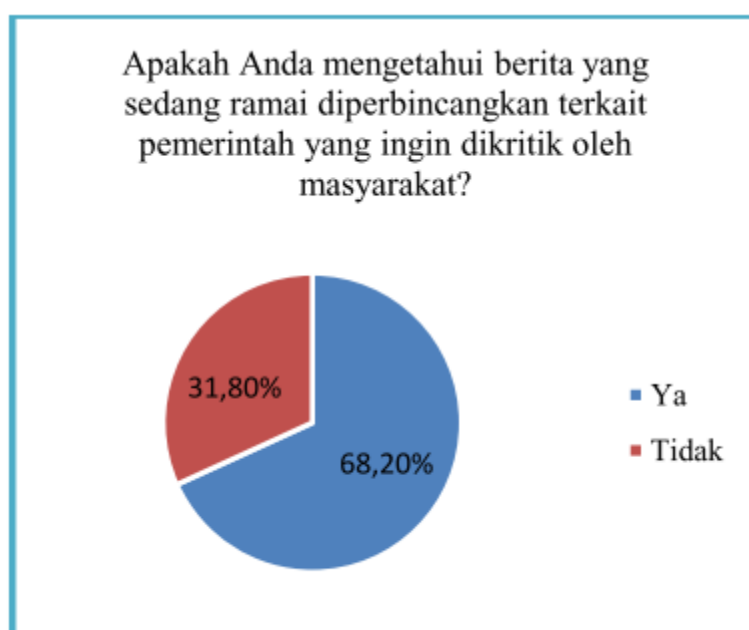


Figure 1. Students' knowledge of the news that is being discussed about the government that the public wants to criticize



Based on the diagram above, 75 respondents who know the news being discussed about the government that the public wants to criticize and 35 respondents do not know, show that the net of information disclosure and public curiosity is still not very good. In its development, Pancasila democracy implemented by Indonesia went well, and even became a model in Asian countries, Indonesia was able to control everything that threatens national stability in maintaining territorial integrity and the unity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, this was proven when the 2019 election Indonesia was able to carry out safely without any riots that resulted in division, even though at that time the situation was tense due to differences in choices, but as the government went on, many things were highlighted in relation to democratic issues that benefited certain parties, and resulted in rampant corruption in the current government body, in addition to hoax news on social media related to the weakening of the KPK institution, it is used to disrupt the ongoing government and can weaken democracy in Indonesia, the anti-corruption non-governmental organization Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW) released a Report T ren Enforcement of Corruption Cases Semester 1 2021. Based on data collected by ICW, the number of corruption cases prosecuted during the first six months of 2021 reached 209 cases. This number increased compared to the same period in the previous year of 169 cases. 'ICW: Number of Corruption Cases in Semester 1 2021 Increases Compared to the Previous Year - Data - Tempo.Co'[accessed 16 January 2022].

From these data, it proves that there is still the use of the wealth of resources in Indonesia for the benefit of groups, which triggers the disruption of national stabilization carried out by several officials who carry out their duties based on a mandate from the people. Proxy crimes in cyberspace are increasingly making data manipulation swampy, which results in disrupted democracy in Indonesia and tends to damage the government in Indonesia. This must be a concern for the government in the midst of the rapid flow of information, and also the need for the government to take action quickly so that institutional security data are not easily hacked and used for politicization purposes, it can be a factor in creating a conducive democracy, and securing national interests amidst the rapid development of the times and the uncertainty of all threats. Based on the patrolsiber.id website, there were 15,152 cybercrime complaints reported through the Patrolisiber portal from January to September 2021, with a total loss of 3.88 trillion. It was noted that the most reported fraudulent content was 4,601 cases ("Losses Due to Cybercrime Reaches Rp. 3.88 Trillion, What Are the Forms? | Databoks," n.d.)

From the data presented, we can see that there are security vulnerabilities in the community, especially cases of fraud, which are very high, allowing trust in high state institutions to decrease, which has an impact on the destruction of democratic understanding that prioritizes freedom and peace, equality of rights in law.

Dynamics of The Strategic Environment in National Interest

National interest refers to the goals and ideals of a country in achieving prosperity both in the economy and in national security" (Oppenheim, 1987). The dynamics of the development of the strategic environment will always have directly or indirectly positive or negative implications. This can affect the course of national development that is currently being implemented. In 2021, the government will begin to design the National Priority Program which will be carried out in accordance with the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) for 2020-2024. There are 7 (seven) National Priority Programs consisting of: Economic Resilience, Regional Development, Qualified and Competitive Human Resources, Mental Revolution and Cultural Development, Strengthening Infrastructure, environmental development, as well as legal, political stability, and transformation of the



public. Minister of National Development Planning/Bappenas Suharso Monoarfa explained that there are seven national priority programs in the government work plan (RKP) 2022. Utilization of the budget ceiling to support national priority programs in 2022 reaches IDR 367 trillion, according to Suharso's achievements. West, Human Development Index, Economic Infrastructure, Urban Infrastructure, Basic services, electricity, and digital transformation. In order to achieve the development goals. This figure is the aggregation and agreement of various parties. For example, the growth rate of GRDP in the eastern and western regions, the Human Development Index, economic infrastructure, urban infrastructure, basic services, electricity, and digital transformation. To achieve the development goals. This figure is the aggregation and agreement of various parties. The development targets also follow each respective province, looking at economic growth, poverty, and unemployment rates in that area. As for the strategic challenges of development in 2022, starting from industry, tourism, MSME food security, and digital transformation ("Jokowi's Priority Program," n.d.)

With the government's openness to the people who have the right to information on the work program and its achievements, it completely shows that democracy is running well according to the criteria designed by Pericles, a well-known Athenian statesman, namely the participation and supervision of the implementation of government operations by the DPR and supported by the Inspectorate. Democracy is very influential on the success of Indonesia's national interests, which have been planned by representatives of the people who were previously elected directly by the Indonesian people from the data and descriptive showing the achievements that the Indonesian government has made in realizing the national goals that have been mandated in the fourth paragraph of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, namely the national goals, namely: protect the entire Indonesian nation and the entire homeland of Indonesia, promote public welfare, educate the nation's life; and participate in carrying out world order based on freedom, eternal peace, and social justice.

Conclusion

The US Army War College first introduced VUCA to describe the geopolitical situation in Afghanistan and Iraq after the cold war. Like the acronym. Based on the data, that students who know the news that is being discussed related to the government that the public wants to criticize as many as 75 respondents and 35 respondents do not know it, it shows the net of information disclosure and public curiosity is still not too good but in its development Pancasila democracy is implemented by Indonesia went well, even became a model in Asian countries, Indonesia is able to control everything that threatens national stability in maintaining territorial integrity and the unity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, this was proven when the 2019 election Indonesia was able to carry out safely without riots that resulted in division, The notion of democracy is an understanding adopted by many countries, including Indonesia which adheres to the notion of Pancasila democracy in its government system, it makes the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia prioritize values that have been born from local culture that contained in Pancasila, in realizing its mission of creating a safe strategic environment and achieving the goals of the national interest that are VUCA, Indonesia is able to overcome threats that can weaken territorial integrity and unity, as evidenced by the 2019 elections which ran smoothly, safely and under control, but were still high. Politicization in the name of democracy for the benefit of its groups results in high cases of corruption and tends to increase compared to the previous quarter. Many cyber-crimes still undermine democratic values, as evidenced by the increasing number of cyber-crimes in cyberspace.

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Empowerment of The Aerospace Potential Centre in Preparing the Reserve Components of the Indonesian Air Force

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EMPOWERMENT OF THE AEROSPACE POTENTIAL CENTRE IN PREPARING THE RESERVE COMPONENTS OF THE INDONESIAN AIR FORCE

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Abstract

The aim is to develop the capability to prepare reserve components for the air force in order to double the strength of the Indonesian Air Force in the context of national defense, this is based on the request of the Ministry of Defense to procure 500 personnel of Komcad every year. However, the implementation in the field is still not well organized and correct. This writing is done by using descriptive analysis method that describes the data and facts. Results To support the procurement of Komcad so that it can run well as expected with the Development of Capability for Preparation of Air Force Reserve Components at the Center for Aerospace Potential (Puspotdirga), it is necessary to have a strategy, namely an organizational change strategy and a Puslatpotdirga Development Plan.

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Introduction

The state of Indonesia is a country endowed by God Almighty with extraordinary natural wealth. This gift became the attraction of other nations who wanted and to control and utilize this natural wealth. This attraction is a situation that is not closed to the possibility of threatening the sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The success of the Indonesian nation with great sacrifice thanks to the awareness of all people uniting to hold a resistance that is supported by exerting all existing forces and abilities. Resistance by exerting all strength and capability were part of the universal resistance which at that time was united between the forces of the army and the people as the Universal People's Security Defence System.

In the Era of Reform of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (amendment) Chapter III Article 10,11,12 and Chapter XII article 30, Law Number 3 of 2002 concerning of Indonesia Defence was changed from Total people Security and Defence System (TPSDS) to be the Total Defence System (TDS). The Law number 3 of 2002 concerning States Defence especially stated that the state defence system is a Total defence System (TDS) that involves all citizens, territories, and other national resources, and is prepared early by the government and is organized in a total, integrated, directed, and continuous manner to uphold state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of the entire nation from all threats

The combination of military defence and non-military defence requires all efforts so that the expected results can be achieved in the framework of national defence. Through the preparation, structuring, development and capability of the Indonesian Armed Forces is deployed through mobilization to enlarge and strengthen the strength of the main



components by managing the National Resources for the Defence of the Reserve Component State. Referring to the Law Number 23 of 2019 concerning Management of National Resources for State Defence, that the Reserve Component is a national resource that has been prepared to be deployed through mobilization to enlarge and strengthen the strength of the main component, namely the Indonesia Armed Forces. The Reserved Component consists of four resources: human, natural, artificial, and facilities and infrastructure.

The Indonesia Air Forces (InaAF) as a part of the Indonesia Defence Forces (InaDF), especially in this case is the Aerospace Potential Development Centre (APDC) is the Central Implementing agency at the level of the Air Force headquarters which is located directly under Chief of Staff of InaAF. APDC has the main task of organizing the development of the technical function of coaching aerospace potential to prepare reserve components and supporting components of state defence aspects of aerospace in realizing a tough state defence.

This is based on the request of the Ministry of Defence for each year to procure Reserved Component as many as 500 personnel. However, the implementation in the field is still not organized properly and correctly because there is no container such as facilities and infrastructure in the form of buildings for education and training. In addition, there is a need to change the concept of the organizational structure of the APDC considering the vulnerability of tasks and the wide range of organizations so that significant changes are needed. Based on this background, it can be formulated the problem of how the strategy needs to be carried out by the APDC in developing the preparation capabilities of reserved component.

Method

This writing is carried out using a descriptive method of analysis that exposes data and facts. According to Whitney (1960:204) the descriptive method is the search for facts with proper interpretation. Descriptive research studies problems in society as well as the procedures that apply in society and certain situations including the relationship of activities, attitudes, views and ongoing processes and the influences of certain phenomena so that they are a comparative study.

Results And Discussion

One of the purposes of establishing the Indonesian government as stated in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution of The Republic Indonesia is to protect the entire Indonesian nation and all Indonesian bloodshed. To ensure the achievement of this goal, state defence is an essential factor, namely the ability to defend against every form of threats, disturbances, obstacles and challenges from within and outside the country. The reserved Component as a result of integration into total power and usually as a result of the limited number of active duties personnel for economic reasons, today fulfils a wide array of roles including logistics, disaster relief, national emergencies, or operations abroad. The reserved component is a flexible workforce and as a source of civic skills.

In order to strengthen the country's defence for the establishment of the reserve component of the air dimension APC has carried out socialization and supported the implementation of the Reserved Component registration, this was done with the aim of developing the capability of preparing the reserve component of the air dimension in order to double the strength of the Air Force in the context of national defence. It is necessary to have a strategy, namely the organizational change strategy and the APC Development Plan.



A. Organizational Strategy

Organizational Change Strategy through the concept of a policy of improving the organizational structure with a higher rank, namely what was originally Aerospace Potential Centre (APC) headed by one-star rank to be two-star rank. The following is the concept of the main job description and organizational structure of the APC, as follows:

1. APC has the main task of organizing the development of the technical function of coaching aerospace potential to prepare reserve components and supporting components of state defense aspects of aerospace in realizing the space, of a formidable state defense.
2. To carry out the main duties mentioned above, APC carries out the following functions:
 - a. Main Functions. There are four main functions of APC, as well as:
 - 1) Aerospace Potential Development. Organizing activities including guidance on the potential of human, natural and artificial resources.
 - 2) Organizing the development of the management of air potential management in the technical functions related to territorial development methods, including social communication and regional resilience.
 - 3) Research and Development Founding. Organizing activities related to the research and development of the apparatus.
 - 4) Air potential management Information Center Development. To collect, process and present data and information on the Air Potential Management.
 - b. Duties in carrying out Military Organic Functions. Organizing activities in the fields of personnel, logistics, Air Potential Management, planning as well as supervision and as follows:
 - 1) Personnel. Organizing activities in the field of use, maintenance and separation of personnel in order to support the duties of the APC.
 - 2) Logistics. Organizing activities in the fields of supply, maintenance, transportation, logistics administration.
 - 3) Territorial. Organizing activities in the field of Air potential management in order to support the duties of the APC.
 - 4) Planning. Organizing activities in the field of planning formulation, implementation and control of programs and budgets.
 - 5) Supervision and Inspection. Organizing activities in the field of supervision and general inspection.
 - c. The Commander of the Aerospace Potential Center (CAPC)

The CAPC is held by an Air Force two Stars with the rank of Vice Marshal of the InaAF, with the following obligations:

 - 1) As a Special Staff Officer of Chief of Indonesian Air Force Staff, the duties are as follows:
 - a) Formulate and prepare policies related to the development of Air potential management's technical functions.
 - b) convey considerations and suggestions to the Chief of Staff IAF according to their field of duties.
 - 2) As a Supervisor of The Technical Function of air potential management, carried out duties as follows:



- a) Organizing the guidance, supervision, and assistance of the technical functions of Air Potential Management.
 - b) Organizing the development of systems and methods in order to support the duties of the Air Force;
 - c) Organizing capability development and training in the field of Air Potential management in order to support the duties of the Air Force;
 - d) Coordinating with territorial development institutions outside the Air Force, as well as Army Territorial Centre and Maritime Potential Centre.
- 3) CAPC in carrying out his duties is responsible to the Chief of Staff of InaAF, in the implementation of daily duties coordinated by the Vice Chief of Staff of InaAF.
- d. The Deputy Commander of the Aerospace Potential Center (DCAPC)
 - 1) The DCAPC is held by First Marshal of the IAF, is an aide to the CAPC, with the following duties of obligations:
 - a) Coordinate all staff activities in the process of planning, implementing, and supervising and controlling budget;
 - b) Determine work management and work procedures in the APC environment;
 - c) Convey considerations and suggestions to CAPC according to their field of duty.
 - 2) The DCAPC in carrying out his duties is responsible to the CAPC.
- e. The Inspector
 - 1) The inspector is held by a First Marshal of the IAF, is an aide to the CAPC with the following obligations:
 - a) Organizing supervision and inspection in the field of treasury, general field, ability and training development, and logistics.;
 - b) Coordinate the implementation of the review of the Financial Statements, and listen to resources; and
 - c) Convey considerations and suggestions to CAPC according to their field of duty.
 - 2) The Inspector in carrying out his duties was assisted by two Chief Inspectors, held by an Air Force Officer of Colonel, consisting of:
 - a) The Chief of General Inspector (CoGI);
 - b) The Chief of Treasurer Inspector (CoTI);
 - 3) The inspector in carrying out his duties is responsible to the CAPC, coordinated by the DCAPC.
- f. The General Director (GD)
 - 1) The GD is held by a one-star Air Force with the rank of First Marshal of the InaAF, is aided to the CAPC with the following obligations:
 - a) Planning, implementing, controlling and supervising APC personnel and logistics development activities;
 - b) Coordinate, compile, and prepare APC plans, work programs and budgets; receive and implement the Year of Programs;
 - c) Convey considerations and suggestions to the CAPC according to their field of duty.
 - 2) The GD in carrying out his duties is assisted by with the rank of Colonel of IAF consisting of two elements, as well as follows:



- a) The Deputy Director of Planning, Programs and Budgets (DDPPB); and
 - b) The Deputy Director of Personnel and Logistics Development (DPLD).
 - 3) The GD in carrying out his duties is responsible to the CAPC, in the performance of daily duties coordinated by the DCAPC.
- g. The Directorate of Aerospace Potential Development (DAPD)
 - 1) An Air Force Star holds the DAPD with the rank of First Marshal of the IAF, is an assistant to CAPC who is responsible for organizing activities including coaching aerospace potential which includes coaching demographics, geography. And the social conditions held ranging from data collection activities to the storage, processing and presentation of the air potential management data and information, Air Force service activities and Air Force social communication, as well as air defense area development, with the following obligations:
 - a) Organizing the development of management of aerospace potential technical functions related to the territorial.
 - b) Development activities aimed at realizing a strong fighting the space, toll and power in order to assist in the implementation of the operation military for war and the operation military other than war;
 - c) Prepare and present data on human resources, natural resources, artificial resources, and infrastructures.
 - d) Develop and prepare work plans in the field of guidance on the potential of human resources, natural resources, artificial resources, and infrastructures.
 - e) Organizing all activities related to the collection, presentation of Air Potential management territorial data and dissemination.
 - f) Organizing all activities related to the maintenance of data on the number of the Command Unit Area.
 - g) Organizing all activities related to processing, storing or banking and maintaining data through social media;
 - h) Convey considerations and suggestions to according to his field of duty.
 - 2) The DAPM in carrying out his duties is assisted by four Deputy Director, each of whom is held by an Air Force Officer with the rank of Colonel, consisting of:
 - a) The Deputy Director of Social Communication Development and the Indonesia armed forces Services (DDSCDIAFS);
 - b) The Deputy Director of Regional Resilience Development (DDRRD);
 - c) The Deputy Director of Aerospace Resources Development (DDARD); and
 - d) The Deputy Director of Air potential management Information Center (DDAPMIC).
 - 3) The DAPM in carrying out its duties is responsible to CAPC, in the performance of daily duties coordinated by DAPC.
- h. The Director of System and Methods (DSM)
 - 1) The DSM is held by an Air Force one star officer with the rank of First Marshal of the InaAF, with the following obligations:



- a) Organizing preparation/revision, printing, and distribution activities as well as carrying out dissemination activities for doctrines in the territorial or air potential management field;
 - b) Organizing activities related to territorial management development or air potential management including technical;
 - c) Organizing activities for the preparation and evaluation of the Task Force organization and duties, and carrying out activities; and
 - d) Submit considerations and suggestions to CAPC according to their field of duty.
- 2) The DSM in carrying out its duties is assisted by two Deputy Director, consisted of as follows:
 - a) The Deputy Director of Doctrine, Regulation and Instruction Development (DDDRID); and
 - b) The Deputy Director of Management and Organizational Development (DDMOD).
- 3) The DSM in carrying out his duties is responsible to CAPC, in the performance of daily duties coordinated by DCAPC.
- i. The Head of the Expert Staff Group (HESG)
 - 1) The Head of the Research and Development Expert Staff Group is held by a High-Ranking Air Force Officer with the rank of First Marshal of the IAF, is an assistant to CAPC who is responsible for providing advice and input according to the field of expertise, as well as carrying out assessments, as well as research and development of aerospace potential systems, methods, human resources, and infrastructure for aerospace resource capabilities in APC, with the following obligations:
 - a) Lead, coordinate, control, and supervise all activities of expert staff and Research and Development.
 - b) Carry out research and development related to the Territorial Apparatus, Systems, Methods, and Applied Technology.
 - c) Carry out analysis on the dynamics of territorial development, Regional Resilience, Service, and Social Communication;
 - d) Carry out research and development and evaluation of the implementation of air potential management territorial;
 - e) Improving the quality of personnel's ability to maintain mentality and improve well-being, in air potential management activities;
 - f) Carry out research and development and evaluation of applied technology in Area Command Unit and its utilization;
 - g) Carrying out analysis and evaluation of the implementation of the expert staff and research and development programs; and
 - h) Convey considerations and suggestions to CAPC according to his field of duty.
 - 2) The HESG in carrying out his duties is assisted by four Expert Officers, with the rank of Colonel, consisting of:
 - a) Associate Officer of Science and Technology;
 - b) Intermediate Officer of State Defense Systems;
 - c) Regional Potential Expert Intermediate Officer; and
 - d) Associate Officer of Research and Development Expert.



- 3) The HESG in carrying out his duties is responsible to CAPC, in the performance of daily duties coordinated by DCAPC.
- j. The Head of Internal Affairs Section (HIAS)
 - 1) The HIAS is held by of Lieutenant Colonel, is an element of the APC service responsible with the following obligations:
 - a) Leading, controlling, coordinating, and supervising activities in the internal affairs department;
 - b) Organizing personnel administration and logistics related to the field of headquarters;
 - c) Organizing activities for facility preparation, transportation, transportation, and equipment maintenance;
 - d) Organizing the enforcement of the basic military rules in the APC environment;
 - e) Planning, preparing, and controlling office environments, warehousing, training facilities, and housing;
 - f) Carry out maintenance and maintenance of APC organic materiel including vehicles, weapons and munitions;
 - g) Planning and implementing administrative activities and unit development in the Home Base of APC environment; and
 - h) Submit considerations and suggestions to CAPC according to his field of duty.
 - 2) The HIAS is held by an Air Force Officer with the rank of Major, consisting of three sections, as well as:
 - a) The Chief of Headquarters Section (CoHS);
 - b) The Chief of Health Polyclinic (CoHP); and
 - c) The Commander of Provost Section (CPS).
 - 3) The HIAS in carrying out his duties is responsible to CAPC.
- k. The Heat of the Secretariat (HS)
 - 1) The HS is held by Lieutenant Colonel, is an element of the service responsible for organizing activities, with the following obligations:
 - a) Making proposals for work programs and budgets of the APC Secretariat;
 - b) Organizing secretarial activities;
 - c) Organizing the dynamism of archives within the Pusportdirga;
 - d) Organizing correspondence, documentation, filing, duplication and other office administration;
 - e) Carrying out and controlling administrative activities and internal affairs within the APC Secretariat; and
 - f) Convey considerations and suggestions to CAPC according to his field of duty.
 - 2) The HS in carrying out his duties is responsible to CAPC, in the performance of daily duties coordinated by DAPC.
- l. The Head of Information (HI)
 - 1) The HI is held by the Air Force Lieutenant Colonel, is an element is responsible for in the field of public information, with the following obligations:
 - a) Organizing unit lighting activities, public lighting, special lighting and strategic writing for the benefit of APC;



- b) Organizing the writing of mandates and the creation of scientific articles for the benefit of APC leadership;
 - c) Organizing the provision, management and dissemination of information on APC units;
 - d) Convey considerations and suggestions to CAPC according to his field of duty.
- 2) The HI in carrying out his duties is responsible to CAPC, in the performance of daily duties coordinated by DCAPC.
- m. The Commander of the Aerospace Potential Training Centre (CAPTC)
 - 1) The CAPTC is held One Star Air Force First Marshal of the IAF, is the implementing element of APC which is located directly under CAPC.
 - 2) The CAPTC is in charge of organizing ability development and training in the field of air potential management with the following duties:
 - a) Prepare, plan, and implement exercise methods and curriculum in APC;
 - b) Lead planning in making proposed work programs and budgets in the field of territorial capability development;
 - c) Carry out territorial capability development for Regional Command Officers and Non-Regional Command Officers with debriefing activities for territorial development of Non-Regional Units, technical assistance in the utilization of Non-Regional Potential Development Officers of the Air Force, Technical assistance for Development of Readiness of regional officials, and territorial capabilities of air potential management, Technical assistance in the implementation of territorial development of the Task Force Operations; Security of border areas and Security of Critical areas; and Meetings of territorial technical coordination of APC;
 - d) Carry out training assistance, assessment and development of capability development and training in the territorial field of air potential management as well as the development of 10 components of education in the territorial field of carried out by CAPTC and regional educational institutions to optimize training results;
 - e) Prepare and present human resources data and infrastructure, organization and APC Scouts who already have the ability in the aerospace field in order to compile air dimension defense reserved and supported component; and
 - f) Convey considerations and suggestions to CAPC according to his field of duty.
 - 3) The CAPTC in carrying out his duties assisted by two centers that commanding by the rank of Colonel, consisting of:
 - a) The Commander Exercise of Aerospace Potential Center Reserve (CEAPCR); and
 - b) The Commander of Aerospace Sports Training Center (CASTC).
 - 4) The CAPTC in carrying out his duties is responsible to CAPC, in the performance of daily duties coordinated by DCAPC.

From the description of the duties and functions of APC, the concept of APC organizational structure, as well as shown in Figure-1 as follows:

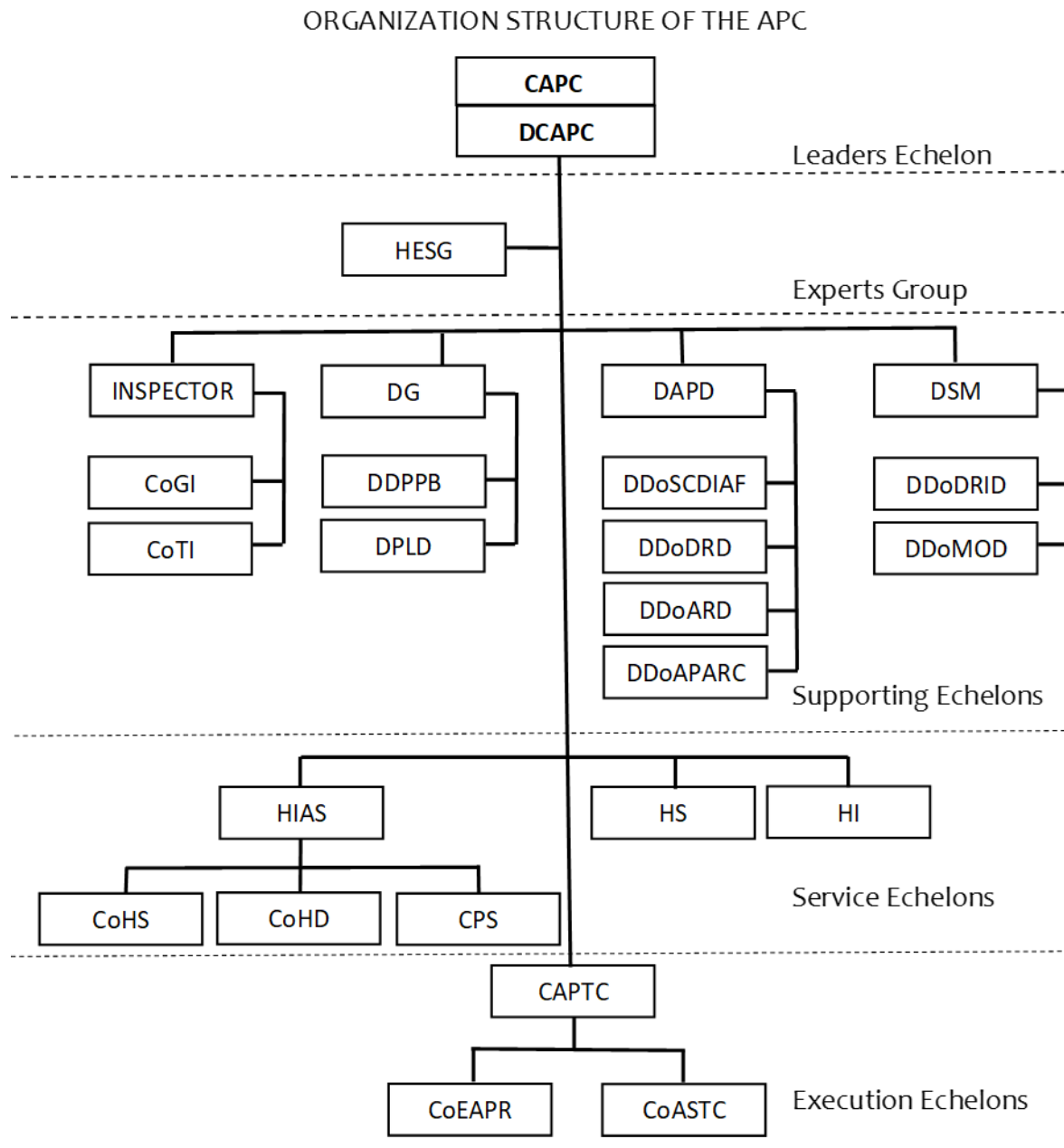


Figure 1. The Concept of APC Organizational Structure

B. Aerospace Potential Training Center Development Plan Strategy

The construction of a facility for the formation and training of both north Sumatra jumping human resources and training in the context of territorial capabilities for regional command officials is the center point of the APTC development plan. It is hoped that with the existence of two main objectives, this is a territorial coaching training center for regional command officers and as a sports training center, the aero sport center will be developed, the development of national potential in the context of state defense in the air can be prepared early and continuously in accordance with the state defense law number 3 of 2002 can be carried out properly.

The strategy can be carried out through the following efforts:



1. Determination of a feasible and strategic location to be proposed as the location of the APTC.
2. Preparation of APTC Construction Facility Construction Targets such as:
 - a. Facilities and Infrastructure Basic Military Training (Ability of Combatants for Reserved Component); Facilities and Infrastructure Course or Exercise;
 - b. Facilities and Infrastructure Aerospace Sports Courses or Exercises (Trike, Flying Gliders, Paramotors and Para Trike);
 - c. Office of CAPTC; Classroom for 6 Room (Capacity capacities of 50 Students Per class);
 - d. Messing, Warehousing, Prayer Room (Place of Worship in One Complex) Area Clinic-Level Health Facilities, Locker Room and Integrated Bathroom; and
 - e. Aircraft Hangars and Other facilities and equipment; and Aircraft Maintenance Hangar.
3. Spatial Concept of APTC Facility.
4. The Concept of Submitting a APTC Development Plan.

Conclusion

To support the procurement of reserved component so that it can run well as expected with the Development of the Capability of Preparing Air Dimension Reserve Components at the Aerospace Potential Center, it is necessary to have a strategy, namely the organizational change strategy and the APC Development Plan. Through an organizational action strategy in which the development of a larger structure with a longer coordination range is expected to be able to optimize efforts in the context of preparing the reserve component of the air dimension. To develop the APTC are expected to be able to improve the ability of territorial officials in the context of efforts to develop the territory itself to all national potentials and efforts to foster the capabilities of all components of the nation in the context of efforts to empower national potential through aerospace aspects.

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Cyber Community Empowerment Policy as an Effort to Strengthen Cyber Defense

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CYBER COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT POLICY AS AN EFFORT TO STRENGTHEN CYBER DEFENSE

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Abstract

The universal people's defense and security system is a defense system that involves all citizens, territories, and other national resources, prepared by the government early, implemented in a total, integrated, directed, sustainable and sustainable manner for the sake of upholding the sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and its protection. The safety of the entire nation and from various threats. Its hoped that this principle will become a loyal basis for the formulation of defense policies in Indonesia, including those related to cyber community empowerment. From this research, it is concluded that there is a need for testing, demonstration, and evaluation which have several main functions in policy analysis.

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Introduction

Scientific advances, especially the development of information and communication technology, greatly impact various aspects of life and relations between countries. The increasingly widespread and increasing use of information and communication technology, especially through the internet network, can affect the increasing threat activities for an individual and country. Based on the 2008 "McAfee Virtual Criminology Report" report, there are 120 countries that utilize internet technology and cyberspace (cyberspace) for political, military, and various electronic spying activities (electronic espionage) aimed at obtaining various information/data related to the economy, intellectual property rights, and various other critical data and information (Siti et al., 2014).

Morgenthau stated that if a country or a nation wants to survive, it must have national power so that it can ensure the continuity of state life both domestically and internationally. This causes the state to be able to anticipate any threats that are expected to occur and threaten its country. Comprehensively, a country must have national power or National Power, which Morgenthau mentioned in his book *Politics Among Nations* related to elements of national power, including Geography, Natural Resources, Industrial Capacity, Military Preparedness, Population, National Character, National Moral, the Quality of Diplomacy, and the Quality of Government (Supriyatno, 2016).

Cyberwar is all actions that are carried out intentionally and coordinated with the aim of interfering with the sovereignty of the state. Cyber warfare can be in the form of terrorism (cyber terrorism) or espionage (cyber espionage) that interferes with national security. Cybercrime is still one of the most serious threats to Indonesia. This is due to the increase in cyber-attack cases ranging from phishing, malware attacks, and spams to ransomware which is quite significant.





In 2019, Indonesian National Cyber and State (BSSN) reported 290 million cyber-attack cases, 25% more than the previous year when cybercrime caused losses of US\$ 34.2 billion in Indonesia. Similarly, the CID has seen an increase in reports of cybercrime. In 2019, there were 4,586 police reports filed through cyber patrols. That's an increase from the previous one of about 4,360 reports in 2018 (Rahmawati, 2017).

Meanwhile, based on the BSSN traffic anomaly data report (2021), in 2020, cyber-attacks experienced by Indonesia reached 495.3 million, an increase of 41 percent from the previous year 2019 of 290.3 million. Data from the Global Cyber-security Index (GCI) 2020, which is based on the concept of five assessment categories or called The Five Pillars of the GCI Framework, namely legal, technical and procedure, organizational, capacity building, and international cooperation, shows that Indonesia's cyber-security position is ranked 24th with a score of 94.88, far below Singapore and Malaysia which are in 4th position (98.52) and 5 (98.06) (Berita - Ancaman Kejahatan Siber Di Indonesia Terus Meningkat, n.d.).

From research conducted by Trend Micro, Indonesia's cyber risk index (CRI) in 2020 was at 0.26, in the sense of being moderate risk. In 2021, it dropped to -0.12, which means that the risk has increased, although it has not yet entered the high-risk category. When sorted according to color, 5.01 to 10 is low risk, 0.1 - 5.0 moderate risk, 2.51 to -5.0 elevated risk, and -5.01 to -10 is high risk. So that means Indonesia last year was in yellow, and now it is in the orange area. (Berita - Perang Siber _ Bahayanya Yang Perlu Kita Ketahui & Pahami _ Okezone News, n.d.).

Meanwhile, throughout 2021 based on the National Cyber Security Index (NCSI) ranking, Indonesia's cyber security is ranked 83 out of 160 countries. The Communication & Information System Security Research Center (CISSReC) reported that as of November 2021, there were 1.3 billion cyber-attacks against countries, banks, private, and individuals. According to the State Cyber and Password Agency (BSSN), cyber incidents that occur in Indonesia mostly target citizens' personal data. Personal data has great potential to be misused for a variety of purposes. BSSN data, most cyber-attacks are economically motivated. It means that the quality of cyber-security still needs significant improvement. For example, the State Cyber and Password Agency (BSSN) published an annual "Cyber-security Monitoring" report for 2021.



Graph 1.1 Number of national anomalies in 2021

Source: BSSN's annual "Cyber-security Monitoring" report 2021



This report has been published on the official website of Id-SIRTII/CC (Indonesia Security Incident Response Team on Internet Infrastructure/Coordination Center) under the Directorate of Cyber-security Operations of BSSN. In the report, it explained that there were more than 1.6 billion or precisely 1,637,973,022 traffic anomalies or cyber-attacks that occurred throughout Indonesia throughout 2021.

Based on various official reports, including the annual report from BSSN from 2018 to 2022, Indonesia has experienced hundreds of millions of cyber-attacks; this is a strong indication that Indonesia is very vulnerable to threats and cyber-attacks originating both from within and outside the country. The number of attacks that have occurred is also not comparable to the number of human resources available to deal with these hundreds of millions of attacks, so Indonesia has entered the danger of cyber warfare.

Another impact of cyber-attacks on a large scale can paralyze the critical national infrastructure, which includes various public services ranging from electricity, telecommunications, drinking water, banking, fuel production and refueling etc., which can cause the paralysis of the national economy, and one of the potential paralysis of this paralyzes we have experienced together when the power grid in Java and Bali was extinguished three years ago.

By paying attention to the above cyberspace, it is necessary to get proper protection to avoid potential that can harm individuals, organizations, and even the state. Cyber defense exists as an effort to protect a country from various kinds of disturbances and threats. Cyber defense is multilevel from the scope of individuals, working groups, organizations to a national scale. (Ardiyanti, 2016) Special attention is paid to critical infrastructure sectors such as security defense, energy, transportation, financial systems, and other public services. Disruption of electronic systems, falling levels of trust in the government, disruption of public order and others. This risk is a consideration for strong cyber defense in a country (Permanasari, 2017).

In protecting and minimizing cyberspace from cyber threats, cyber-security is needed so that cyberspace can continue to run. Cyber-security consists of practices, actions, and efforts to protect the cyber ecosystem and the assets of companies and users from malicious attacks aimed at disrupting the confidentiality, integrity, and availability of information or data (Fischer, 2005; THAT, 2012).

The state defense system or the universal people's defense and security system is a state defense system in Indonesia that is universal, which in the defense system involves all citizens, territories, and other national resources, prepared by the government early, organized in a total, integrated, directed, harmonious, and sustainable manner for the establishment of sovereignty, territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, and the protection of the safety of the entire nation and from various threats (Law No. 34/2004 on the TNI, article 1 paragraph (6)). Basically, the implementation of state defense is to prevent and overcome threats, both military and non-military, that are real and unreal, both from within and from abroad; the nature of health in *sishankamrata* is interpreted as a form of universal war itself where its management is through a concept called the universe war strategy. The state defense force necessary in the implementation of the universal war strategy to deal with various forms of threats includes all components of the state defense, namely the military defense force (including the main, reserve, and supporting components), as well as the non-military power (covering the main elements and other elements of the nation's power) (Soewardi, 2013).

If you look at several recent cyber-crime cases in Indonesia, the website owned by the Attorney General's Office of the Republic of Indonesia was broken into by a 16-year-old



teenager from Lahat, South Sumatra. He did this because he felt bored because of online schooling since the Corona pandemic. His actions resulted in the website of the Attorney General's Office of the Republic of Indonesia being defaced to change its appearance. On his website, there is a message with a tone of protest and a red stamp HACKED. In addition, he also broke into the database of the Attorney General's Office and sold 3,086,224 staffing data to RAID Forums for IDR 400 thousand. These incidents show evidence that Indonesia's cyber-security is very weak and requires an even better cyber defense strategy. However, it should also be noted related to the capabilities possessed by these Indonesian hackers if they get a platform to channel their capabilities precisely to strengthen the country's cyber defense, it will have a positional impact on the country, such as the Indonesian defense system which should involve the role of the people, territories, and equality.

Community empowerment is an effort to increase human dignity and dignity individually and in social groups. According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), community empowerment is carried out so that the empowered group or community can have the power and ability to act. In other words, empowerment becomes a process to improve the ability and independence of the community in order to improve the quality of life. Empowerment is carried out because of the emergence of an understanding of the community's helplessness; that is, the community does not have power (powerless). In addition, another contributing factor to the absence of power is the presence of inequality, including structural inequality, group inequality, and personal inequality.

There are three strategies that must be applied consistently in dealing with cyber threats, according to Bambang Karsono as Rector of Bhayangkara University, Greater Jakarta (Republika, 2021), including increasing the competence of human resources, structuring the information security governance process, and technology as a solution integrator and product development. Therefore, this makes researchers very interested in studying more deeply related to how cyber community empowerment policies are an effort to strengthen cyber defense.

Method

This study used qualitative descriptive analysis. This method describes and interprets existing conditions or relationships about existing issues or problems, then processes the collected material as a support for problem-solving, then an analysis is carried out, which will later obtain results in the form of conclusions and suggestions (Augina, 2020).

Results And Discussion

The Urgency of Empowering Cyber Communities

In 1929 a columnist named Will Rogers wrote his opinion in a daily The New York Times, in which he argued that every civilization would progress, and every war in that civilization would try to destroy in various cutting-edge ways. In the world of technology, information and communication which are now converging with each other without any national borders, where all communication, both voice and data, will rely on wireless-based communication technology, and also its digital-formatted content so that it will be easier to access through smart handheld telephone devices and others (*Berita - Pengembangan IoT Harus Dibarengi Dengan Kesadaran Keamanan Siber - Medcom, n.d.*).

This then becomes a new problem for each country that is left behind or cannot keep up with existing developments. A country must be able to predict the threats that will be



faced in the future, so that by knowing this, a country can create a defense or deterrent in dealing with these threats in the future in order to maintain the stability of a country's sovereignty.

In the era of technology 4.0, it has implications for four phenomenon in the defense aspect that we need to look at together, namely the evolution of industry 4.0 towards 6.0 in 2026, the formation of a cyber-attack theater with the concept of cyber defense, cyber threats evolving into military or conventional threats (5th generation war) and evolution towards the era of digital transformation based on the Internet of Things. Define and map patterns based on cyber threats, including physical or infrastructure threats in the form of virus threats, malware, DDOS, Brute force, DSB phishing, and for non-physical threats including information warfare, hoaxes, framing to change mindsets. Therefore, cyber threats need to be anticipated, of course, by developing and studying cybercrime and security (Supriyatno, 2016).

The state defense system is universal in nature involving all citizens, territories, and other national resources, and is prepared early by the government and organized in a total, integrated, directed, and continuous manner to uphold the sovereignty of the state, territorial integrity, and the safety of the nation from all non-military threats. In terms of cyber defense, institutionally, the TNI (Indonesian National Army) has had regulatory references in the form of Law No. 11 of 2008 concerning Electronic Information and Transactions (ITE) and Government Regulation (PP) No. 82 of 2012 concerning the Implementation of Electronic Systems and Witnesses. The TNI also refers to the Cyber Defense Guidelines released by the Ministry of Defense in 2014 (Republik Indonesia, 2014).

Cyber defense is a way of enhancing the ability to thwart cyber-attacks. It involves all processes and practices that would defend the network, its data, and code from unauthorized access or manipulation. The most common cyber defense activities are hardware and software infrastructure maintenance that deters hackers. The main asset in cyber-security is personnel or HR, who play a very important role in cyber defense. The biggest challenge in implementing cyber defense is to provide competent human resources and always quickly and swiftly follow the dynamics of the cyber environment that continues to develop along with the development of technology and the social conditions of society. For this reason, the HR development strategy must be supported by a continuous competency improvement program (Republik Indonesia, 2014).

However, it should also be noted related to the capabilities possessed by these Indonesian hackers if they get a platform to channel their capabilities precisely to strengthen the country's cyber defense, it will have a positional impact on the country, such as the Indonesian defense system which should involve the role of the people, territories, and equality. Community empowerment is carried out with the following stages:

- a. Awareness related to its existence as an individual or as a member of society, environmental conditions that concern: physical/natural, social, cultural, economic, and political.
- b. Indicates the existence of problems, namely undesirable conditions related to nature, humans, infrastructure, institutions, culture, accessibility, physical, technical, socio-cultural, and political environment, including showing the factors that cause internal and external problems.
- c. Help solve problems, namely the selection of the best alternative problem solving that can be done according to internal conditions (strengths, weaknesses) and external conditions (opportunities, threats).



- d. Demonstrates the importance of changes that are and will occur in their environment. Communities must be prepared to anticipate change through "planned change" activities
- e. Conducting tests and demonstrations. This is done on the grounds that not all innovations are suitable for the conditions of society. In addition, to get an idea of the various alternatives that are most beneficial with the least risk or sacrifice.
- f. Producing and publishing information. In accordance with the development of technology, the production, and publication of media users need to be adapted to the characteristics of society.
- g. Implementing empowerment/ capacity strengthening, namely providing opportunities for the community to determine their own choices concerning information accessibility, involvement in meeting needs, and participation in the development process of public accountability and strengthening local capacity.

Cyber Community Empowerment Policy

Public policy is a series of actions or activities proposed by a person, group in the sense of government in the scope of a certain environment where there are obstacles (distresses) and the possibilities or opportunities where the policy is proposed to be useful in overcoming it to achieve the intended goal. While Empowerment comes from the word "power" which means strength or ability. So, empowerment can be interpreted as a process or series of actions to transform a society that was previously lacking or not yet empowered into empowered. The concept of empowerment itself is in line with community development, which is the process of building interaction networks. This is done to develop the community's quality of life by increasing the capacity of all community members, then carrying out sustainable development (Arief & Widjayanto, 2021).

Empowerment arises because of the helplessness of the community, that is, a society that does not have power (powerless). In addition, other causative factors beyond the absence of inequality include structural inequality, group inequality, and personal inequality. Improving the ability or strength of a community is not easy, so empowerment must be carried out continuously and continuously. The success of empowerment does not only focus on achieving the program but also on the high participation or involvement of the community itself.

Let's examine the increasing cases of cyber-attacks both from within and outside the country in Indonesia every year. It is enough to prove that cyber defense in Indonesia is still fairly weak. Then how can we strengthen cyber defense in Indonesia. From the problems related to the lack of optimal empowerment of the existing cyber community, it is necessary to evaluate existing policies to give rise to new policies that can correct the shortcomings and weaknesses in the old policies.

Formulating policy problems is one of the crucial stages in reviewing public policy because many policy formulations fail to solve public problems not because the method used to solve these problems is wrong, but rather to be freed by problems that are solved incorrectly (Arief & Widjayanto, 2021).

The stages carried out in the implementation of Public Policy are agenda preparation, policy formulation, policy legitimacy, policy implementation, and policy evaluation. These stages are carried out so that the policies built can achieve the desired goals (Budi Winarno, 2007: 32-34):



- a. The preparation of events is a very strategic phase and process in the reality of public policy. It is in this process that there is room to interpret the so-called public issues, and priorities in public events are contested. Policy issues are often referred to as policy problems. The preparation of policy events must be carried out based on the level of urgency and essence of the policy, as well as the involvement of stakeholders.
- b. Policy Formulation, Issues that have been included in the policy event are then discussed by policymakers. These problems are defined to then find the best division of the problem. The division of the issue comes from several existing policy options.
- c. Policy Choice, the purpose of legitimacy is to authorize the basic governance processes. If the sovereignty of the people governs the act of legitimacy in a society, citizens will follow the direction of the government.
- d. Policy Implementation: The policy implementation section will find the consequences and performance of the policy. Here it will be found whether the policies that are built achieve the desired goals or not.
- e. Policy evaluation is an activity that concerns estimation, aka the quality of policies that cover substance, implementation and consequences. This factor, means that policy evaluation is not only carried out at the end but in the entire policy process. Thus, policy evaluation can include part of the formulation of policy problems, proposed programs to solve policy problems, implementation, and part of policy consequences.

Policy evaluation is seen as functional activity. This means that policy evaluation is not only carried out at the final stage but also at the entire policy process. According to W. Dunn, the term evaluation has a related meaning, each pointing to the application of several scales of value to policy and program results. Evaluation includes conclusions, clarifications, criticisms, adjustments, and re-formulation of the problem. Evaluation has several key functions in policy analysis. First and most importantly, evaluation provides valid and reliable information regarding policy criteria, namely, how far the needs, values and opportunities that have been achieved through public action. In this case, the evaluation reveals how far certain goals and targets have been achieved.

Second, evaluation contributes to the clarification and criticism of the value underlying the selection of goals and targets. Value is clarified by defining and operating goals and targets. Value is also criticized by systematically asking about the appropriateness of goals and targets in relation to the intended problem. Third, evaluations include contributions to the application of other methods of policy analysis, including problem formulation and recommendations. Finally, information about inadequate policy performance can contribute to the redistribution of policy issues. Evaluation can also contribute to the definition of a new policy alternative or a policy revision by indicating that the previously favored policy alternative needs to be removed and replaced with another one.

Conclusion

In the era of technology 4.0, it has implications for four phenomenon in the defense aspect that we need to look at together, namely the evolution of industry 4.0 to 6.0 in 2026, the formation of a cyber war theater with the concept of cyber defense, cyber threats evolving into military or conventional threats (5th generation war) and evolution towards the Internet of Things-based digital transformation era. We also need to identify, define and map patterns based on cyber threats, including physical or infrastructure threats in the form of viruses, malware, DDOS, Bruteforce, DSB phishing, and for non-physical threats including



information warfare hoaxes, framing to change mindsets. Therefore, cyber threats need to be anticipated by developing and learning about cybercrime and security.

There is a need for testing and demonstration. This is done because not all innovations are compatible with the conditions of society. In addition, to get an overview of the most useful alternated with the smallest risk or sacrifice. Then, the need to produce and publish information. in accordance with the development of technology, production, and publication media uses need to be adapted to the characteristics of the community.

With several policies issued by the government related to the empowerment of human resources, it is necessary to have an evaluation that has several main functions in policy analysis. First and most importantly, evaluation provides valid and reliable information regarding policy criteria, namely, how far needs, values , and opportunities have been achieved through public action. In this case, the evaluation reveals how far certain goals and targets have been achieved. Then, carry out empowerment/capacity strengthening, namely providing opportunities for the community to determine their own choices in relation to information accessibility, involvement in meeting needs and participation in the whole process of responsible development (public accountability), and strengthening local capacity.

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