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Table of Contents

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DEFENSE UNIVERSITY**

ANALYSIS OF THE RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR BASED ON GIULIO DOUHET'S AIRPOWER THEORY AND AS THE BEST PRACTICE FOR INDONESIA'S AIR FORCE

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Abstract
The Russia-Ukraine war is a conventional war that happened in the modern era. The war shows that airpower is dominant in attacking strategic targets. Hight precision missiles use to avoid civilian casualties even though they still happen. From the perspective of airpower, it is exciting to analyze according to Giulio Douhet's theory. The result and discussions from the Russo-Ukrainian war from an air power perspective show that Douhet's theory is still relevant, but some adjustments are needed. Nowadays, attacking before declaring war breaks the war law. Making civilian casualties is against a human right. Another adjustment is due to technological advances in air power, so air power is a strategic target at the beginning of the war. This paper uses a descriptive-analytical method by analyzing data obtained from open sources.

Introduction

The Russo-Ukrainian war is exciting because it happens in the 21st century. The war show maneuver of conventional military force dominantly by use of air power and land power. Russo-Ukrainian had close ties with the Soviet Union and the Warsawa Defense Alliance. Russia and Ukraine were the core countries of the Warsaw alliance. In Ukraine many Soviet's Union defense facilities were built in Ukraine's territory. Some of the military weaponry systems are from the same product. However, the two countries closeness does not guarantee that there will be free from war. It may be valid from the wise sentence that there are no everlasting friends, but what the everlasting is a national interest.

War began first in 2014 Russia invaded Crimea. The bitter Crimea war continued to the East Ukraine region in Donets and Luhansk (Donbas). Donbas has tried to separate from Ukraine. Ukraine is uncomfortable with Russia and trying to turn to the Europe Union. The European Union reflects the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (Nato) alliance. Ukraine tends to Nato members to secure Ukraine, and it looks like nine countries' ex-Soviet Union joined the Nato alliance. For Nato, Ukraine is an opportunity to expand its influence in Eastern Europe. The rivalry between Russia and Nato finally broke out in Ukraine on February 24, 2022, and Russia attacked Ukraine.

War has occurred with striking military force in vice versa. The dominant military action in this war is air power. Air power is meant to attack, but air power is also the primary attack target. Air power is a strategic weaponry system and, at the same time, a strategic target. Air superiority fiercely contests daily to make land force and sea power opportunities. Air

power does not only monopolize by the air force but spreads over to the land force and sea power. Air power is about aircraft and missiles launched from land or the sea.

The airpower doctrine was first developed by Guilio Douhet, who worked in the air service power in the Italian army. Douhet used aircraft in a war for the first time in the Italian-Turkish war in 1911. In this first role, aircraft were used for air surveillance, transportation, determining artillery weapon placement, and the most phenomenal bombing tasks. The use of aircraft in this war strategy was noted by Douhet, who then concluded that the aircraft's primary role should be the bombing function. Douhet theorized bombing strategic targets such as metropolitan cities, central government, and national industry. Strategic bombing would destroy the enemy's fighting motivation and shorten the war's duration.

This paper will focus on the Russia-Ukraine war since February 24, 2022. The discussion is limited to aspects of air warfare or the use of air power. A tool to analyze is Guilio Douhet's theory of water power. Is the Douhet Theory still valid in modern air wars that are taking place in the 21st century?

Method

This paper uses a descriptive qualitative method. Data are taken from information media, journals, books, reports, and statements from the official. The data are analyzed qualitatively by classifying and giving codes related to a research question. The analysis results are then used for the report.

Results And Discussion

Airpower Theory

Giulio Douhet (1869-1930) was a strategist who founded the air power theory. The invention of the airplane in 1903 by the Wright brothers changed the war strategy. Aircraft taking part in the war was a revolution in war strategy; before the invention of aircraft, war dominance on land power and a small amount of sea power. Aircraft use is called a revolution in war strategy because aircraft operates in the third dimension. The third dimension is the space as expanding the land and sea. A helpful tactic in land warfare was the aircraft's altitude and speed. High altitude makes it easy to see the enemy and attack them. With high speed, shock power is obtained for sudden attacks. The vastness of the sky made defense nearly impossible, so the essence of air power was to attack. Aircraft can fly over enemy troops to reach the back enemy's lines and attack from the weak section.

Guilio Douhet is an Italian army officer. At that time, airpower was part of the land force. Douhet worked in the airborne division of the Italian army during the Italian-Turkish War in 1911. He used this war experience to develop a theory of the function of air combat. In his book titled The Commandments of the air, he stated the urgency of the states to have air power. Air power was adequate to carry out the first attack in the war. Douhet argued that aerial capabilities should be used before a formal declaration of war (Douhet, 2019, p. 12). This air attack ensures victory gets faster, more decisive, and demoralized to shorten the sea or land campaign that can potentially be protracted.

Airpower can be used in all combat functions. Airpower also is used to carry out bombings on enemy strategic targets. Douhet believes that airpower can dispel an enemy's fighting intent once its center of gravity (COG) is destroyed. Aircraft can attack enemy COGs in the form of government control centers, military control centers, national production

centers, and metropolitan city infrastructure. If the attacked country has a robust early warning air defense system, the aircraft cannot be sure of a specific target.

Douhet predicted that future wars would ignore the distinction between civilians and military personnel and that wars would justify bombing targets on civilians, declaring total war. In the future, war will not be bound by the notion of civilized war behavior. To support his theory that war is won by neutralizing the will of the enemy country to fight back, the most effective way is to attack the city. Douhet wrote that victory will smile on those who anticipate a change in the character of war, not on those who wait to adjust once the changes occur (Douhet, 2019, p. 27). Douhet believed that such a strategy would shorten the war significantly by minimizing war casualties, as enemy nations were forced to surrender more quickly. Douhet argued that the State should establish an independent air force separate from other armed forces.

According to the airpower theory from Douhet, this doctrine could break down into three key points that can be abbreviated as follows: (1) To ensure victory, it is necessary to conquer and command the air to gain air superiority; (2) the advantage of speed and elevation in the three-dimensional arena of air warfare has made it impossible to take defensive measures against an offensive air strategy to suppress enemy air defenses; (3) air power should be used against the enemy's center of gravity or the enemy's vital center, the enemy's centers of population, government, and national industry as the enemy's center of gravity (Winn, 1991).

Rusia's Air Power

Rusia airpower (IISS, 2021, pp. 105–108) Air force is 165,000 personnel, Strategic Rocket Force 50,000 personnel, Airborne 45,000 personnel. Structure Russia's air power distribution to every service army, Navy, Marine, and Aerospace Forces. The Navy they have Strategic Rocket Forces which operate 37 ICBM regiments. Nuclear ICBM with 336 nuclear warheads. The Russian Navy has a Long-Range Aviation Command with four fighter squadrons with long-range bomber types. Aerospace defense command with air defense capabilities with the primary weapon Surface air missiles S-400 and S-300. The army they have surface-to-surface missiles and also air defense. Naval aviation consists of Fighter regiments, fighter ground attacks, anti-surface warfare, and anti-submarine warfare. The Naval also has Air Defense. Naval infantry (Marines) also have air defense. Aerospace Forces have bombers, aircraft fighters, ground attacks, ISR, and Airborne early warning and control. The air force has fighters, ground attack, ISR, ISR, Transport, Helicopters, and air defense with SAM S-300 and S-400.

Through the Missile development program, Russia succeeded in developing the hypersonic 3M22 Tsirkon missile. Kinzhal (AS-24 Killjoy) air-launched ballistic missiles have been observed on fighter MiG-31 Foxhounds, while Russia has already fielded the Avangard (SS-19 mod 4 Stiletto) hypersonic glide vehicle (HGV). Russian navy tests 2020 of the Tsirkon hypersonic weapon have focused on the potential impact of such weapons in a naval context. (IISS, 2021, pp. 5–6).

Ukraina Air Power

Air Force active personnel are 11.000 personnel (IISS, 2021, p. 209). Ukraine's airpower distributes to Army and Navy. They have a surface-to-surface missile, army aviation, and army air defense in the army. Army air defense also uses S-300 and S-400 Surface air missiles. In Ukraine, the Navy has airpower in Naval aviation with fixed-wing and Helicopters. The Navy also has Air defense with SP 23mm ZSU-23 and ZSU-24. The air force has Aircraft fighters with

MiG-29 Fulcrum; Su-27 Flanker B; L-39 Albatro; Fighter ground attack, ISR, transport, training, and air defense 9K37M Buk-M1 (SA-11 Gadfly); S-300P/PS/PT (SA-10 Grumble). Airborne Assault Troops also have to point air defense with the surface air missile Strela-10M.

Russia's Air Attack and Defense during The War

On the first day of the invasion, Russian military operations began on February 24, 2022, with an air campaign targeting Ukrainian air defenses, supply depots, and airfields. US defense officials estimate that initial air strikes comprised over 100 missiles, including short and medium-range ballistic missiles, cruise missiles, and sea-launched missiles (Russia Team ISW, 2022). Russian air forces attacked at least three ballast in Kyiv (Sangal et al., 2022). Russian media claims that the Ukrainian military is collapsing are likely to reassure Russians that the war will end quickly and victoriously. Russian TV amplifies claims that Russian operations will be quick and successful (Russia Team ISW, 2022, p. 3).
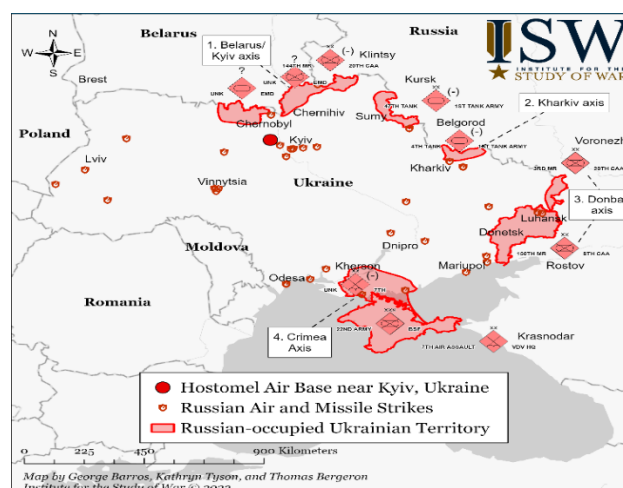
Figure 1. Rusian air and missile strike on day one of war (Press ISW, 2022)

On February 27, 2022. Russia fired 9K720 Iskander missiles from Belarus at the civilian Zhytomyr Ukrainian Airport. Many Ukrainian air defense facilities were destroyed or damaged in the first days of the invasion by Russian airstrikes. On March 13, Russian forces conducted multiple cruise missile attacks on a Ukrainian military training facility in Yavoriv, Lviv Oblast province. Local governor Oblast Maksym Kozytskyy reported that at least 35 Ukrainian people had been killed in the attacks (Zinets et al., 2022).

On March 4, 2022. Russia seized the Zaporizhzhia nuclear power plant. Zaporizhzhia is the largest Nuclear power plant in Europe. This plant supplies 7% of Ukraine's electric consumption. NATO rejects Ukraine's call for a no-fly zone, saying it would escalate the conflict. Russia seized Ukraine's southeastern Zaporizhzhia nuclear power plant after an attack that caused a fire on Friday (Yeung et al., 2022).

On April 10, 2022. On the southern outskirts of Dnepropetrovsk, high-precision sea-based Kalibr missiles destroyed an S-300 air defense system hidden in a hangar, which was delivered to Ukraine by one of the European countries," Four S-300 launchers were hit. In other places, a repair facility with two air defense systems, Buk-M1, and Osa AKM, was struck with high-precision air-based missiles near the Velyka Novosilka settlement in Donetsk. In addition, two ammunition depots, an S-300 radar, nine tanks, five self-propelled artillery, and five multiple rocket launchers were destroyed. Today, the Russian air defense systems downed two S-25 fighter jets and four crewless combat aerial vehicles (UCAV), while a Mi-24 helicopter was shot down with concentrated fire from small arms (Teslova, 2022).

On April 16, 2022. Russia attacked the capital city of Kyiv with missiles. Russian Defense Ministry spokesman Igor Konshenkov reported that the Russian long-range weapons attacks destroyed a Ukrainian armored vehicle factory in Kyiv and a workshop to repair military equipment in Mykolaiv. A high-precision missile is launched from an aircraft. In total, since the beginning of special military operations, 133 aircraft, 458 crewless aerial vehicles, 246 anti-aircraft missile systems, 2246 tanks, and armored fighting vehicles, 252 multiple rocket launchers, 981 field artillery and mortar guns, as well as 2146 vehicles Ukrainian special military destroyed (Suwiknyo, 2022). Russia also attacked and took control of a steel fabric in Azovstal, Eastern Ukraine, Russia, on May 5, 2022 (Ermochenko, 2022).

On May 12, 2022 - 04:03 GMT. According to the region's governor, air raids hit the town of Novhorod-Siverskyi in Chernihiv overnight, killing and injuring several people. Vyacheslav Chaus said schools, other administrative buildings, and private houses were damaged. "There are dead and wounded. Rescuers and doctors are currently working at the scene," Chaus wrote on Telegram. He did not specify the number of casualties.

On May 12, 2022 - 04:03 GMT. Heavy shelling in Zaporizhzhia village kills one person. On this day, the village of Komyshuvakha in the Zaporizhzhia region came under heavy shelling, which killed one person and destroyed 60 residential buildings, Interfax reports. Missiles fell on Komyshuvakha throughout the day, according to the Zaporizhzhia Regional Military Administration (ZOVA) (Ibrahim et al., 2022).

On May 12, 2022 - 04:03 GMT. Nearly 800 missiles launched at Ukraine since February 24: Army Ukraine's Army says 788 cruise and ballistic missiles have been launched on targets in Ukraine from the territories of Russia and Belarus since the start of the invasion. Alexei Gromov of Ukraine's armed forces said the main targets were transport infrastructure in the south and east of Ukraine, "but they repeatedly fired at other objects of critical infrastructure of social importance" (Ibrahim et al., 2022).

On May 17, 2022. Russia launched a missile strike on the infrastructure of the Lviv region. Three cruise missiles were destroyed by air defense units of Ukraine's West Air Command. According to reports, Russia has attacked the Lviv region from the southeast with naval cruise missiles," the air force said. Powerful blasts had been heard at the same time in Lviv. The region's governor says Ukraine's air defense has destroyed it (Al Jazeera, 2022).

On May 17, 2022. Ukrainian officials said that explosions rocked the western city of Lviv, and a Russian attack hit a military base close to Poland's border. The air force said the country's air defense shot down three cruise missiles in the Lviv region. According to Ukraine's Joint Forces Task Force, twenty civilians were killed in Russian shelling in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. A village in Russia's western province of Kursk bordering Ukraine came under Ukrainian fire, regional governor Roman Starovoit said. No injuries were reported, but three houses and a school were hit. A Russian missile attack struck "civilian targets" in the city of Okhtyrka, wounding at least five people, the governor of the Sumy region said (Al Jazeera and News agencies, 2022).

Russia's Air Warfare Strategy

Since World War II, air superiority has been the deciding factor in every modern war. Russia's airstrike strategy is part of Russia's war strategy in fighting against Ukraine. Russia uses its air power assets to win battles as part of its efforts to achieve war goals. The use of airpower is implemented by utilizing the advantageous characteristics of air power. The primary characteristic is that the air force has altitude, speed, shock, and suddenness and is unaffected by the earth's terrain. These characteristics allow success in attacking and

destroying the enemy. Airpower also has the principle of providing protection and flexibility to maneuver against land and sea forces.

Russia is well aware that control of the sky is the key to victory in Ukraine. Air superiority would enable Russia to protect its ground forces and quickly attack Ukraine's troops from the air. This is why Ukraine's air force was Russia's initial target. On February 24, the first day of the war, Russia struck airports and air defense bases, hitting 25 cities across the country (Drozdov, 2022).

Ukraine's Air Attack and Defense during The War

Ukraine defends its air power against Russian air force attacks. In the face of this all-out Russian assault, the Ukrainian air force's primary mission is to prevent Russia from gaining air superiority. On the first day, Ukraine rescued the SU-27 by flying to Romania (Clement Charpentreau, 2022). Ukraine resisted attacks by optimizing the functions of its radar, air defense artillery, air defense missiles, and anti-aircraft MANPADS. Ukraine managed to shoot down several Russian planes. The next day, on February 25, Ukrainian airpower forces attacked the Millerovo Russian airbase with Tochka-U ballistic missiles. Ukraine attached a burning military installation. Millerovo Russian Airbase had been shot and damaged by two Tochka-U ballistic missiles launched from Ukraine in response to the Russian invasion of Ukraine and to prevent Russian forces from using the airbase to provide air support to Russian troops in Ukraine.

Figure 1. Ukraine defending from Russia's air attack on February 24, 2022. Dede Suhaya (2022)

On March 6, 2022, the General Staff of The Ukraine Armed Forces reported that Ukraine had destroyed 88 Russian aircraft since the war began. On May 28, Ukraine successfully pushed Russian forces away from Kharkiv. Ukraine's President Volodymyr Zelensky visited Ukraine's troops in the Kharkiv region. It was the first official presidential trip outside Kyiv since the Russian invasion (BBC Journalism Team, 2022).

Russo-Ukrainian Air Strikes based on Guilio Douhet's Theory

Russia uses air power as a prelude to Ukraine's military assets attack. According to Douhet's theory, airpower should be used even before the war is declared. Douhet's theory is that airstrikes are carried out with strategic targets even before the declaration of war so that the enemy country surrenders before the onset of war. Before the announcement of the war, the strategic attack is expected to eliminate the enemy's fighting ability so that it cannot continue the war. A correction to Douhet's theory is that with international laws relating to war and war crimes, not carrying out airstrikes before a declaration of war violates

international law. Therefore, the Russian President continued to carry out the announcement, and a few minutes later, there were airstrikes on Ukrainian territory.

Russian airstrikes on the first day of the war, from the perspective of the target strike, the airstrikes targeted Ukrainian air power. The attack targets were airbases, aircraft on base, and Ukrainian air defense capabilities. According to Douhet's theory, strategic target bombing is the enemy's center of gravity (CoG). If the strategic target (CoG) is destroyed, it will demoralize the enemy, so the enemy loses enthusiasm to continue the war. These strategic targets are the central government, the national production center, and the metropolis urban center of the population. The three targets were not military forces but civilian targets, but Douhet thought that the fall of the civilian population in the coming war was inevitable. This theory was proven in World War II when the Allies carried out bombings on Hiroshima and the city of Nagasaki in Japan. Bombardment targeting this metropolis made Japan surrender to the Allies, and the second world war ended. Douhet's theory of the metropolitan target was challenged because of the unnecessarily large number of civilian casualties, so this third target is no longer possible in modern warfare.

The selection of targets for Russian airstrikes by attacking Ukrainian air power is part of a strategy to neutralize Ukrainian air power. With the destruction of Ukrainian air power, Russia will gain air supremacy. Air Supremacy is urgently needed to provide freedom of land and sea power without the threat of Ukrainian air power.

Russia also targeted government centers on the first day to bring down Ukraine's fighting morale. A criticism of the unregulated Douhet's theory is that enemy air power is also a strategic target in the initial attack of the war. Successfully neutralizing enemy air power in modern warfare is critical to reducing the possibility of self-destruction from enemy counterattacks.

Russia continues to upgrade the status of air superiority to air superiority. Russia stated that until the 13th day, March 8, 2022, Russia had succeeded in disabling 90% of the Ukraine airbase. The prime Ukraine airbase Vinnytsia, Lutsk airbase also Ivano-Frankivsk airbase were damaged. The aircraft maintenance and maintenance depot in Lviv has been demolished. Russia destroyed 137 air defense artillery systems S-300, Buk M-1 air defense, Buk S-125 air defense, 81 Ukrainian air force radar units, 104 rocket launchers, and 97 drones. The Russian Air Force destroyed 89 warplanes and 57 helicopters out of 250 combat aircraft and attack helicopters on the ground and in the air (Teslova & Chirciu, 2022). Russia, until the 28th day or the date of March 20, 2022, Russia's air power has carried out 1,403 airstrikes and has launched 459 missiles. (Berlin, 2022).

Air Raids on Populated Areas

Russian airstrikes were not targeted at population centers, as Douhet's theory suggests. Douhet assumed that an attack on the population would be able to stop the war. Targeting the people would cause a lot of civilian casualties, but Douhet thought that the number of victims would be much higher if the war dragged on and was prolonged. In this war, Russia uses missiles with high precision. With high precision, the target can be destroyed according to the purpose of the attack but avoids civilian casualties. However, it is unavoidable to fall victim to civilians.

Air Attack on National Production Center

The Russian airstrikes targeted giant electrical nuclear power plants and fabric steel. The power plant is a central source of electrical energy for the population in Kyiv. Steel fabric plants are vital for the economy of Ukraine. The destruction of these strategic targets applies

the Douhet's Theory, wherein the national production center is a strategic target that airpower must destroy. The Russian attack on the nuclear reactor, the source of Ukraine's electricity supply, is a strategic target; without electricity, the industry and the city will be paralyzed. However, the Russian attack on the nuclear reactor was criticized by many parties internationally because this attack allowed the explosion of the atomic reactor, which would pose a humanitarian hazard not only in Ukraine but also in countries around Ukraine.

Conclusion

From the analysis of the Russian airstrikes carried out during the current Russia-Ukraine war, it can be concluded that Guilio Douhet's theory is still relevant to be implemented. Look like the critical role of air power in a bombing or strategic attack. However, some adjustments are needed. Firstly, adjustment related to the air power technology itself. Technological airpower is very robust and has high value to attack and defense, so destroying air power is very important in the initial war. Secondly, targets in metropolis cities are forbidden because it will break the international convention about human rights. Civilian casualties during the war are war crimes. Precision air weapons are a must.

The best practice from Russian and Ukraine airpower during the war for developing Indonesia air power is as follows: Firstly, the sophisticated technology of air power, including aircraft and air missiles, are means for secondly, the air defense system is compulsory to defense air power itself because air power is one of the strategic targets at the beginning of the war. Thirdly, air power defense assets and systems in one packet are absolute to gain air supremacy. During the war, the use of air power made the Indonesian air force build air power assets with the highest technology and number. Airpower is not only for the air force but also spread to land and sea power.

Recommendations, firstly, develop the technology of air power by Indonesia's defense industry, if we can make itself, we can produce as we want. Second, aircraft, missiles, radars, and air defense systems should be distributed to the land and sea power. Thirdly, during a war, all air power spread in the land and sea forces is integrated into one command and control the use of air power to get the effectiveness of its use.

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Securitization of Tourism Activities to Defend National Interest

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SECURITIZATION OF TOURISM ACTIVITIES TO DEFEND NATIONAL INTEREST

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Abstract
Indonesia's current dynamic of tourism activities brings about positive impacts such as increasing the GDP and making good diplomatic relations. On the other hand, it can also create security threats, including terrorism, crime, and a new variant of the COVID-19 virus appearance. These issues impacted many stakeholders from the states up to the society. This research aims at explaining the securitization of tourism activities interfered with the defense of Indonesia's national interests by conducting a descriptive analysis method based on data from books, previous research, and some regulations. It portrays many challenges faced by Indonesia and the opportunities they get to defend national interest from the securitization of tourism activities. It also shows that the government's strategy in measuring security threats needs to be done hand-in-hand with all stakeholders to increase the effectiveness.

Introduction

Security studies as much as the Copenhagen School and its theory of securitization are influenced by a few approaches. Agreeing with the affirmation that the nature of security is socially developed, the Copenhagen School's key contention is that security threats are not impartially given but reflect shared understandings, in which something is surrounded as an existential risk to a few esteemed referent question (Buzan et al., 1998). It leads to the chance of being moved out of the circle of common administrative issues and into the domain of crisis legislative issues, where it can be overseen rapidly and without the standard law-based rules and regulations of policy-making. In other words, labeling something with a speech act as a security threat that gets to end up one, and it is by communicating that something or someone is threatened in its presence that policymakers claim a right to extraordinary measures to guarantee the referent object's survival. In this way, security has digressive and political constrain and can be a concept that does something – it securitizes – rather than being an objective or subjective condition (Balzacq & Guzzini, 2015; Floyd, 2021).

Securitization theory has been created in numerous streams, shapes, and headings. It has also broadened its focus beyond Europe. It is directly associated with policy ranges such as foreign policy, European integration, terrorism, energy security, water deficiency, aid and progression, relocation, climate change, and a degree of health-related issues (Abrahamsen, 2016; Caballero-Anthony, 2008; McDonald, 2011). Particular fundamental advancement is the endeavor to move the theory beyond a "speech act" and toward a "pragmatic act" embedded in a specific setting. In substance, this suggests taking the gathering of people more seriously (Balzacq, 2016; Filimon, 2016). Balzacq also fights that rather than seeing securitization as an arrangement through which an audience is persuaded that something

may be a serious threat, we should see it as a handle through which securitizing specialists manage to gain the consent of a gathering of people based on a shared see of vulnerabilities.

Considering that the security issue does not, as it were, cover issues concerning militarization but has extended to other issues, one of which is tourism which can be seen as a security issue. Tourism security is a new rising discipline focusing on the security and well-functioning of the tourist system and domestic and international destinations. Without a doubt, security is not as it appeared to be fundamental for the industry's survival but incorporates complex connections with the local socioeconomic foundation (Tarlow, 2014; Tifany, 2020). Tourism researchers and experts have taken up tourism securitization with vigor (Hall et al., 2004; Mansfeld & Pizam, 2006; Tarlow, 2014).

Tourism advancement involves negative and positive impacts (Almeida et al., 2018). The positive effect of tourism advancement is often in the form of a contribution to GDP. A World Travel & Tourism Council clarifies that Earlier to the pandemic, Travel & Tourism (including its direct, indirect, and induced impacts) was one of the world's most significant sectors, bookkeeping for 1 in 4 of all current occupations made in the world, 10.3% of all occupations (333 million), and 10.3% of worldwide GDP (USD 9.6 trillion). Meanwhile, the international guest investment amounted to USD 1.8 trillion in 2019 (6.8% of total exports) (World Travel & Tourism Council, 2022). In any case, a couple of sorts of writing also clarify that separated from the positive impacts of tourism improvement, a few unfavorable impacts ought to be overviewed (Almeida et al., 2018; Lechner et al., 2020). Ordinarily, the negative impacts are characteristic issues related to land clashes and natural framework damage (Almeida et al., 2018). To continue with the triumph of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the United Nations is making Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), where SDGs are separated into 17 objectives with 169 targets (Trupp & Dolezal, 2020).

Over the past few years, tourism activities have been genuinely undermined by the need for more safety and security. This figure has been distinguished as one of the five forces causing changes within the tourism sector in the new millennium. Crime, terrorism, food safety, health issues, and natural catastrophes are the main areas of concern (Breda & Costa, 2005). Moreover, Harmawan and Pertiwi declare that the advancement of tourism looks brilliant because of the accomplishment of its economic contribution. However, the current tourism management, particularly in Indonesia, needs to pay more attention to the biological viewpoints of the environment and the social community (Pertiwi & Harmawan, 2022). Not only that, tourism activities are mainly seen from the economic aspect. In contrast, another aspect, such as security, is being ignored which it has supposed to be considered because it is essential since it influences the people involved in tourism activities and the whole country, especially in defending the national interest. Therefore, through this paper, the researchers discuss the securitization of Indonesia's tourism to defend the national interest and its national defense approach from any perspectives

The Dynamic of Current Tourism in Indonesia

Indonesia sees one of the world's fastest-growing numbers in the tourism industry. With a vast and different potential for tourism, Indonesia is one of the foremost well-known destinations for foreign and domestic visitors looking for cultural, culinary, experience, wildlife, and numerous more sorts of tourism. Tourism is also essential to Indonesia's economy, and it has experienced significant growth in recent years. In 2019, 16.10 million foreign visitors were recorded to have visited Indonesia, producing around USD 18.40

million or a rise to 1.6% of Indonesia's GNP, making it one of Indonesia's most significant sources of foreign currency. Aside from foreign guests, the domestic traveler base forms a massive market for Indonesia's economy (Statistik, 2019).

Income from tourism activities constitutes a critical part of the world's economy, particularly in creating nations with curious and extraordinary goals. The devisa produced from this industry is utilized to purchase capital products and fortify investments. It pushes other associated divisions of businesses, creating the locale by expanding work opportunities, salary, and the spread of innovation. In Indonesia, tourism revenues increased to 2413.75 USD Million in the third quarter of 2022 from 1626.32 USD Million in the second quarter of 2022 (Fedec & Sousa, 2022).
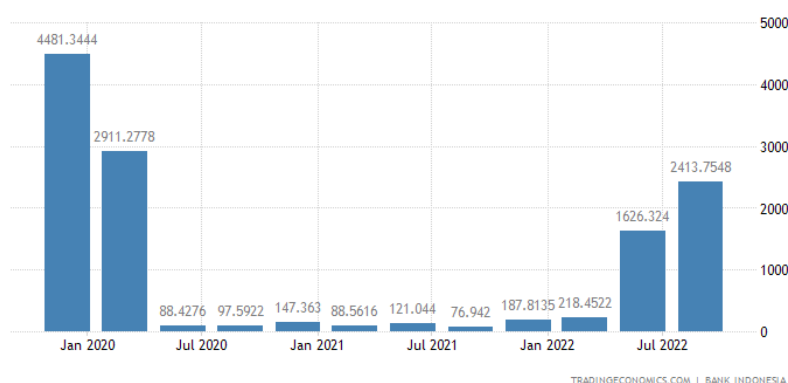
Figure 1. Indonesia's revenue chart
Source: Bank Indonesia (2022)

The dynamic of tourism in Indonesia can be related to securitization in many ways. The tourism industry is an imperative supporter of Indonesia's economy, and the government has prioritized the safety and security of tourists as a critical portion of its national security strategy. This has included the securitization of tourism, which incorporates measures to guarantee the safety and security of tourists, such as strengthening border controls, expanding surveillance, and upgrading emergency response capabilities. In terms of securitization of tourism, Indonesia's government has been taking action by making some regulations and laws to ensure the safety and security of tourists as well as tourism activities in the country which have been implemented by various government agencies, including the Indonesian National Police, the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Unfortunately, it still needs to be improved due to some issues related to securitization in tourism. A series of earthquakes struck the island of Lombok in 2018, for instance, causing far-reaching damage and driving a decay in tourism to the region. In 2019, the eruption of the Anak Krakatau volcano within the Sunda Strait caused the cancellation of flights and disturbing travel to and from the region (Rindrasih et al., 2019).

Security threats, such as terrorism and crime is being concerned, can harm tourism in Indonesia. For example, if tourists are targeted by terrorist assaults or violence, this could lead to a diminish in tourism demand and a negative effect on the tourism industry. In response, the government takes measures to address these threats and improve the security of tourists to secure the tourism industry's financial interface. It is supported by the data from UNDP and USAID about Bali Bombing. On October 12, 2002, two bombs exploded at tourist locations on the island of Bali, which is a vulnerable location to be attacked by a terrorist (Korstanje & Hugues Seraphin, 2020), killing 202 people and injuring hundreds

more. Many of the victims were foreign tourists. The assaults were carried out by the radical group Jemaah Islamiyah, a Southeast Asian militant organization with joins to al-Qaeda. The group focused on foreign visitors to disturb Indonesia's tourism industry and destabilize the country (UNDP & USAID, 2002). The bombings were the deadliest terrorist assaults in Indonesia's history and critically affected the country's tourism industry. In reaction to the assaults, the Indonesian government executed several measures to improve security and combat terrorism, including the establishment of the Densus 88 Counterterrorism Unit and the execution of the 2003 Anti-Terrorism Law.

From this case, it can be seen that terrorism prevention was not a priority for Indonesia's government then. Even though the government has taken action by creating counter-terrorism units and executing anti-terrorism laws, the government still needs to realize how dangerous the threat is. Professor Hwang from Goucher College also supports it by stating that it happened due to a few Indonesian lawmakers were hesitant to recognize the risk of terrorism because they did not want to estrange preservationist Muslim constituencies, who did not accept the risk was real (Hwang & Clarke, 2022). It is also supported by the report on the APEC Counter-Terrorism Working Group's Workshop, which states that even though numerous police divisions have prepared and committed to the security of tourism destinations and businesses, only some of the economies have tourism crisis communication manuals. It infers that having information on terrorist financing would permit economies to avoid terror assaults from happening, especially at tourist destinations (APEC Secretariat, 2017). It shows how vital terrorism prevention is.

In addition, the role of tourism in national security is the third way. Tourism can also play a part in Indonesia's national security strategy in other ways. For example, the government may utilize tourism as an instrument to advance regional stability and strengthen diplomatic relations with other nations. In addition, the tourism industry can provide work and other financial benefits, which can offer assistance to advance social and political stability within the country. The research done by Minardi and friends, for instance, shows that through tourism diplomacy, they discovered that Indonesian attracted India by utilizing social similarities and have successfully expanded tourists' visits from India (Minardi et al., 2020). It is proof that tourism has a role in securing national interests by strengthening diplomatic relations with other countries.

Challenges and Opportunities

A number of challenges can emerge from the securitization of tourism activities in defending Indonesia's national interests. Some particular cases of these challenges incorporate limited resources, balancing security and freedom, unforeseen circumstances, and public perception. The first challenge is limited resources. Indonesia needs more resources available to secure tourism activities and protect the national interface. This could incorporate constrained budgets, personnel, or technology, which can make it challenging to execute effective security measures. Developing countries like Indonesia will mostly face this first challenge. Take a look at one point, limited budgets, for instance. Indonesia is allocated Rp9.2 trillion for tourism, especially recovering after COVID-19, with some programs such as rebranding tourism destinations as well as small and medium industries (Pangastuti & Kristianus, 2021).

On the other hand, the National Security Agency budget was reported only at 201.400 IDR bn in 2019 (CEIC, 2019). This records a decrease from the previous number of 277.700 IDR bn for 2018, which is an essential aspect of defending the national interest. This

case can make it challenging to implement adequate security measures. This may require prioritizing resources and identifying cost-effective solutions, and the government's effort will be limited.
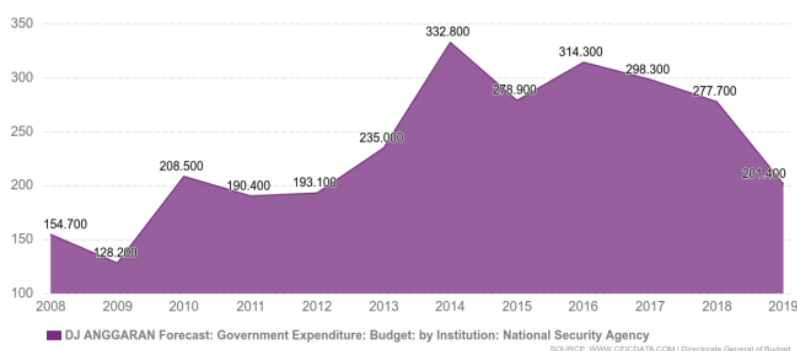
Figure 2. National Security Budget
Source: Directorate General of Budget (2019)

Another challenge of securing tourism activities in defending national interests in Indonesia is balancing security and freedom. A challenge may be balancing the requirement for security with the desire to maintain freedom and civil freedoms in Indonesia. For example, expanded security measures may be essential to ensure tourists and defend the national interface, but these measures may also be seen as infringing on the freedom of people or causing burdens. Security measures that are targeted and proportionate to the risk level can assist in adjusting the requirement for security to preserve opportunity and civil freedoms in Indonesia. For example, instead of executing cover security measures that influence all tourists, targeted measures that are based on particular threats or dangers may be more effective and less intrusive. Alice Edward also supports it by stating the more someone is protected, the more individual's freedom will be disturbed (Edwards, 2011).

The next challenge is unforeseen circumstances that arise, such as natural disasters, economic recessions, or global pandemics, which can disrupt tourism activities and threaten national interests in Indonesia. Normal disasters can have a critical effect on the tourism industry in Indonesia. Indonesia is a nation located within the Pacific Ring of Fire, which implies it is inclined to earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and tsunamis. These sorts of disasters can disturb travel and damage infrastructure, leading to a diminish in tourism. In recent years, Indonesia has experienced a few natural disasters that have influenced the tourism industry, including earthquakes and volcanic emissions. For example, in 2018, a series of earthquakes struck the island of Lombok, causing far-reaching damage and driving a decay in tourism to the region. In 2019, the eruption of the Anak Krakatau volcano within the Sunda Strait caused the cancellation of flights and disturbing travel to and from the region (Rindrasih et al., 2019). In addition, the appearance of new variant of COVID-19 (Pandey et al., 2021), is possibly to be a big challenge in Indonesia since the tourism activities here is openly which allow foreign to come to Indonesia.

Public perception is another challenge where managing public recognition of the securitization of tourism activities, as a few people may see these measures as pointless or meddlesome. It may be essential to communicate these measures' significance to the public to gain support and cooperation. Negative public perception of security measures may also affect tourism in Indonesia, as visitors may be discouraged by perceived inconvenient or troublesome measures. This may require finding ways to minimize the effect of security measures on tourists while still effectively protecting national interests.

Besides the challenges, several opportunities can arise from the securitization of tourism activities in defending national interests in Indonesia, such as economic benefits, diplomatic relations, intelligence collecting, and military security. Adequate security measures that secure visitors and protect the national interface can lead to increased tourism requests in Indonesia. This may result in expanded income for the tourism industry and related businesses such as transportation, accommodation, and entertainment. It also supports the result of Syahputra's research which states that Tourism activities are considered one of the sources of economic development in world income; when the income from the tourism industry increase, then other businesses will follow it (Syahputra, 2020). Moreover, increased tourism demand can also lead to increased tourism revenue in Indonesia. This may result in increased government revenue from taxes on tourism-related activities and increased revenue for the tourism industry and related industries. It will be a significant opportunity for the country to be more advanced in many aspects, including security, by increasing the security budget and providing new job opportunities.

The next opportunity is intelligence collecting, where The tourism industry in Indonesia can serve as a source of intelligence collecting for the government, which can offer assistance to protect the national interface by giving data about potential threats or other issues of concern—for example getting data from tourism information where the information may be gathered through interactions with tourists, such as through interviews or surveys. Then, employees of the tourism industry in Indonesia, such as hotel staff or tour guides, may also be a source of intelligence collecting. They may have insights into potential threats or other issues of concern based on their interactions with tourists. By doing so, the government has an opportunity to prevent something terrible from happening to the country.

The third opportunity is diplomatic relations. The securitization of tourism activities in Indonesia can also promote regional stability and strengthen diplomatic relations with other countries, which can contribute to national interests by building more substantial economic and cultural ties with these countries. The safety of tourists from other countries, for example, while visiting Indonesia, can be a factor in diplomatic relations. If tourists from a particular country are subject to threats or attacks in Indonesia, this may affect diplomatic relations with that country. Moreover, partnerships between Indonesia's tourism industry and other countries' tourism industries may also be impacted by the securitization of tourism activities. For example, if security measures are perceived as disruptive or inconvenient, this may affect the willingness of other countries to engage in tourism industry partnerships with Indonesia. Last but not least, Indonesia's tourism industry's reputation can also impact diplomatic relations with other countries. If the tourism industry in Indonesia is perceived as unsafe or unreliable, this may affect the willingness of other countries to engage in tourism-related activities with Indonesia.

The last opportunity is military security. In some cases, the securitization of tourism in Indonesia may also be driven by military security concerns, such as the need to protect tourists from external threats or to prevent the use of tourism as a cover for espionage or other types of hostile activities. Military patrols are one thing that can be done by deploying in areas of Indonesia that are popular with tourists in order to provide security and protect tourists. This may involve the use of ground patrols, air patrols, or a combination of both. In addition, Military personnel in Indonesia may also receive training in tourism security in order to be prepared to respond to threats or incidents that may occur in tourism-related areas. This training may involve scenario-based exercises or other forms of training.

In short, the securitization of tourism activities to defend Indonesia's national interest bring out many challenges and opportunities that have been explained in the previous paragraphs. From this point, the researchers discover a new finding that the absence of a national security council in Indonesia can be both a challenge and an opportunity. The absence of national security will create a new burden because the government will be able hardly to review and analyze the possible security threats that will help them in creating new laws and regulations related to this issue. It will also bring the government an opportunity to create a national security system to assist them concerning security issues. It is also supported by previous researchers by stating the concept of national security is fundamental to promptly be constituted by the coordinated execution of all national components in reaction to comparative things with multi-dimensional impacts in the future. They have to be compelled to start the concept of national security can be carried out by creating non-military defense and activating the National Defense Council under the President's solid strategic leadership (Risman et al., 2020).

National Defense Approach

The national defense approach can be seen from many perspectives such as government perspectives, tourism ecosystem activities perspectives, general activities perspectives, and also national interest perspectives. National defense approach from the government perspective in terms of securitization of tourism activities to defend the national interest able to implicate a variety of measures designed to secure tourists as well as defend national interests. These measures may include security planning, intelligence collecting, security measure, and public communication.

The first measure that is need to be done by the government is security planning, which may include recognizing potential dangers toward tourists and national interests as well as developing strategies to moderate or avoid these threats. At this point, the government has the critical role to gather all of the stakeholders namely researcher from both tourism and security, tourist guide, hotelier, manager of tourist destination, and others. This meeting is expected to review and analyze the possible threat in the tourism industry and then find the solution together. It also contains evaluating the vulnerabilities of tourism-related regions and executing measures to address these vulnerabilities. Security planning is a critical component of the national defense approach because it empowers a nation to anticipate and prepare for potential dangers and to require proactive measures to anticipate or mitigate these threats (Cynoteck, 2020). It does not only a range of activities such as intelligence collecting who will do the risk assessment and the advancement as well as implementation of security measures but security planning also needs to be carried out with the cooperation of some institutions and agencies, such as law enforcement agencies, intelligence agencies, and military organizations. It will also need the cooperation of other partners, such as the private division, civil society organizations, and the public.

Intelligence collecting is a step that needs to be done to measure the potential threat that is possible to happen in the future. Intelligence collection is an important aspect of national security and is often carried out by intelligence agencies, military units, and other specialized organizations. The ultimate goal of intelligence collection is to provide accurate, timely, and relevant information that can be used to inform policy, strategy, or other decisions. The involvement of tourist and tourism industry employees is also needed to collect useful information because they are the first person who deals with the tourist directly In addition, there are also security measures, which may include a range of

measures designed to protect tourists and defend national interests by providing military patrols, training, equipment advancement, and other measures such as surveillance cameras or security checks.

Public communication is also one of the measurements which allude to the process of communicating with the public about security measures and issues of concern. It includes giving data to the public about the rationale behind security measures, looking for to address concerns or objections from the public, and engaging with partners such as the private segment, civil society organizations, and the public in order to guarantee that their needs and concerns are taken into consideration within the plan and execution of security measures. It is a critical component of the national defense approach because it helps to guarantee that the public is aware of the measures that are being taken to secure their safety and security and that their concerns are taken into consideration within the improvement and execution of these measures. Examples of these action activities such as gaining good relations with the media, community outreach, or public education campaigns.

The implementation of the national defense approach from the government perspective in Indonesia so far is exemplary. However, it needs to be done throughout because the government only does some of the measurements that need to be done effectively. The implementation of laws and regulations, for instance, is not optimal simply because the government creates law and regulation based on a particular condition; where it will be better if the combination of the measurement is carried out well and create a continuous follow-up toward the implementing of the law and regulation on the field. The execution of Law No. 10 of 2009 on Tourism proves that Indonesia's government could be more optimal in implementing its regulation. This law sets up the legitimate system for the tourism industry in Indonesia and incorporates arrangements related to the industry's promotion, improvement, and management. It also incorporates arrangements related to the safety and security of tourists, including requirements for tourist facilities and transportation to actualize appropriate security measures (DPRRI, 2009). The condition in the entire field is different from the expectation of the regulation because many tourist destinations still need to be safer for tourists, especially after being viral on social media. The government needs to focus more on the destination's promotion before thinking critically about the effect after being viral. Goa Pindul in Yogyakarta, for instance, is one of the tourist destinations that is broken after being viral (Pujani & Sanjiwani, 2017). The government and the management of the destination just created a new regulation to stop tourists from coming to that destination simply because the place is overcrowded and it does not feel safe to have to relax time at that place.

The next national defense approach is coming from tourism ecosystem perspectives. When the discourse related to terrorism is presented, many important things can be discussed, including the travel and hospitality industries, as well as cultural and natural attractions, transportation systems, and other supporting businesses and organizations (Mann, 2015). Those are the various components that contribute to the tourism industry. It is not uncommon for countries to consider the role of tourism in their national defense strategies. But in Indonesia, tourism is a significant contributor to a country's economy and can also play a role in diplomatic and cultural exchange. As such, Indonesia can consider the potential impacts of conflicts or other disruptions to the tourism industry as part of their broader national defense approach. If we take a look at the hospitality perspective, for instance, we can see that hospitality industry which is one aspects inside tourism activities can create many job vacancy that can improve the economic condition of Indonesia (Ardani & Harianto, 2021). In addition, the natural wealth in Indonesia is very potential to be tourist

destination as it is now. Bromo Mountain, for example, is a well-known tourist destination in the world. In the period September 1-11 2022, the number of tourists visit to Bromo reached 18,488 who come from both domestic and foreign (Febrianto, 2022). On contrary, a higher number of tourists in a certain place can create a higher number of crimes. It is supported by the appearance of fraud which not only happen in Bromo but also in other tourist destinations like Labuan Bajo and Bali (Panggabean, 2018; Taris, 2022).

General activities such as education in the school may be an important point of view in the national defense approach. In Indonesia, national defense education is an imperative part of the school curriculum. The Indonesian government places a solid emphasis on the part of education in building a solid and secure country, and as such, national defense is instructed at different levels of the education system. In primary and secondary schools, students may get instruction on subjects such as the history and principles of national defense, the structure, and function of the military and other defense organizations, and the strategies and technologies utilized to secure the country's interface. This may be instructed through a variety of implies, including classroom instruction, experiential learning opportunities, and extracurricular activities. In expansion to formal instruction, there are also a number of youth organizations in Indonesia that focus on national defense education and training. These incorporate programs such as the Indonesian Red Cross (PMI), the Indonesian Scout Movement (Pramuka), and the Indonesian Military Cadets Corps (KORPRI). These organizations give opportunities for youthful individuals to learn about national defense and develop leadership and other imperative skills. Overall, national defense education in Indonesia is an important part of the country's efforts to build a strong and secure nation. It helps to promote a sense of responsibility and citizenship among young people, and can also help to prepare them for careers in the military or other defense-related fields.

Lastly, the national defense approach toward Indonesia's national interest. In order to protect the nation's interests, including its sovereignty, territorial integrity, and citizens from external threats, a government should adopt a set of principles, strategies, and actions which is called national security. While, a national security policy system refers to the structures and processes that a government uses to develop, implement, and review its national security policies. In securitization of tourism, Indonesia needs a lot to be done in order to protect the national interest such as ensuring the safety and security of tourists by optimizing their way of maintaining a strong military and other defense agencies, developing and implementing security strategies, and enhancing intelligence gathering and analysis. Then, the national security policy system of Indonesia should support the promotion of cultural exchange and understanding through tourism, and adopt measures such as strengthening international partnerships and alliances and promoting intercultural dialogue. Moreover, prioritizing the protection and preservation of the country's natural and cultural heritage, which is a major attraction for tourists is also a critical part of the action that should be done by the national security policy of Indonesia. This will involve adopting measures such as promoting sustainable tourism practices and investing in conservation and preservation efforts. Last, the government should support the development of infrastructure necessary for the tourism industry, such as airports, roads, and hotels. This will be adopting measures such as investing in infrastructure development and promoting a stable and secure business environment.

Conclusion

By examining the above explanation, it can be concluded that the securitization of tourism activities to defend national interests in Indonesia involves a range of measures. These measures is including security planning, intelligence collecting, security measures, and public communication. The national defense approach to securing tourism activities in Indonesia is able to be seen from any aspects such as tourism ecosystem activities, general activities, and national interest which involve a range of institutions and agencies, including the military, law enforcement agencies, intelligence agencies, and diplomatic bodies. It may also involve the participation of other stakeholders, such as the private sector, civil society organizations, and the public.

Overall, the securitization of tourism activities to defend national interests in Indonesia is a complex and multifaceted process involving identifying and managing potential threats and vulnerabilities and implementing measures to protect tourists and defend national interests. It is critical to ensure that these measures are effective, transparent, and accountable and consider all stakeholders' needs and concerns. Last but not least, the researchers suggest that the government need to consider creating a national security council that can help them decrease their burden in term of security. Then, the government is also expected to maintain their regulation related to security and tourism, so that will be no lack or insecurity appearing on the field which can create the tourist not safe and impact national security.

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STRATEGI PERANG SEMESTA

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Social Media and Its Influencers: A Study of Indonesian State-Defending Strategy in the 21st Century

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SOCIAL MEDIA AND ITS INFLUENCERS: A STUDY OF INDONESIAN STATE-DEFENDING STRATEGY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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Abstract

Globalization can be seen in almost every aspect of people's lives, especially in the influence of advances in information and communication technology, including the Internet, the emergence of various social media platforms, and the rise of social media influencers in society. With the active role of social media influencers and social media penetration among Indonesian people, the Indonesian government can take advantage of this phenomenon to strengthen strategic programs called State-Defending Program. The development of the state-defending program by the MoD to enhance national defense and character needs to adapt to technological developments. Social media can answer this challenge. By optimizing the functions of social media and influencers in supporting defense governance and state defense, the MoD, as the leading sector, needs to put forward new communication strategies and methods to expand the spectrum of influence for state-defending for all levels of society in Indonesia. Finally, this study aims to analyze the development of the state-defending program and its challenges, as well as the state-defending development strategy implemented by the Ministry of Defense through social media engagement.

Introduction

Globalization is a common term in the 21st century. Globalization is a process of interaction and integration between people, companies, and governments from different countries (Erwin, 2017). In line with Giddens (1990), globalization could be identified as a process of intensifying social relations worldwide that connects one local community with other local communities from various parts of the world. Globalization is driven by several factors, the most important of which is the development of information and communication technology, of which the internet is one of its tangible forms (Kacowicz, 1998, p. 6).

Currently, globalization can be seen in almost every aspect of people's lives, starting from social, economic, political, and information technology (Baylis et al., 2020), as stated by Inukonda (2020) that we live in an era of "fragmentation" where globalization is only one component of the interactions that take place in every cross-country community which then leads to what is known as denationalization. The existence of direct interaction between each cross-country community that causes denationalization certainly creates ambiguity regarding the meaning, nature, and future of a country, which in turn makes challenges for countries to

maintain their sovereignty, including Indonesia. As part of the international community, Indonesia certainly cannot escape the influence of the rapid currents of globalization, especially in the impact of advances in information and communication technology, one of which is the internet.

Based on the data from Statista, we are social, and data reportal for 2022 reveals that the rapid growth of internet users in Indonesia has placed Indonesia as the 4th largest country in the world with a total of 204.7 million users (around 73.7% of the total population). , with an average usage of over 8 hours per day. This number has increased by 1% (equivalent to 2.1 million users) from 2021 (Kemp, 2022; Statista, 2022; wearesocial.com, 2022). The use of social media dominates the activities of internet users in Indonesia. In 2022 alone, around 191.4 million users are surfing social media. This figure represents an increase of 12.6%, or the equivalent of 21 million users, from the previous year (Kemp, 2022).

Social media can interpret various events sharply and influence people's behavior and action patterns (Laksono, 2018). In other words, social media has intense penetration and influence in constructing public opinions and views regarding a social reality. However, the massive penetration of social media in society and its role in building public opinion on a phenomenon can potentially change social, political, and even security and defense values in state governance (Laksono, 2018).

Populix's survey of ± 1,000 respondents shows that Indonesians most often use three social media: Youtube, which ranks first, followed by Instagram, Tiktok, Facebook, and Twitter (Populix, 2022, p. 4). The rise of social media users is no longer just a facility for the needs of personal existence. Still, it can use to form and lead public opinion, persuade other users, and even create a character.

The social function and the building of strong branding from social media platforms are then widely used by public figures to promote personal image in society. These public figures capture followers or subscribers from their activities displayed through social media to strengthen their influence or virtual socio-economic presence in the community. Not infrequently, the social media content they display on specific platforms can be monetized, thus encouraging the emergence of a new type of work, social media influencer.

Social Media Influencer is someone with the above average ability to influence others with their thoughts and opinions (Ryan, 2021, p. 241). Simply, an influencer is someone who has built enough image and credibility with their audience to be able to make an impact. Social Media Influencers usually post regularly about a topic on their social media channels and generate many enthusiastic followers who pay attention to their views. Through their profession, social media influencers get a lot of attention from the public and automatically have lots of fans. Many social media influencers, especially in Indonesia, deliver positive content to their followers, although sometimes some intentionally post socially inappropriate content (Mahdia, 2018, p. 173).

Social media influencers are seen as someone who can be trusted and convinces their audience regarding the topics discussed in the content they create. Social media influencers can also design and produce creative, famous, engaging, and entertaining content using language and communication styles that are easily accepted by the public (Mahdia, 2018, pp. 177–178).

With the active role of social media influencers and strong social media penetration among Indonesian people, the Indonesian Government can take advantage of this phenomenon to strengthen strategic programs that impact national defense and security aspects. One of them is the State Defending Program.

State defending is defined as the attitude and behavior of citizens in the context of protecting state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and national safety that is inspired by their love for the Republic of Indonesia to ensure the survival of the Indonesian nation and state from various threats (Presidential Decree No. 115, 2022). To support State Defending Program, the Government of Indonesia issued a State Defense Awareness Fostering Policy accompanied by Master Plan and National Action Plan for State Defending. State Defending Program is carried out in the scope of education, society, and employment. Through the availability of social media platforms that can be capitalized by the Government of Indonesia c.q. The Ministry of Defense (MoD), as a bearer of PBN, this approach can be a new method for implementing the Total People's Defense System (Sishankamrata) in the era of globalization.

Total People's Defense System (Sistem Pertahanan dan Keamanan Rakyat Semesta/Sishankamrata) is traditionally understood as a total Indonesian Defense system, which involves all components of the nation that were prepared early on by the Government and in a total, integrated, directed and continuous manner to uphold state sovereignty, territorial integrity and safety of the entire nation from all threats (Law No. 3 of 2002). Sishankamrata has three characteristics (MoD, 2015):

A.   Characteristics of citizenship: all people contribute to national defense under their respective professions and areas of expertise.
B.   Characteristics of totality: all national resources are deployed in order to support the country's defense.
C.   Regional characteristics: Defense forces are deployed throughout the territory of Indonesia.

However, globalization and the existence of social media can be optimized to support state governance, the "total" should not only be seen from the number of people participating in PBN, but also seen from the means used by the Government to reach all levels of society. Society, through the development of information technology. In other words, optimizing social media to expand public influence and participation in State Defending Program is part of a total strategy in the modern age.

Sishankamrata relies on the military as the main force and the people as the supporting force. This is based on the strategic position of the Indonesian state, which is vulnerable to threats, disturbances, obstacles, and challenges both internally and externally, which does involve not only military power but also people's power which has the character of a strong Indonesian nation (Infomiliter.com, 2022).

The MoD, as the leading sector for State Defending Program, in coordination with relevant ministries/agencies, has carried out various actions of state defense programs at multiple levels. For example, in 2019, the Ministry of Defense and the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) formed around 83,458,360 state defense cadres to create superior Indonesian human resources (MoD, 2019). The MoD has also conducted a National Consultation to Unite Perceptions and Optimization of the National Defense Program in the Context of Building Massive and Continuous Synergy and Synchronization of State Defending Policy Programs. The implementation of State Defending policies should also pay attention to trends among the public, one of which is through social media.

To strengthen the state defense program and utilize information technology facilities, the Ministry of Defense has also built a social media profile related to defending the country (belanegara_org) on various platforms, such as Instagram, Youtube, and Tiktok. To optimize the use of social media to strengthen State Defending Program, a communication strategy is

deemed necessary to reach the wider community, including the millennial generation, bearing in mind that there is a specificity in the mindset and behavior of millennials (Arif, 2021, p. 2).

Based on the review above, the development of State-Defending Program by the MoD to strengthen national defense and build national character needs to adapt to technological developments and public communication facilities in the era of globalization. Social media can answer this challenge. By optimizing the functions of social media and influencers in supporting defense governance and State-Defending Program, the MoD, as the leading sector, needs to put forward new communication strategies and methods to broaden the spectrum of State-Defending Program reach for all levels of society in Indonesia.

Method

The research method used in this study is qualitative. According to Saldana (as cited in Sugiyono, 2018, p. 6), qualitative research is an umbrella of various research methods in social sciences. The data and information obtained (in the form of interviews, documents, notes, photos, videos, experiences, and data obtained from internet sources) were then analyzed non-quantitatively. Qualitative research methods are usually used to obtain in-depth data and information related to an issue or research problem raised (Sugiyono, 2018, p. 6). Furthermore, Denzin and Lincoln (as cited in Moleong, 2016, p. 5) explain that qualitative research is research with a natural background that aims to translate phenomena or cases that occur in social life with various methods such as interviews, library research, and observation. Meanwhile, according to Creswell (2016) qualitative research begins with assumptions and a theoretical framework that forms a study of the problems to be investigated to overcome social issues.

Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that the qualitative research method is a research method that is intended to solve problems in social life by gathering information through interviews, library research, and observation. Thus, in this study, the types of data used are primary data (results of interviews) and secondary data (library research).

Social Media as a New Media: The Emergence of Social Media Influencer in Society

New media creates digitalization, convergence, interactivity, and network development in creating and delivering messages. This ability to create interactivity allows new media users to choose what information to consume. This ability is the main concept in understanding new media (Flew & Smith, 2018, pp. 11–22).

New media is a designation to explain the convergence between digital communication technologies connected to the network. New media can channel information from information sources to information recipients (Efendi et al., 2017, p. 13). Furthermore, McQuail (as cited by (Efendi et al., 2017)) explained that there are two main elements in new media: digitalization and convergence. The internet is a form of existence from these two main elements, where the internet elaborates several media functions simultaneously, such as audio, video, photos, and text.

Some experts agree that the term new media is a designation to describe media characteristics that differ from existing media. Mass media such as radio, magazines, newspapers, and television as old media. In contrast, the internet and its accompanying features (including social media) are referred to as new media (Watie, 2011, pp. 70–71).

According to Ardianto, as quoted by Watie (2011, p. 71) social media is referred to as social networking, not online mass media, because social media has the power to shape and lead public opinion that develops in society. Internet, anyone can use new media for various purposes. One form of new media that is popular among the public is social media.

Social media is a term that is familiar to hear in the 21st century. In simple terms, social media is a communication tool in a network (online) that allows people to create, share, interact, collaborate and exchange multi-media information with others in a virtual community (Nepal et al., 2015, pp. 3–4). Furthermore, Kaplan and Haenlein (as quoted by Sobaci (2016, p. 4) explain that the definition of social media is an internet-based technology/tool/concept that allows the creation and sharing of content created by users. This content can be in the form of conversations (individually and in groups), connectivity, promotion, and content sharing between one user and another. Referring to this context, social media has several characteristics (Sobaci, 2016, p. 4), including:

a.   Participation: social media encourages contributions and feedback from all elements involved.
b.   Openness: most types of social media are open to comments, sharing information, feedback, and expressing users' opinions.
c.   Conversation/interaction: This distinguishes between social media and conventional media, where traditional media broadcast only disseminates information in one direction. At the same time, social media is a two-way communication tool.
d.   Community: social media allows users to quickly form communities based on shared interests, such as political interests, common talents, etc.
e.   Connectedness: social media thrives on connectedness through links and makes it possible to combine one platform with another.

Social media is now necessary for people because they want to share their thoughts. In the past, social gatherings and events allowed people to meet and communicate with one another. But the emergence of the internet in the late 20th century offered a modern means of communication. The beginning of the 21st century is when various social platforms were launched. Almost every year, new websites are found, and old sites gradually lose popularity. Among the many social media sites, the most popular among the public, especially the people of Indonesia, are Facebook, Youtube, Twitter, TikTok, and Instagram.

The number of social media today is an effective way to disseminate information. Anyone can quickly create an account for personal or business needs through social media by selling online. These can be done without spending even a sen except for the internet quota fee. The convenience offered by social media makes it a communication tool that is excellent for everyone in all corners of the world. You can easily exchange information, be it images, text, or videos, via various social media platforms. This encourages a new phenomenon that might not have been thought of before: social media influencers.

What is Social Media Influencer?

Social media influencers are people or owners of social media accounts who have the ability to influence other people through their social media accounts. The existence of social media influencers has an impact on network citizens, so called netizens, who use social media often times. Through social media influencers, netizens can get the latest information that cannot be found in mainstream media. Usually, they have good personal branding in the real world and cyberspace, so their followers are interested and believe in whatever they say (Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing, 2017).

Who are the Social Media Influencers?

They can be anyone and are independent of popularity in the real world. On the other hand, famous people in the real world are not necessarily popular on social media because of they don't have accounts or rarely update their social media accounts. On the other hand, the popularity of social media influencers makes brand owners look at them as trusted people (endorsers) to promote their products.

Credibility is a factor that can affect the level of audiences' trust in social media influencers. But that logic doesn't fully apply to social media. Other factors can affect the audience, namely the status of a person's liking for the person he idolizes. It could be that social media influencers lack or even have no credibility but can influence other people because they can touch the emotional aspects of the audience. Social media influencers have now become one of the desirable and promising professions for social media enthusiasts. Several years ago, being an office worker was a proud profession for many years. However, the trend has changed as time goes by in this all-digital era. Careers that we never thought of before have begun to appear, especially jobs related to social media. For example, Chiara Ferragni, who was only a fashion blogger before because many readers liked whatever she wrote, has now become an entrepreneur with the brands The Blonde Salad and Chiara Ferragni Collection and has successfully become a brand ambassador for several international brands.

The presence of social media has changed the way netizens consume the content. Content creators and influencers have emerged to provide quality content for each audience, from lifestyle, and fashion, parenting, etc. Some of them run independently, but some are under particular management. Social Media Influencers that are sufficient to provide a massive impact and have an excellent personal brand include Diana Rikasari with fashion entrepreneur branding, Pinot Ichwandardi with his creativity in sketches using old technology devices to attract the attention of netizens and international media. There is also Kaesang Pangarep with his Vlog, which has lots of followers because of his funny video on likes on his videos if he promotes something, it will automatically become famous and viral, Amrazing (Alexander Thian) who initially diligently made tweets on Twitter and got hundreds of retweets until several well-known brands trusted him to promote products because he ventured into the world of photography and the results were very eye-catching. His collaborative writing skills made him one of the social media influencers that the public likes.

Not all arts workers who have appeared for a long time on television or film can become social media influencers and attract a large number of masses. As we explained earlier, maybe the artist is not diligent in updating his activities or lacks the skills to be a good storyteller. Because the capital of popularity without being accompanied by attractive personal brand packaging will not be adequate as a social media influencer. Like Ringgo Agus Rahman, a film actor initially ventured onto Instagram with his good photos, so he received many offers of cooperation from various products close to the community. With a humorous personality, he is liked by many people. So, whatever he promotes is more interesting than artists who usually only appear in infotainment because of mere gossip. Social media influencers are a new trend that we must understand that they have excellent and effective persuasive power compared to making advertisements on television.

Social Media and the Government: Bringing the State Back In

The emergence of social media began when the internet started to develop and was used by people to share information and communicate with each other. Initially, social media

platforms could only be used by people with the ability/knowledge of technology. However, according to its development, social media has become more inclusive, allowing ordinary people to participate in operating social media (Taprial & Kanwar, 2012, p. 6). The inclusiveness of social media adoption is no exception in the government sector. From a governmental perspective, social media can be viewed as an expansion of efforts to digitize the bureaucracy as a wave of e-government (Sobaci, 2016, pp. 5–7). The use of social media in the scope of government is also encouraged to increase democracy, community participation, and public knowledge of the openness of government itself, bearing in mind that one of the main issues between government and public relations is trust. In this context, the advent and rapid diffusion of Internet-related applications have been heralded as having the potential for increased democratic engagement and access.

Social Media provides new platforms where communities can be reached easily, and stakeholders can express their preferences on an ongoing basis. Interactions on SM platforms are bidirectional, affording frequent communication and feedback between government representatives and the public. According to Bonson et al. (2012, as cited in Sobaci, 2016, p. 62), the main benefits that social media offer to public sector entities are the enhancement of transparency and citizen participation. These benefits can be obtained by increasing government visibility, sharing data and insights into decision-making processes to become more transparent, engaging, open, and participatory, and offering the possibility to all stakeholders to become involved in collaborative processes. Social media provide opportunities for coproduction, crowd-sourcing solutions, transparency and accountability, and real-time information updates (Sobaci, 2016, p. 62).

The use of social media in the government sector is a continuous cycle (Sobaci, 2016, pp. 9–10). The cycle is as follows; first, social media is used as one of the inputs in policy making. The second is listening to social media users' opinions regarding the problems faced in society. The third is the participation of social media users through public assessment of the actions taken by the government, which allows for dialogue between the government and the public through social media. Fourth is the transformation carried out by the government on the results of dialogue with the community to solve societal problems. Fifth, evaluation through network analysis, surveys, etc., related to policies issued by the government, then become new input for the next cycle. Social media use in the public sector must be understood as part of an inclusive, ongoing paradigm shift towards greater citizen empowerment and participation through government transparency, accountability, and open collaboration. The inclusiveness of using social media can also be seen in Indonesia. Not only the public but now each government institution has its own social media profile, which is often used to share information on government activities. This is intended to carry out the functions of transparency and public accountability to support good governance.

As a manifestation of the development of information technology, social media certainly offers various benefits to its users, one of which is the benefits of social media for Government Public Relations. Government public relations can use social media as a platform to carry out public communication and also to carry out strategic communication. Social media for government is also one of the innovations in governance that maximizes technology and is a solution to problems that exist in society. The government agency highlighted in this study is the Ministry of Defense.

For the Ministry of Defense as an institution in the field of defense and security, social media does not only function as a function of transparency and public accountability. Furthermore, social media can be used to ward off threats, one of which is cybercrime (moreover, cyberwar). IT advancements have implications for a paradigm shift in winning the

war. At first, it was enough with the concept of Command and Control, which in principle, is an internal relationship between commanders and their subordinates in operational tasks. But then communication with other operations units became necessary, so a new concept was born: Command, Control, and Communication. With the increasingly up-to-date communication technology, intelligence information or data is added. Accurate and strategic information is decisive for a country's defense power because the information is an integral part of command and control, which is the key to every operation. Information becomes the basis for making policies or developing strategies to deal with existing threats. Brilliant tactics to attack opponents will not be born without complete, accurate, and fast information. For that, whoever we are, whatever information is received, make sure and understand it well. We don't just read conclusions or recommendations but learn from the information we receive, bearing in mind that threats to the state are no longer related to military power but have a broader spectrum, namely non-military ones. Therefore, understanding the development of information technology is necessary, primarily how to protect the nation..

Remember the Libyan people's uprising to overthrow the absolute power of the Libyan President, Mohammad Gaddafi. The role of the information media was very vital at that time. The pro-Gaddafi government and rebel forces launched information attacks on each other to seek support for the Libyan people and the international world. Facebook, Twitter, and SMS are favorite means of conveying sedition and information to the people of Libya quickly and cheaply.

From the preceding, it appears that radical changes in the field of information warfare. A big country with the will to control a small country is not necessarily going to do it by using its military power directly. He will first make efforts so that small country nations can be brought to a way of thinking and perception that aligns with the interests of big countries. For this reason, the main thing to work on is the thoughts and perceptions of the people by carrying out various disturbing efforts in the political, economic, cultural, and social fields. So he will try to control the mass media in this small country and use it to systematically and continuously influence the thoughts and feelings of the people.

Today is the era of high-speed information. Information technology has developed so that information, whether in the form of news, analysis, or views, reaches us in seconds. Every place in the world seems to be only an inch away from where we sit or stand. People are also connected in an information network. Distance is no longer a problem; wherever they are can always be contacted and will always be able to receive various kinds of information in the form of news, analysis, or someone's views, which is very important to know. We can no longer close our eyes and ears. Today's life is very much influenced by the information we receive. So many media, whether radio, television, internet or social networks provide and provide information to the world community. All of that will enter our brains to influence our thoughts, make us happy, and touch feelings or fear.

The information available is not all good to receive, not all have a noble purpose, and not all are true. This is an information war. All the information is jumbled up, the right people will tell the truth, and the wrong people will tell all the lies. People will make news and analysis according to their interests. For this reason, because of a large amount of information available, we need to know the source and essence of information. The source of information is crucial for us to know so that we can judge whether the source is trustworthy, a neutral source, or a source with interests.

Social Media as a Part of State-Defending Strategy: Connecting a Not-So-Old Views of State Defending Program into the 21st Century Trends

Conceptually, national defense and its general understanding is carried out by a government apparatus of a country, with a constitutional basis, to carry out and achieve national interests. Therefore, all available resources can be utilized to maintain sovereignty, independence, unity, territorial integrity, democracy, and other national interests in facing all kinds of threats and challenges to the country (Chiş-Manolache & Chiş, 2019, p. 109).

National defense is a concept that evolves continuously. Traditionally, national defense is understood as actions adopted by a country to ensure security, territorial integrity, the safety of the population from all forms of threats, and safeguarding national interests in an increasingly competitive international level (Chiş-Manolache & Chiş, 2019, p. 109; Victoria, 2018, p. 1). In addition, state defending can also be inclusive through fulfilling citizens' rights and obligations, which are carried out consciously by every citizen (Chiş-Manolache & Chiş, 2019, p. 109).

As for Indonesia's national defense, as outlined in Law Number 3 of 2002 concerning National Defence, are all efforts to defend state sovereignty, the territorial integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the entire nation from threats and disturbances to the integrity of the nation and state. National defense is carried out in times of war and times of peace. According to Supriyatno (2014, p. 25), defense is carried out during peacetime by managing or fostering the potential of national resources as a national strength. The intended development of potential is prepared for war and in the context of maintaining territorial sovereignty, deterrence strategies, building national security and participating in maintaining regional and international peace and stability. One way to develop people's potential is through the state-defending program.

State defending is an attitude and action of citizens based on a sense of love for the motherland, awareness of nation and state, belief in Pancasila as the state ideology, and an attitude of willingness to sacrifice to face all threats, challenges, obstacles, and disturbances both external and internal. Capable of endangering the survival of the nation, territorial integrity, national jurisdiction, and the noble values of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution (Widodo, 2011, p. 19). In Indonesian society itself, there are still misperceptions of what state-defending means. The militarization of civilians through the state-defending program has also spread in the society.

The real meaning of state-defending is opportunities for all citizens to contribute to national defense activities according to their respective potentials, abilities and fields. Defending the country itself has been stated in the 1945 Constitution every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in efforts to state-defending. This means that every citizen has the right and responsibility to participate in state-defending regardless of gender, ethnicity, race, profession, age, or social status.

State-defending can be done anytime and anywhere. To contribute to carrying out state-defending activities, citizens must have the basic knowledge, attitudes, and skills of state-defending. This ability can be achieved through formal education in schools through citizenship education. It can also be obtained through informal channels in the community, agencies, and organizations/institutions (Widodo, 2011, pp. 20–21). The attitude and behavior of state-defending do not arise by themselves. Therefore, it is necessary to foster awareness of state-defending from an early age which is maintained and developed. The essence of fostering awareness of state defending is an effort to build national character that has a spirit of nationalism and patriotism and has strong national resilience to ensure the upholding of the Republic of Indonesia and the maintenance of the implementation of national

development in achieving national goals (Kemhan RI, 2017, p. 8). In implementing state-defending awareness development, MoD, as the leading sector, has made adjustments to the state-defending awareness development program, one of which is the appointment of state-defending ambassadors by optimizing the role of social media influencers by establishing State-defending ambassador.

State-defending ambassadors have a special duty to implement to the public how to protect the Republic of Indonesia and Pancasila in everyday life. The State-defending Ambassador is also tasked with appearing on posters and seminar forums. For this reason, one of the conditions for participants participating in this state-defending is to have a minimum of 2,000 followers on social media. Apart from that, these state-defending Ambassadors are also expected to hold similar events in the community, starting from the neighborhood, so that they can foster a spirit of defending the country through activities that are aligned with their style. Two of the many state-defending ambassadors appointed are well-known social media influencers among the public. The first is a multi-talented singer, Agnes Monica. Due to her work and achievements in penetrating the international level, singer Agnes Monica was appointed as a state-defending ambassador by the MoD in 2021. The second national defense ambassador is YouTube content creator Atta Halilintar. Not much different from Agnes Monica, Atta Halilintar's work, which was able to penetrate New York's Time Square, received appreciation from the Indonesian government through the appointment of a state-defending ambassador by the MoD.

It doesn't stop there, MoD also takes advantage of the development of social media trends in the young generation, such as the creation of Instagram, YouTube, and Tiktok official accounts, namely belanegara_org. MoD regularly invites and engages social media influencers to fill in the content on the belanegara_org, which is managed directly by MoD. This aims to attract the public, especially the millennial generation, in the context of fostering awareness of defending the country that can adapt to changing times.

Conclusion

The rapid flow of globalization certainly cannot be avoided by all people worldwide. Globalization has brought various rapid advances, and what is most felt is the advancement of information and communication technology which can now be found in every aspect of life. The internet is the invention that has the most significant impact. The presence of the internet allows everyone around the world to be connected through cyberspace with a platform called social media.

Social media is now necessary for people because they want to share their thoughts. In the past, social gatherings and events allowed people to meet and communicate with one another. But the emergence of the internet in the late 20th century offered a modern means of communication. The beginning of the 21st century is when various social platforms were launched. Almost every year, new websites are found, and old sites gradually lose popularity. Among the many social media sites, the most popular among the public, especially the people of Indonesia, are Facebook, Youtube, Twitter, TikTok, and Instagram.

Social media is an effective way to disseminate information. Anyone can quickly create an account for personal or business needs through social media by selling online. These can be done without spending even a sen except for the internet quota fee. The convenience offered by social media makes it a communication tool that is excellent for everyone in all corners of the world. You can easily exchange information, be it images, text, or videos, via various social media platforms. This encourages a new phenomenon that might not have

been thought of before: social media influencers who can influence other people because they can touch the emotional aspects of the audience.

The emergence of social media influencers then used as a way to increase state-defending awareness in society by the MoD. In this case, MoD creates state-defending ambassadors from social media influencers and collaborates in creating and promoting state-defense content that is acceptable to the public.

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Battle of Ambarawa from The Perspective of The Universe War Strategy

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BATTLE OF AMBARAWA FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE TOTAL WAR STRATEGY

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Abstract

The battle in Ambarawa was reasonably crucial in the history of the Struggle of the Indonesian nation because the battle of Ambarawa was one of a series of events to maintain independence during the revolution. How the application of the universal war strategy in the battle of Ambarawa is carried out by the warrior figures and the goals to be achieved in Palagan Ambarawa, and the impact resulting from the battle becomes the goal of this historical research in addition to making historical knowledge that may one day be lost. The method used in this study is a historical method that follows the flow from heuristic steps, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The Universal People's War Strategy or Incumbent System with Supit Urang tactics applied to the Battle of Ambarawa brought success and victory, apart from the factors of the superiority of infantry tactics and techniques, the superiority of the number of personnel deployed, the management of field administration operations Field logistics and better field health and the integration of operations involving all components of the nation. The victory in the battle in Ambarawa had a significant positive impact on the Struggle for the nation's daughters in cultivating a sense of trust in one's strength in continuing his Struggle, both militarily and politically

Introduction

World War II gave birth to a new spirit to achieve independence and was proclaimed on August 17, 1945, but the independence that had been achieved with the blood of these heroes wanted to be taken back by the invaders. At this time, the military leaders and the entire Indonesian people fought by giving birth to a military strategy called the total people's security defense system. Although, at that time, there was no formal legality about the term Sishankamrata, it was operationally practiced. The resistance of the total people, that is, through the thorough deployment of the people in various fields of professions, became a military force that was not matched by the Dutch and British war machines even though it had been carried out at that time.

The Total People's War, or The Defense of the Total its journey is almost similar to the cycle of the journey of Indonesian human life past, present, and future that must be faced ready or unprepared. Hanta's past is the time of Sishankamrata, which is the time of the struggle to maintain Indonesia's independence from the invaders in 1945-1949. For Indonesian people and Hanta, the past life is an accumulation of valuable experiences to understand its existence in the present, to be used as a foothold for future policies.

Therefore, the total war, according to General A.H Nasution, is "the effort of war is not just the effort of the war force, but and instead has become the effort of the people of the

total in various sectors of their lives, each of whom is a participant in an entire effort, which cannot be neglected anymore." In another passage, he added "... The current war is no longer a war between the army and the army alone, it is no longer just a military war, but now the people are fighting."

Meanwhile, according to Gil Elliot that "total war is based on the complete dedication of a nation's energies to producing the means of war, and the readiness of forces in the field to destroy the enemy's men and materials to the completest extent ."This means Total war is based on the complete dedication of a nation's energy to produce the means of war and the readiness of the troops on the ground to destroy the enemy people and materials to the fullest. Meanwhile, according to Lt. Gen. TNI JS. Prabowo, in the form of a total war view, includes three elements consisting of Peoplehood, Total, and Territoriality and is the embodiment of utilizing all the potential possessed by the state as a fighting space in developing strategies.

One form of manifestation of the various total wars that have occurred in Indonesia in defending Indonesian independence is the Battle of Ambarawa in 1945, which is better known as Palagan Ambarawa. Similar to other struggles that have occurred in Indonesia, such as the Battle in Surabaya and the General Offensive in Yogyakarta, the Battle in Ambarawa was a battle to maintain the independence that had been achieved that the Dutch wanted to retake after the defeat of Japan in World War II. The allied forces (British) landed first in Jakarta on September 16, 1945, then on October 19, 1945, the allied forces and the Dutch landed in Semarang under the Command of Brigadier General Bethell carrying 1 Brigade complete with weapons and modern weapons supported by armored vehicles/tanks and panzers.

The initial purpose of the allied forces and the Dutch landing in Indonesia was to disarm the Japanese in Indonesia, accept power from the Japanese, and release European prisoners of war to be returned to their home countries, plus the allies' promise not to interfere in Indonesian internal affairs which made the Indonesian side accept the allies with open arms. Nevertheless, in reality, what happened was that the Dutch wanted to re-seize Indonesian territory, including one of them was the Ambarawa area, which was the basis of military strength and power.

The strategic location of Ambarawa as the central city of the Dutch colony cities, defense base, logistics, and a connecting city from the cities of Yogyakarta, Salatiga, Temanggung, Magelang, Solo, and Semarang. This mapping had carried out by the Dutch during the colonization before the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. Evidence of Ambarawa being used as a basis for military strength and power, the Dutch had established Fort Pendem Ambarawa or known as Fort Willem I, named after the Dutch King Willem Frederik Prins Vans Oranje-Nassau (1815-1840).

The promise of the allied forces not to interfere in Indonesia's internal affairs made the Indonesian side accept the presence of allied troops in Semarang; there was even a welcome of allied troops from the Governor of Central Java by Mr. Wongso Negoro on October 21, 1945. In the subsequent development, it turned out that the allies and the Dutch turned out to be tarnishing the trust of the Indonesian nation by showing a provocative, hostile attitude and actions that hurt the hearts of the people by spitting, hitting members of the people's army and fighting soldiers, even though along the convoy of allied troops from Semarang to Magelang the people welcomed with warmth like the customs of intimacy.

The peak of the anger of the Indonesian people, especially the leaders of the People's Security Army (TKR) towards the allied forces and the Dutch NICA, occurred when the Allied forces and NICA, after arriving in Ambarawa and Magelang to free the Dutch army prisoners, it turned out that the prisoners of war were instead armed and subsequently the Allied

soldiers acted as pretentious rulers who tried to disarm the People's Security Army and create chaos.

Furthermore, the TKR carried out an attack by besieging the position of the allied forces in Magelang, which eventually broke out a battle between the TKR which was supported by all components of society in the Central Java region, and allied forces in Magelang to Ambarawa. This is the background for the battle of Ambarawa at the end of 1945 in the early days after the proclaimed independence of Indonesia.

The battle of Ambarawa was a battle that greatly affected the morale of the troops, and the confidence of the TKR, pointing the nation's self-esteem to the allies, and this greatly affected the soldier mentality of the TKR in the subsequent battles that occurred against the allies and the Dutch in the context of the struggle to maintain the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. The critical momentum of the history of the Battle of Ambarawa, which occurred on December 12 to 15, 1945, was made infantry day and then changed to the Army's Kartika Fighting Day every December 15 every year.

The Palagan Ambarawa event is a starting point for the struggle of the Indonesian people to maintain independence, and it is interesting to study and research from the perspective of the total war as part of an effort to defend and enrich the knowledge of the history of the war that occurred in Indonesia so that it is not lost, by knowing how the total war strategy is carried out, Who are the figures who played a vital role in the battle and the impact of the battle of Ambarawa.

Method

The methodology used in writing this historical research uses historical methodology. Where in the implementation of historical methodology research, a researcher must follow the steps in historical research, namely heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. To enrich the historical explanation, an approach, especially from the social sciences, is needed.

History is not something that arises from outside human effort; thus, humans are the holders of a role in making stories or historical sciences, so it is unavoidable that historical science or historical stories are all subjects (Suswandari, 2003, p. 53). This is in accordance with Djoko Soerjo's opinion that history is a reconstruction of the past, that is, reconstructing what has been thought, done, said, felt, and experienced by a person.

In finding historical facts on questions from research, the author collects historical data objects through books, literature, journals and preliminary research, theses, theses, internet media, and other information that can be used in providing a more detailed and correct explanation of the historical events studied.

Results And Discussion

The battle in Ambarawa was quite a significant battle because the battle of Ambarawa was one of a series of events to maintain independence during the revolution. Because for Indonesia, the revolution aims to complement and perfect the process of national unification and awakening that has begun four decades earlier. However, on the other hand, for the Dutch, the revolution period was an era that was a continuation of the past to carry out colonization which, according to them, had been carried out for 300 years. At this time, Indonesia's right to independence and sovereignty in the name of revolution received much support from the Indonesian people. This is the basis that the Ambarawa war is categorized

as a total people's war because it characterizes and has the nature of 1. Peoplehood, that is, the orientation of the defense and security of the state, is enshrined by and for the benefit of the whole people. 2. The wholeness of the whole national resource is utilized for defense efforts.3. Territoriality, namely the title of the defense force, is carried out spread throughout the territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, in accordance with geographic conditions as an archipelagic state.

The arrival of allied forces to Magelang and Ambarawa with the cover of RAPWI (Rehabilitation of Allied Prisoners of War and Internees) or Rehabilitation of Allied Prisoners of War and Internment which caused the Indonesian nation to be deceived by the tricks of the allies and the Dutch in order to regain control of the Indonesian earth which is rich in natural resources.

The battle began from the first, when the allies, who were joined by the Dutch NICA after arriving in the city of Magelang on October 26, 1945, released prisoners of war, and the prisoners were instead armed. Second, the attitude of the allied soldiers so that they acted as rulers who tried to disarm the People's Security Army (TKR) and create chaos. These two things became the peak of anger on the Indonesian side, so there was a battle that started in the city of Magelang.

Seeing these conditions, the Magelang Regiment TKR led by Lieutenant Colonel M Sarbini, with the help of Major A. Yani, retaliated against the shock by besieging the position of the allied army in the city of Magelang such as at the Railway station, City Square, Susteren, Nitaka Hotel and SKJ Complex from all directions, so that on October 28, 1945, which began at 5 a.m. there was a battle in the city of Magelang which ended with the urgency of the allied forces as a result of the siege strategy TKR troops.

Feeling his troops pressed, Colonel Edward advised Brig. Gen. R.B.W Bethel asked Lieutenant General Philip Christison, who was in Jakarta, for help to stop the battle through diplomacy with President Sukarno. The fighting ceased when President Sukarno and Brigadier Bethell arrived in Magelang on November 2, 1945.

There was a negotiation until an agreement emerged from both sides. The contents of the Ambawara Battle Negotiations include:

1. The allied army and NICA were withdrawn to Semarang.
2. The cessation of the ceasefire.
3. Japanese captives in Magelang and surrounding areas will be taken care of by the Indonesian government and will be handed over to the Allies.
4. The Allies will continue to station their troops in Magelang to perform their obligations to protect and take care of the evacuation of APW.
5. The Magelang-Ambarawa highway is open to Indonesian and British traffic.
6. The UK will not recognize NICA's activities within the bodies under its control.

The result of the agreement in the next phase turned out to be violated by many allies, and this triggered a continuous conflict with the Indonesian side. On November 20, 1945, secretly allied forces left the city of Magelang for the city of Ambarawa under the leadership of Colonel Edward and Kolonek Pugh, escorted by P1 Mustang aircraft. During the resignation of troops to the city of Ambarawa, many maneuvers disturbed the people in the form of terror, destruction, torture, and other non-violence, and this action was retaliated against by the resistance of Indonesian fighters from areas passed by allied forces, start from the Pingit, Pringsurat, Rawa Pening, Bedono, Gumuk Gambir, Banyubiru areas.

Knowing this movement of the decline of the allied forces and NICA, the TKR decided to pursue it with the aim of destroying the allied forces and capabilities early by taking the

Ambarawa-Magelang railway as a pursuit route. The TKR was strengthened by troops of Division IX / Yogyakarta, Division X / Solo, Division IV / Salatiga, and other armed Struggle Agencies, including the Hezbollah / Sabillilah Army, where the command of the entire operation was led by Lieutenant Colonel Gatot Soebroto and Lieutenant Colonel Sutirto.

During the pursuit of allied forces by the TKR, which passed through several areas in the Magelang area to Ambarawa, there were often fierce armed contacts between the two forces, especially in the Banyubiru area, which was controlled by the allies and then taken over by the TKR. The battle led to the death of fighters from both the allied and TKR sides. Some of the TKR figures who died in the chase were Sutoyo (a young man from the IMAM / Indonesia Merdeka or Mati Troops), Major Kusen, a Battalion Commander from the Magelang Regiment including Lieutenant Colonel Isdiman who died during the handover of the Sector Commander in the Jambu area. One of the essential momentums in this battle was when the Mustang P1 aircraft or often called the Red Color, was successfully shot down in the Pening Swamp by Lieutenant Hadikusumo.

The death of Lieutenant Colonel Isdiman and several other essential figures did not cause the morale of the TKR troops to decline. On the contrary, it became a motivation and anger to be even more enthusiastic in the struggle and defend independence, including the Commander of the V / Purwokerto Division, Colonel Sudirman, who decided to go down directly to lead the troops in the battle in Ambarawa after the death of Lieutenant Colonel Isdiman.This chase and battle event is a historical link in the relationship between the battle of Magelang and the battle (Palagan) of Ambarawa, which cannot be separated.

Attack Plan

The choice of Ambarawa by the allies as an alternative zone and defense base because, according to Nugroho Notosusanto because this region is in a strategic position in various aspects of viewpoints, both geographically and economically, and politically which is considered by the allies if they control Ambarawa. It will automatically control the Central Java region, especially Surakarta, Magelang, and Yogyakarta. This opinion is different from the point of view of the TKR leadership, which thinks that the position and position of allies in the city of Ambarawa are in a pinched position, and it is very advantageous for the TKR to destroy the allied forces because they are on the killing ground.

Ambarawa Residency City is a small fertile city that is part of Semarang, which is easily reached by land and the Semarang-Magelang railway line. There are many villages, forests, rice fields, swamps, sewers, hills, and lots, and there are rivers, which from the military side, are an advantage and an obstacle if attacks are carried out by both offensive and defensive parties.

The strength of the allied forces and NICA in Ambarawa grew more and more day after General Bethell mobilized one-third of his strength to defend Ambarawa, namely 1 Brigade plus 3 Battalions plus one reserve Battalion consisting of British, Dutch, Indian (Gurkha), Japanese and Indonesian treasonists supported by modern troops, armored combat and tactical vehicles (tanks/panzers) plus red color fighters/P1 mustangs as aerial assistance fire, where the position of the allied command post is at the Van Rheeden Hotel as camp no.10, Fort Willem I, camp no. 6 St. Joseph's Church (Jago Church), camp no. 7 Mulo School, camp no. 8 former Zieken Heis military, camp no. 9 Military tangsi Battalion KNIL Ambarawa, using a circular defense strategy to overcome attacks from various directions.

Meanwhile, the strength of the TKR is four joint divisions located in Central Java which are supplemented by Hezbollah / Sabillah Warriors, Student Troops (Indonesian Student Association), Police Forces, BPRI Warriors, Barisan Benteng, Laskar Alap-alap, Student

Soldiers plus other Struggle Agencies and Women's Student Forces to get around logistics by establishing a Public Kitchen. The strength of the Indonesian troops numbered in the thousands of personnel with the support of Japanese and Dutch looted weapons plus traditional weapons in the form of pointed bamboo from parakan and other traditional weapons.

The next step taken by the TKR leadership in planning the General Attack on Ambarawa was to appoint Colonel Sudirman as the Commander of the MPP (Battle Leadership Headquarters) from the results of the PPKO (Center for Operational Activity Control) or Koops (Operation Command) meeting based on Jalan Jenderalan / Jalan Sultan Agung, Magelang. Then the Colonel divided four sectors of attack from the West, East, North, and South directions.

The composition of the troops and the duties of the TKR Unit as the Core of the Movement and the Struggle Bodies and the Warriors as Combat Assistance (Banpur), each sector consists of: the Southern Sector, entrusted to the TKR from the V / Purwokerto Division and the IX Division / Yogyakarta led by Colonel Sutirto and Colonel Sunjoyo, the Eastern Sector, entrusted to the TKR from the IV Division, Division XI, the Surakarta Struggle Agency and Laskar led by Lieutenant Colonel Sutojo Haryoko and Lieutenant Colonel Sunarto Kusumodirjo, The Northern Sector, entrusted to the TKR Division IV and led by the Division Commander Colonel GPH Jatikusumo, West Sector, was entrusted to the TKR the joint forces of the Magelang Regiment, the 14/Temanggung Regiment and the Ambarawa TKR led by Lieutenant Colonel Sarbini and Lieutenant Colonel Bambang Sugeng. Furthermore, each sector is determined by the target of the attack and the plot of the attack so that there is no misdirection between TKR troops.

Communication lines of command and transportation between units using the Caraka and Tobang (liaison) systems. Logistics used pre-logistics of the region with Public Kitchen and Nuk System, rice with vegetables, and side dishes wrapped in leaves were brought to the front by Tobang. Health support from PMI and doctor Wirorono and doctor Marjuki who is a Japanese education doctor who is a pro-struggle Indonesian nation.

A few days Colonel Sudirman accompanied by intelligence officers and his trusted staff officers conducted a field survey to determine the strategy of the battle on foot, combing various sectors from the western, eastern, north, and south sectors. Sudirman met all TKR members in these sectors. Sudirman encouraged TKR members to continue to persevere in capturing the city of Ambarawa again, as well as checking the readiness of ammunition logistics.

The presence of Colonel Sudirman brought a "fresh new breath" to the movement of the troops of the Republic of Indonesia. In fact, it will be a turning point that determines the course of the battle on the Ambarawa battlefield. In a short time, there has been a creation of coordination and consolidation among the armies. The movement of the TKR troops was increasingly successful so that the siege could run smoothly. In addition, the infiltration into the city is even neater. The Interception of the Allied army convoy was neater (Maskur Sumodiharjo, 1974, p. 205).

On the evening of December 11, 1945, at a Carik house in the village of Ambarawa village, Colonel Sudirman held negotiations by gathering TKR sector commanders and commanders of the agency to deliver the following Operation Order: "We must seize Ambarawa with simultaneous attacks because Ambarawa is the key for them to control all of Central Java and Jogjakarta. This would jeopardize the Position of the Republic. We admit frankly that we could be more decisive in our arsenal. Nevertheless, this kind of state of affairs does not hinder us nor reduce our desire to defend our country. We ourselves have determined a strategy,

namely simultaneous negation with the tactics of Mangkara Yudha or Supit Urang. The Commander of the attack was held by the Commander of the TKR sector. Troops of the army of the body of struggle as a rearguard.

The strategy that will be used in the liberation of Ambarawa is a quick and simultaneous attack in all sectors and at the exact second. The command of the attack was held by the commanders of the TKR sector. The troops of the struggle/class body were the rearguard. The offensive began yesterday morning, December 12, 1945, at 4:30 a.m., with TKR troops moving toward their respective targets.

The association was to discuss the plan of a general attack to liberate the city of Ambarawa (Soepardjo, 1986, p. 24). Based on the reports of the TKR sector commanders, Colonel Sudirman concluded that the enemy's position had been squeezed. Then it is necessary to immediately launch the last attack, namely: The negativity attack is carried out simultaneously from all sectors. Each sector commander led the attack. The troops of the fighting bodies (warriors) were prepared as reserve human resources. Finished the meeting, the Commanders matched the hours.

Execution of Attacks

Colonel Sudirman in carrying out an attack on Ambarawa with a total war strategy involving all forces in Central Java, both from the military and from civilian elements, where the TKR was the Core force, the Struggle Agencies and the Warriors as the reserve and supporting forces, besides that on the backline Colonel Sudirman established a logistics center in the form of a Public Kitchen, communication/liaison facilities and preparing health support for wounded victims due to fighting.

The tactics used in the battle of Ambarawa Colonel Sudirman used Supit Urang. The Supit Urang tactic was a breakthrough movement by striking troops from south and west to east towards Semarang. Furthermore, the movement is followed by a clamping movement from the proper hull and the left hull, just as is the movement of a shrimp clamping its prey. In this case, both ends of the suit are met on the outside. As colonel Sudirman reiterated that the primary purpose of the attack was that the Allies should be expelled from Ambarawa as soon as possible so as not to make the city of Ambarawa a base to capture Central Java.

According to Raffles in his book titled "History of Java." The source of Supit Urang is the story of Bharata Yudha during the civil war between the Pandavas and Astina families in which Abimanyu, son of Arjuna, was his Senapati. Tata Yudha Supit Urang can also be met in the story of Damar Wulan when Menak Djingga Raja Blambangan fought with the Majapahit kingdom because his proposal was rejected. In the Java War of 1825-1830, Prince Diponegoro also implemented tata Yudha Supit Urang's war tactics against the Dutch.

Before the general attack was carried out, the TKR had intervened with the allied forces in Ambarawa by destroying allied posts on the main road of Semarang-Ambarawa, blockading logistics routes, attacking logistics warehouses, guarding water vessels used by allied soldiers, and the most extensive intervention carried out by the TKR and fighters was sabotage by clogging the flow of tap water leading to allied and Dutch headquarters or camps, and this incident is also considered to be the trigger for the battle in Ambarawa.

On December 12, 1945, the entire army approached the target, and at 04:00, the whole sector was ready to be on standby in the raid area with all the combat equipment and just waiting for the attack order; the weather at that time there was heavy rains filled with dark clouds in the city of Ambarawa which was very supportive of a raid. The attack began with first controlling the axis of the main road between Ambarawa - Semarang because it would facilitate the siege of the allied forces in the city of Ambarawa by squeezing opponents from

all directions so that the allied army only had the opportunity to escape the Ambarawa-Semarang main road.

In accordance with the plan, The eruption of fire signaling the start of the general offensive of liberation echoed at exactly 04:30; the mother force moving from the south direction invaded and broke into the opponent's defense. The submachine karabien weapons barked as a gesture of command for the start of a general offensive against the Allied (British), NICA, and Japanese positions in Ambarawa. The thunderous sound of the submachine was followed by rifle fire thumping cannons and the explosion of grenades. Surprise attacks from the TKR in all sectors of the battle sent British, NICA, and Japanese forces into a panic, and foggy Retaliatory fire was fired by the allied forces indeterminately in the direction of retaliating against the TKR attack.

An hour and a half from the beginning of the raid, TKR troops had already managed to squeeze and surround the enemy inside the city of Ambarawa. For the Allies (British), there is only one way out, namely the Ambarawa-Semarang main road. The general attack in Ambarawa was in the form of a breakthrough by striking troops from the south and west to east towards Semarang. Along with the breakthrough, followed by a clamping movement from the right and left hulls as well as the movement of Supit Urang clamping its prey whose ends meet in the outer part of the city towards Semarang. The mighty TKR soldiers continued to advance from all over, like bulls the patriots kept charging at the enemy, boarding Tanks and overstepping mines while penetrating a hail of bullets from Allied weapons with the unanimous determination of "Rawe-rawe rantas malang-malang putung," liberating the city of Ambarawa or falling as a nation.

For four days and four nights, the fighting lasted from 12 to December 15, 1945. Ambarawa's air was filled with gunpowder smoke islands, and explosions echoed throughout Ambarawa. Meanwhile, on the one hand, the fighting spirit of the TKR was getting higher, and on the other hand, the British, NICA, and Japanese soldiers were getting weaker both physically and mentally. Such circumstances were known to the Supreme Leader of the TKR, who immediately prepared for the final attack on the strongholds of the British, NICA, and Japanese armies, namely at Fort Willem I.

Furthermore, the TKR leadership directed the last joint attack on the position of the Allied army, namely at Fort Willem I, the strength of the Allied forces here turned out to be decreasing; most of them had died since the battle in Magelang, as well as in the battle of Interception and pursuit carried out by the TKR between Magelang-Ambarawa.

On December 15, 1945, the Allied forces broke through to the outside of the siege of the TKR troops at Willem I Fort. The TKR troops entered the Willem I Fortress and can now be fully controlled by the TKR troops. With the fall of Fort Willem, researcher, as the center of the last Allied defense in Ambarawa, all the keys to the control of the city of Ambarawa by the TKR were opened. Allied forces were forced back to Semarang. The Battle of Ambarawa became a heroic event and became an important event in the history of Indonesian resistance during the physical revolution and the success of the Ambarawa Palagan, which was impliedly recognized by Colonel Sudirman.

Impact of the Battle

The success of the TKR forces that made the Allied army retreat from Ambarawa must be acknowledged to have had a positive impact on the son of the nation in cultivating confidence in his own strength in continuing his struggle, both militarily and politically, especially the struggle in AMB (Dutch Military Aggression) I Dated July 21, 1947, and AMB II December 19, 1948.

Palagan Ambarawa has apparently taught us all how vital modern military strategies and tactics are as well as traditional ones such as the Supit Urang tactic. The success of the Battle of Ambarawa is a battle that is not only able to heighten the morale of TKR soldiers, struggling bodies, and Warriors but also able to be an inspiration for struggles for other regional communities outside Ambarawa and its impact in the title of the strength of TKR troops facing the Allies, NICA, and Japan which is recorded in the Eight Palagans That Determine the struggle of the nation in all corners of the Indonesian homeland.

Because the TKR only used conventional military strategies and tactics, the suitable attack patterns and the combination of army units with people's strength in the form of Classkaran Bodies facing modern Allied forces and training turned out to be able to make the opposing troops retreat in the fighting area starting from Magelang retreating to Ambarawa and de Ambarawa retreating again to Semarang. The combination of force by combining army units, people, lascar, and struggle bodies is a characteristic of the struggle with the Sishankamrata strategy used in expelling allied forces from the city of Ambarawa.

The success of the TKR and the struggle and class agencies in winning the battle against the Ambarawa Allied forces was essentially due to the factors of the superiority of infantry tactics and techniques, the superiority of the number of personnel deployed, the management of field administration operations Field logistics and better field health and the integration of operations involving all components of the nation. For the reasonable when, at present, the glorious victory in Ambarawa with the culmination of the struggle on December 15, 1945, is used as the Army's Kartika Fighting Day, which is commemorated every year. The struggle is undoubtedly only meaning and inspiration for the TNI bag but also for the Indonesian nation as a whole.

History records that almost all the problems that occurred after Ambarawa by developing and using resistance strategies and tactics in Ambarawa against the invaders so had perfect operation planning, so the time span of resistance was not so long with the number of victims being armed by themselves could be minimized. The militancy of the TKR forces with the Classkaran struggle agencies in several areas after Ambarawa was very patriotic and heroic.

Conclusion

The Battle of Ambarawa or more commonly called Palagan Ambarawa, is one of the battles that took place in the cities of Ambarawa and Magelang between the Allied (British) forces against the Indonesian forces (TKR) to maintain the independence that had been achieved by the Indonesian nation and wanted to be recaptured by the allied forces by piggybacking on the Dutch NICA army who wanted to regain control of the archipelago. The reason the allies came to Indonesia was to release Dutch prisoners of war and return the Japanese army to their home countries. After Japan declared the defeat of World War II, then the allies armed the prisoners of war, and this became the leading cause of the anger of the Indonesian nation, causing the Palagan Ambarawa to occur.

The Total People's War Strategy or The Total People's Incumbent System with the Supit Urang tactics applied by Colonel Sudirman at the Battle of Ambarawa brought success and victory to the TKR side, apart from the factors of the superiority of infantry tactics and techniques, the superiority of the number of personnel deployed, the management of field administration operations Field logistics and better field health as well as the integration of operations by involving all components of the nation.

The victory in the battle in Ambarawa had a significant positive impact on the struggle for the nation's daughters in cultivating a sense of trust in one's own strength in continuing his struggle, both militarily and politically, especially the struggle in AMB (Dutch Military Aggression) I dated July 21, 1947, and AMB II December 19, 1948. History records that almost all the problems that occurred after Ambarawa by developing and using resistance strategies and tactics in Ambarawa against the invaders so had excellent operation planning, so the time span of resistance was not so long with the number of victims being armed by themselves could be minimized. The militancy of the TKR forces with the Classkaran struggle bodies in some areas was patriotic and heroic.

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STRATEGI PERANG SEMESTA

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The Urgence of Developing Strategic Petrolium Reserve (SPR) for Indonesia in Facing Military or Non-Millitarian Threats

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THE URGENCE OF DEVELOPING STRATEGIC PETROLIUM RESERVE (SPR) FOR INDONESIA IN FACING MILITARY OR NON-MILLITARIAN THREATS

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Abstract
A country has strong energy security if it meets numerous criteria, including the availability of energy at reasonable rates, simple access to energy, and being totally accepted by the community while remaining environmentally conscious. Building a Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR) or a Petroleum Buffer Reserve is one strategy to attain national energy security (CPM). Many countries already have SPRs and are members of the International Energy Agency as a means of ensuring state uniformity in achieving national energy security and defending against the prospect of a global energy crisis. Several factors must be considered when developing the SPR to ensure that it is correctly developed in accordance with its objectives and benefits.

Introduction

Energy is a necessity that is needed by society. Because the population in Indonesia is increasing, so is the role of non-renewable energy; it is necessary to utilize and maximize the potential of new and renewable energy that exists throughout Indonesia, such as geothermal, hydro energy, wind energy, bioenergy (bioethanol, biodiesel, biomass), ocean current energy, nuclear energy, and solar energy (Hakim, 2020). Using new and renewable energy is expected to start with small-scale energy users to protect the environment, encourage sustainable development, and ensure national energy security.

Energy needs in society are the driving force for various aspects of human life, such as agriculture, education, health, transportation, business, and defense (Azirudin, 2019). With a total primary energy production (TPEP) of 411.6 MTOE in 2018, Indonesia's Total Primary Energy Production (TPEP) consists of oil, natural gas, coal, and renewable energy. Up to 64 percent, or about 261.4 MTOE, is used for exports of coal and liquefied natural gas (LNG). Indonesia also imports crude oil (up to 43.2 MTOE) and high-calorie coal in moderate quantities to meet the needs of the industrial sector (Hakim, 2020).

So far, Indonesia has relied on non-renewable energy sources such as fuel oil or fuel oil derived from crude oil (Kholiq, 2015). Fuel is used in many areas, including transportation, industry, and the family. The full use of national fuel is around 1.63 million barrels per day. Of course, as Indonesia's population grows and people's productivity increases, fuel consumption will also increase. Oil consumption not matched by an increase in national output poses a risk of scarcity of oil energy sources, such as fuel scarcity and rising fuel costs, hampering industrial activities. It can reduce the country's foreign exchange. As a result, Indonesia has to import oil to meet domestic needs. These challenges can jeopardize national

energy security (Persia, 2018), thus requiring energy saving (energy conservation) (Prasetyo, Syahtaria, & Supriyadi, 2020).

Energy reserves are classified into three types based on Government Regulation (PP) No.79/2014, namely strategic, buffer, and operational reserves. Strategic reserves are long-term energy reserves. Buffer reserve is the number of available energy sources and nationally stored energy needed to meet the country's energy needs over a certain period of time. Meanwhile, operational reserves are funds provided by Business Entities (BU) and the Energy Industry to ensure the continuity of energy supply. These three reserves are essential components in realizing a country's energy security (Persia, 2018).

As one of the largest countries in the world, Indonesia only has strategic and operational reserves. Both reserves failed to provide national energy security. As a result, the government had considered the construction of an SPR during the previous decade. SPR is often in the form of crude oil (crude), fuel (avtur, gasoline, diesel), or compressed natural gas (CNG) (LPG, LNG, CNG). Buffer reserves are typically used to store crude oil and/or gasoline around the world. Oil Buffer Reserves (CPM) or Strategic Petroleum Reserves (SPR) are generally built by rich countries, especially those who are members of the International Energy Agency (IEA). This is an international energy forum formed under the auspices of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

Given the importance of SPR in achieving and maintaining national energy security, the Indonesian government is trying to build this facility. UU no. 30 of 2007 concerning Energy, Government Regulation Number 79 of 2014 concerning National Energy Policy, Presidential Regulation Number 41 of 2016 concerning Procedures for Determining and Resolving Energy Crises and/or Energy Emergency, and Presidential Regulation Number 22 of 2017 concerning General Draft of National Energy Policy is an existing statutory regulation related to the development of SPR (Persia, 2018).

According to the explanation, this article will examine aspects related to CPM development in Indonesia, in particular, the urgency of the development of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR), particularly in facing military and non-military threats to the Indonesian state. Therefore, the formulation of the problem in this study includes the following:

1. How are oil regulations in Indonesia related to the Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR) or CPM?
2. What is the urgency of developing a Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR) for Indonesia in the face of military and non-military threats?

Method

The research design is a literature study using qualitative methods. Qualitative data will be obtained through processed data sourced from the DEN, ESDM, and the Ministry of Finance related to scientific journals, scientific research results, reference books, sources related to websites regarding the Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR) / Oil Buffer Reserves (CPM).

Conceptual Basis

Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR)

Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR)is a petroleum emergency reserve managed by the United States Department of Energy (DOE). It is the largest known emergency supply in the world, and its underground tanks in Louisiana and Texas have a capacity of 714 million barrels (113,500,000 m3 (energy.gov, 2015). The United States started oil reserves in 1975 to reduce future supply disruptions as part of the international Treaty on the International Energy Program after oil supplies were disrupted during the 1973-1974 oil embargo.

Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR) or buffer oil reserves are oil stocks of a particular country or agency that cannot be tampered with unless there is a disruption to supply due to disaster or war. The Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR) is the largest known oil reserve in the world. It is split across four locations along the Gulf Coast of Louisiana and Texas, chosen for their access to marine terminals and the pipelines needed to move oil. Petroleum is funneled deep underground for storage into caves carved out of salt domes which are considered the most environmentally safe way to store oil due to their low permeability.

The current inventory is displayed on the SPR website. As of 4 December 2021, inventories were 593.6 million barrels (94,370,000 m3) (Inventory, 2022). This equates to approximately 29 days of oil at the 2019 daily US consumption rate of 20.54 million BPD (3,266,000 m3/d) or 60 days of oil at the 2019 daily US import rate of 9.141 million BPD (1,453,300 m3 / d). However, the maximum total drawdown capability of the SPR is only 4.4 million barrels per day (700,000 m3/day), so it will take approximately 145 days to use up the entire inventory. At recent market prices ($58 per barrel as of March 2021), SPR holds more than $14.6 billion of sweet crude and approximately $18.3 billion of sour crude (assuming a $15/barrel discount on sulfur content). In 2012, the total value of crude oil in SPR was about $43.5 billion, while the price paid for oil was $20.1 billion (average of $28.42 per barrel) (energy.gov, 2015).

Military Threat

Military threats are efforts made by using weapons against threats or those that harm state sovereignty, territorial integrity, or national security. The following are examples of military threats that are effectively translated from the "Indonesian Defense White Paper" of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia (Kemenhan, 2008):

1. Aggression
    What is meant by "aggression" is the action of a country allowing another country to use its territory to carry out an invasion (armed attack). The existence of an attack can undoubtedly endanger the sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (United States of Indonesia).

2. Territorial Violation
    The vast and open geography of the Indonesian archipelago provides a significant enough opportunity for other countries to violate Indonesian territory.

3. Armed Rebellion
    The armed insurgency can occur covertly or explicitly by some parties at home, whose efforts may be sponsored by outside powers. The existence of an armed rebellion against the Indonesian government can disrupt government operations.

4. Sabotage
   Sabotage is described as the destruction or destruction of a number of Indonesian military installations, essential assets, and strategic installations. The enemy has taken advantage of the rapid advances in science and technology to plan his sabotage efforts.

5. Espionage
   According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), espionage is a specific and confidential investigative activity of anything related to military and economic data of another country.

6. Terrorist Action Using Weapons
   Terrorist acts have become a great enemy for all people around the world (globally) because it is a clear violation of humanity. The occurrence of an act of armed terrorism can result in many victims, as well as deep pain and anxiety, the purpose of which can happen to anyone without warning.

7. Threats to maritime and aviation security
   Any challenges to maritime and air security will jeopardize the stability of the security of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia

8. Community Discord
   Communal conflict is the ultimate kind of military danger. Communal disputes can arise in the broader community as a result of the dissolution of communal identity, which includes social factors (political, ideological, economic, defense and security).

Non-Military Threat

Non-military threats are threats that use non-military reasons to endanger the sovereignty of the state, the territorial integrity of the state, and the security of the entire state. Non-military threats can include ideological, political, economic, socio-cultural, technical, and informational elements, as well as public security implications (Indrawan, 2015).

1. Threats that have an ideological component
   Radical organizational movements are one the non-military dangers with an ideological dimension. The motivation for the movement of radical groups is religious, ethnic, or popular interests.

2. The political dimension of the threat
   Political threats can come from within and outside the country. Threats with a political dimension from abroad are carried out by a country through political pressure in the form of intimidation, provocation, or political embargoes.

3. Threats with Economic Aspects
   The economy is not only a weapon of domestic stability but also determines the negotiating stance of each country in international affairs. Economic threats have the capacity to destroy a nation's defenses. Internal and foreign threats of an economic nature can be classified. Internal risks may include excessive inflation and unemployment, poor infrastructure, income inequality, and other factors. Meanwhile, external hazards can take the form of, among others, weak economic performance indicators, low competitiveness, and significant dependence on outsiders.

4. Threats with Socio-Cultural Aspects
    Non-military threats that are socio-cultural in nature can come from within or from outside. Poverty, ignorance, backwardness, and injustice are the root causes of internal danger. As a result, issues of secession, terrorism, and bloodshed arose.

5. Information Technology Dimensional Threat
    The improvement of science and technology or science and technology provides many benefits for mankind; However, along with breakthroughs in research and technology, there are also crimes that take advantage of advances in science and technology, such as cybercrimes and banking crimes.

6. Dimensions of public safety
    Geographically, Indonesia is located in a disaster-prone location, both in terms of natural disasters and transportation security, as well as hunger. Earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and tsunamis are examples of natural disasters. Disasters are caused by humans, such as the use of drugs and psychotropic compounds. In addition, transportation security is one of the most critical aspects of public security in Indonesia. Today, the public's need for transportation is increasing, giving rise to unhealthy economic competition, such as lowering tariffs that have an impact on safety.

Results And Discussion

Internal demand for oil that increases from year to year without being matched by supply growth has the potential to increase dependence on oil imports. Not only that, but if this scenario continues, it will have an impact on the country's economy and national security. Indonesia's oil exports are expected to decline from year to year, in contrast to imports which are expected to increase.

This explanation adds to the list of reasons why countries should immediately establish and implement an SPR. Currently, Indonesia imports half of its daily oil consumption, or about 800 BPD of crude oil, of the 1.6 million BPD produced domestically. Indonesia, on the other hand, can continue to export oil due to contractual relationships with other countries that require the government to do so. The graphic below shows oil production and the share of national exports from 2016 to 2030. Oil refineries are an essential aspect of energy infrastructure in terms of oil production and delivery. Due to a lack of refinery capacity, the country is forced to depend on imports of crude oil and fuel (Persia, 2018).
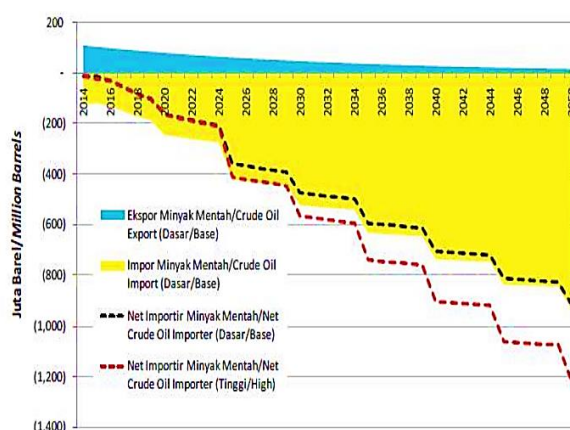
Figure 1. *Indonesian Petroleum Export and Import Projection Chart (Mineral, 2016)*

The volume of crude oil imports increased from year to year. Balongan is the country's last refinery to be built. The overall capacity of national oil refineries currently reaches 1,167 BPD (production design) from a total of ten refineries.

Based on research by Aziza Nur Persia (Persia, 2018), Indonesia's fuel needs reached 1.6 million barrels per day. However, Indonesia's oil refineries only have a capacity of 1.16 million barrels per day (BPD) and are only capable of producing 650 thousand BPD of gasoline. To reach the domestic demand for oil, around 950,000 BPD must be imported. In addition to imports, the state also imports crude oil for use in domestic fuel refineries. Because not all specifications of domestic fuel refineries are suitable for processing crude oil from Indonesia, about 40% of Indonesia's crude oil production is exported.

The volume of crude oil imports increased from year to year. This obstacle has been exacerbated by the absence of a further refinery since the construction of the Balongan refinery (1994). Of the total ten refineries, the overall capacity of domestic oil refineries currently reaches 1,167 BPD (production design) (Persia, 2018).

Currently, non-Pertamina refineries have been installed, increasing the ability to produce fuel by around 681 thousand BPD (Sarasvati, 2018). The refinery, which is located in Tuban by PT TPPI, has a capacity of 1000 mbcd. A refinery is a CPM storage facility. These facilities include (Persia, 2018):

1. storage facilities such as storage tanks and floating tanks;

2. distribution facilities such as pipelines, terminals, and ports; and

3. other related infrastructure.

Legal or Regulatory Basis for Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR) in Indonesia

Oil is the primary natural resource to meet today's global and national energy demands. Oil in the Indonesian Mining Law Area is a national resource managed by the government. These operations cover a wide range of oil industry operations, including upstream (exploration and exploitation) and downstream (production) (processing, transportation, storage, and marketing). The government, as a representative of the state, plays a significant role in controlling supply and consumption.

After a long time since the enactment of the Oil and Gas Law, the government passed Law no. 30/2007, which regulates energy. These rules define different types of reservations, including CPM and their conditions. The DEN regulates the agency assigned to determine the type, number, time, and location of BPS. According to PP No. 79/2014 concerning KEN, CPM is given to maintain national energy security in accordance with fuel energy efficiency. BPS will be delivered in stages based on economic conditions and the capacity of the state budget. According to Presidential Decree 41/2016 concerning Krisdaren, CPM is a reserve that will be issued as an action to overcome Krisdaren. This term refers to the method of SPR release.

According to Presidential Decree No. 22 of 2017 concerning RUEN (National Energy General Plan), one of the national energy problems is the lack of availability of SPR, which plays an essential role for the state in reducing the economic, political, and social impacts of krisdaren. This scarcity reduces Indonesia's energy security and weakens the bargaining position of the country's security, defense and trade politics compared to other countries.

The following are the regulations that underlie the SPR study:

1. Energy Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 30/2007

2. PP Number 79 of 2014 concerning National Energy Policy (KEN) articles 13 to 16

3. APSA Presidential Decree No. 7/2013

4. Presidential Decree 41/2016 concerning Procedures for Determining and Resolving Energy Crisis and/or Energy Emergency.

All these requirements indicate that the SPR should be built as soon as possible. However, with the articles in PP No. 79/2014, which regulates the formation of the SPR, it is immediately feasible to adopt special rules governing the growth of the SPR under the protection of the PP law. So, to build the SPR, the government needs a solid legal umbrella that declares itself to be different from Perpres but PP.

This rule is a commitment and effort to develop SPR. In addition, it is intended to avoid or overcome problems in sectors that are not covered by Law n. 30/2007 on Energy or PP 79/2014 on KEN. As a result, if the president changes, the PP cannot be shaken or changed. So, the SPR rule is relevant if it is in the form of a PP, not a Presidential Decree.

The Urgency of the Development of a Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR) or Oil Buffer Reserve in Indonesia

As one of the efforts of national resilience and resilience, SPR must be strategically located and able to cover a wide area. Furthermore, security elements must be considered when selecting a location to minimize sabotage by outsiders. The following is an inspection of the SPR site (Persia, 2018).

1. Within the territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, not abroad for reasons of speed of circulation and security.

2. Infrastructure for management and distribution

3. Close to an oil refinery

4. Close to the port for simple distribution

5. Nearby locations with high consumption

6. Near national borders (from the defense side)

Maintaining energy security is very important in the interest of providing national energy reserves in accordance with the legal basis. Energy security refers to the capacity of a country to meet its energy needs in the face of fluctuations in foreign supply over time. However, Indonesia currently only has operational oil reserves, not strategic oil reserves that can be used at any time (CNN Indonesia, 2015). Currently, the supply of strategic oil reserves is only a discussion, with the government's plan to develop strategic fuel reserves for a period of 15 days over three years requiring a budget of Rp. 23.2 trillion (Kementerian ESDM, 2016).

Looking at the current global conditions, particularly related to world oil reserves, these reserves are currently starting to depreciate in line with the increasing demand for oil. Many countries are concerned about global production capacity to meet demand in the coming years. Future oil supply constraints may have a role in oil supply. Middle Eastern countries are the world's top oil producers, accounting for about 35% of global oil demand (SATRIA, 2018).

As a result, some oil-importing countries are trying to approach oil-producing countries to ensure a long-term supply of oil needs.

His strong dependence on resources made him politically vulnerable. Some of the variables that can cause disruption of the oil supply are as follows (Rahman, 2011):

1. Geopolitical tensions and terrorist threats remain high in some countries, especially oil-producing countries.

2. Natural disasters that disrupt supply line access are still possible.

3. Oil resources are spread over many countries, and investors are prohibited from entering due to legal constraints in each country.

The mismatch between expanded capacity and rising global oil demand could result in smooth supply disruption. Domestically, Indonesia's status as a net oil importer, as well as the lack of oil and gasoline infrastructure, adds to the vulnerability of the oil supply. Indonesia experienced an oil boom between 1973 and 1980 (Zaenab, 2018).

However, the oil boom at that time had not been fully utilized by this country. The government did not invest part of the oil money at that time but channeled it into industries not related to the oil and gas business. Pertamina's Technology Division, for example, developed into the agency for the Assessment and Application of Technology (BPPT), then the Nusantara Aircraft Industry, which is now PT Dirgantara Indonesia. Unfortunately, the initiative did not produce a tantalizing product. Indeed, the government encouraged lending at the time by forming a Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI) and guaranteeing oil revenues (Indirasardjana, 2014).

So far, oil and gas infrastructure for oil and gas production is still underdeveloped, let alone neglected. So far, Indonesia's oil and gas infrastructure has lagged far behind the country's increasing use of oil and gas. Such is the case with Indonesian oil refineries, which are very outdated, understaffed, and well below projected demand. The current capacity of Indonesia's oil refineries is estimated at 1,167 million barrels per day, but only 719 thousand barrels per day can be processed. With daily fuel consumption of 1,359 million barrels, Indonesia still needs to import 640 thousand barrels of oil (Data, 2015).

With Indonesia still dependent on imports, strategic stocks of gasoline and crude oil are needed to ensure national energy security. However, Indonesia now has an active fuel reserve belonging to PT Pertamina (Persero), which is capable of meeting gasoline needs for 22 days. Accessible storage tank for strategic oil reserves has a capacity of only 3.58 days (Pratiwi, 2016).

With Indonesia still dependent on oil imports, the government should progressively build strategic oil reserves and start building storage tanks.

Natural resources in Indonesia, especially oil and natural gas (oil gas), are national resources that must be able to support the national defense system at all times. Therefore, a new paradigm is needed in the strategy for managing Indonesia's oil reserves, such as in national border areas.

The Expert Team of the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources for the Economics of Natural Resources, Sampe L. Purba, revealed this in a hybrid manner during the Open Promotion Session at the Bogor Defense University Campus. With a dissertation entitled "Policy on Management of Oil and Gas in the Aceh Andaman Sea Border Region from the Perspective of National Defense." The emphasis and purpose of the research are three fundamental questions (Notonegoro, 2016).

The first is connected with the geostrategic location of Aceh at the end of the Malacca Strait as the entrance to the Asia Pacific region from the Indian Ocean. Second, related to the potential of oil and gas resources in border areas far on the high seas, the supporting infrastructure that currently exists on land. Finally, in the context of national security in border areas, public policy choices must reconcile the special and micro interests of investors with the government's larger and macro objectives.

Based on the findings of Sampe's research, in terms of oil and gas management strategies at the border from the side of national defense, the Defense and Security component has the highest score (24.40 percent) when compared to the non-defense section. The economy has the most significant non-defense component, 22.74 percent. Meanwhile, among other public policy alternatives, infrastructure ranks first with 29.87 percent, followed by regulation with 28.56 percent.

Oil and gas infrastructure must be designed within a public policy framework so that it is in line with and supports each other's defense. As a result, there must be regulatory tools under the umbrella. Oil and gas contract models in border areas must also be specific in nature in order to meet the characteristics of the national military, technology, and economy.

The fall in world oil prices is seen as an excellent opportunity for all countries to take advantage of it to increase the supply of oil reserves. Unfortunately, given the lack of infrastructure for Strategic Petroleum Reserves (SPR) to absorb extra oil reserves at relatively low prices, this is difficult to do in Indonesia.

Komaidi Notonegoro, an energy observer at the Reforminer Institute, indicated that the demand for SPR is not only related to imports of crude oil (Notonegoro, 2016). SPR was significantly more critical in the context of energy security than in the context of imports. Other countries often have an infrastructure. The lack of SPR facilities will have an impact on the government because it is unable to absorb or take advantage of low oil prices. With the current conditions, even renting SPR facilities from other countries is a challenge considering that each government will optimize the existing tanks.

To ensure energy security, each government must maintain energy or fuel reserves for a certain period of time, such as three months, six months, or twelve months. Even though Indonesia is only 22 days old, Pertamina's oil reserves do not belong to the state.

In addition to anticipating import absorption, SPR must be available for various emergency situations. For example, from the economic side of non-military threats. The economy is not just a weapon of internal stability; it also affects the negotiating attitude of each country in international affairs. Economic threats have the potential to undermine the defense of a country. Economic hazards can be characterized as internal or foreign.

Excessive inflation and unemployment, poor infrastructure, economic inequality, and other problems can pose domestic dangers. Meanwhile, external hazards can manifest as metrics of poor economic performance, low competitiveness, and high dependence on third parties. Furthermore, in a pandemic scenario, for example, if the import route is stopped due to the Covid-19 outbreak, this will affect the local oil supply. When the fuel ran out, the economy failed, people couldn't move, and a national panic ensued.

Conclusion

The Battle of Ambarawa or more commonly called Palagan Ambarawa, is one of the battles that took place in the cities of Ambarawa and Magelang between the Allied (British) forces against the Indonesian forces (TKR) to maintain the independence that had been achieved by the Indonesian nation and wanted to be recaptured by the allied forces by piggybacking on the Dutch NICA army who wanted to regain control of the archipelago. The reason the allies came to Indonesia was to release Dutch prisoners of war and return the Japanese army to their home countries. After Japan declared the defeat of World War II, then the allies armed the prisoners of war, and this became the leading cause of the anger of the Indonesian nation, causing the Palagan Ambarawa to occur.

The Total People's War Strategy or The Total People's Incumbent System with the Supit Urang tactics applied by Colonel Sudirman at the Battle of Ambarawa brought success and victory to the TKR side, apart from the factors of the superiority of infantry tactics and techniques, the superiority of the number of personnel deployed, the management of field administration operations Field logistics and better field health as well as the integration of operations by involving all components of the nation.

The victory in the battle in Ambarawa had a significant positive impact on the struggle for the nation's daughters in cultivating a sense of trust in one's own strength in continuing his struggle, both militarily and politically, especially the struggle in AMB (Dutch Military Aggression) I dated July 21, 1947, and AMB II December 19, 1948. History records that almost all the problems that occurred after Ambarawa by developing and using resistance strategies and tactics in Ambarawa against the invaders so had excellent operation planning, so the time span of resistance was not so long with the number of victims being armed by themselves could be minimized. The militancy of the TKR forces with the Classkaran struggle bodies in some areas was patriotic and heroic.

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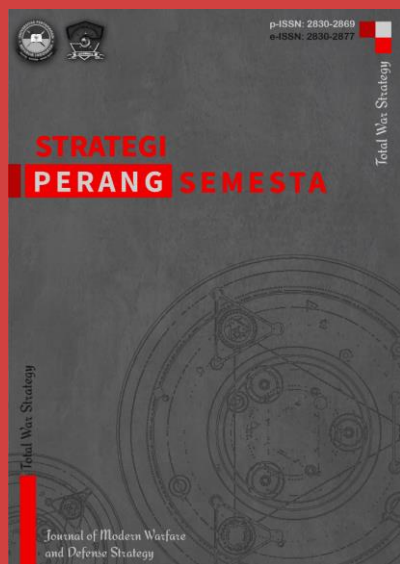
STRATEGI PERANG SEMESTA

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Increasing the Values of The State Defense Among Youth in Fighting the Threat of Radicalism

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INCREASING THE VALUES OF THE STATE DEFENSE AMONG YOUTH IN FIGHTING THE THREAT OF RADICALISM

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Abstract
State defense awareness is the right and obligation of every citizen. Observing Article 27 Paragraph (3) and Article 30 Paragraph (1), it implies that efforts to defend the state in defending state are the rights and obligations of every citizen without exception. In terms of defending the country, youth need to improve their understanding of the values of defending the country so that they can ward off the threat of radicalism that continues to occur. Youth in the future will experience various threats, such as the threat of radicalism to terrorism. So, to overcome the existing threat, increasing the values of defending the country for youth is the right step in maintaining youth nationalism and patriotism as a form of love for the homeland. Improvement can be implemented through the method of defending the country and the design of materials that are relevant to the psychological characteristics of young people. Overcoming youth dislocation and social deprivation through social inclusion programs. And planting religious insight (religiosity) that is integrated with national insight.

Introduction

At the beginning of the 21st century, terrorism became an important term for the world, and it is related to the events of 9/11 in 2001 in the United States (Mas et al., 2021). Terrorism is often associated with cruel acts. Terrorism, according to TP Thornton, is the deliberate creation of fear, usually through symbolic acts of violence, to influence the political attitudes of certain groups. (Mas et al., 2021). There is a significant connection that terrorism is part of radicalism that has become real action.

Globally, concentration on the root causes of radicalism has been focused on since 2004/2005. Since 9/11, politicians have compiled various hypotheses about the causes of radicalism that lead to terrorism. Academic researchers in The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research identified more than 50 different alleged causes of radicalism, including (Waluyo et al., 2021)

a) Terrorism is rooted in political discontent.
b) A culture of alienation and humiliation can act as a growth medium in which radicalization begins, and extremism comes on and off developmental dynamics.
c) Collective or individual desire for revenge against acts of repression may be a sufficient motive for terrorist activity.
d) Failure to mobilize popular support for a radical political program can trigger the decision to use terrorism to engineer violent confrontations against the authorities.

e) The choice of terrorists represents the result of the learning process from one's own experience and the experiences of others. (Schmid, 2011).

The current state of radicalism is of great concern to many people nationally and internationally. This happens due to dissatisfaction with political, social, economic, and religious conditions. Actions of radicalism do not only occur in the real world but also cyberspace.(Sari Kusuma et al., 2018)This happens because these radical actors consider the internet a place to spread radical ideas so that people are exposed and act radical, which are not limited by distance and time and are easily accessible by various groups. (O. B. Arizal et al., 2021). the faster and more effective the spread of radicalism through technological sophistication, the greater the challenge of overcoming the threat of radicalism.

To overcome radicalism, youth plays a vital role in the nation's progress, and various parties echo slogans about youth spirit. So, a young man must have the spirit to change a country to be more advanced. Because, in essence, the youths are future leaders and the driving force behind the nation's progress. (Fica Adi Nugraha & Wayan Midhio, 2019). Youth must have an awareness of defending the country.

Philosophically, defending the state is an implementation of social contract theory or social agreement theory about the formation of the state. Every citizen has an interest, and each interest has the potential to cause a conflict of interest in the community. The state is presented by an agreement or agreement between citizens in the community to protect the rights and obligations of citizens and to ensure that there is no conflict of interest between individuals in the community. (Subagyo, 2015).

State defense must be understood in a broad context where every citizen is an entity that lives in a state building so that essentially citizens are obliged to guard, maintain and protect every state institution, institution, and equipment. The state must be defended to the last drop of blood if it is indeed a trustworthy state in running its government. There is no reason for citizens to evade and avoid the obligation to defend the country. Citizens must be obedient, loyal, and subject to every regulation made by the state to promote state defense. (Subagyo, 2015)

As the next generation, the youth must understand the value of defending the country to face the threat of radicalism in Indonesia. Through the understanding of defending the state, the role of youth will be very significant in changing to face the threat of radicalism in society. Therefore, youth must have sufficient provisions to defend the country as a form of youth's sense of nationalism towards this nation. So the next question is how to increase the understanding of defending the country among youth in facing the threat of radicalism in Indonesia, which should be studied more deeply to build a sense of love for the homeland for youth.

Method

This paper was compiled using the bibliography method. The library method is carried out by collecting various reading reference materials relevant to the problems being studied; then, a thorough, in-depth understanding is carried out so that various research findings are obtained. The analysis technique used in this research is the content analysis technique. The content analysis techniques include reading, recording data, rereading, identifying data, classifying data, discussing data, presenting data, and drawing inferences. (O. B. Arizal et al., 2021)

Results and Discussion

Improvement Theory

An expert (Adi S, 2003) said that the increase comes from the word level, which means layers or layers of something that form an arrangement. The level can also mean rank, level, and class, while improvement means progress. In general, improvement is an effort to increase the degree, level, quality, and quantity. Improvement can also mean adding skills and abilities to get better. In addition, improvement also means achievement in the process, size, nature, relationship, etc. (Nuriyanto, 2020).

The word improvement can also describe a change from a negative state or trait to a positive one. In comparison, the results of an increase can be in the form of quantity and quality. Quantity is the number of results of a process or with the aim of improvement. At the same time, quality describes the value of an object due to the occurrence of a process that aims to increase. The result of an increase is also marked by achieving the goal at a certain point. When a business or process has reached that point, satisfaction and pride will arise for the expected achievements.

According to Adi D., In his language dictionary, the term improvement comes from the word level, which means layers of something arranged in such a way as to form an ideal arrangement. At the same time, improvement is the progress of a person from not knowing to knowing, from not being able to being able. Improvement is a process, method, or action to raise something for business activities in advancing towards a better direction than before.

Improvement in this context is about improving state defense to face the threat of radicalism in Indonesia. Increasing the understanding of defending the country the efforts made to increase the content of defending the country are a form of understanding the values of defending the country, interpreting defending the country as a form of love for the homeland, a sense of unity and unity as well as in increasing understanding of defending the country, youth become the driving force in social change facing the threat of radicalism. Therefore, increasing state defense for youth is very important for changing the social paradigm in interpreting the state and matters related to the state.

The Role of Youth in Social Change

According to Edward Shill, youth is an intellectual layer that has a specific social responsibility. According to Shill, there are five functions of intellectuals, namely creating and spreading high culture, providing national and international charts, fostering empowerment and togetherness, influencing social change, and playing a political role. Meanwhile, Samuel Huntington said that intellectuals in urban areas are part of pushing for political change called reform. (Aloysius Bram Widyanto, 2010).

Arbi Sanit categorizes four driving factors for increasing the role of youth in political life. First, as a group of people who get the best education, youth have a broad horizon in the community. Second, as the group of people who have been in school the longest, up to university, they have experienced the most extended political socialization process among the younger generation. Third, environmental life forms a unique lifestyle among youth. Fourth, youth, as a group that will enter the upper layers of the power structure, economic structure, and prestige in society, are automatically elites among the younger generation. (Aloysius Bram Widyanto, 2010).

The challenges of youth in the future are increasingly high and varied, both social, economic, cultural, political, and others. Challenges do not stop at home but also from abroad. From within the country, the presence of reforms for the sake of progress that was hoped for after the fall of the Suharto regime was also not achieved. On the contrary, the

crisis continues to hit all aspects (multidimensional), and corruption continues to run rampant. Actions of radicalism and terrorism are getting higher. And also, the issue that had blown hard was a leadership crisis.

At the international level, the impact of globalization has been seen in Indonesia; although globalization does not always bring negative impacts, there are also positives. But globalization in Indonesia, in general, has more negative impacts, such as people's lifestyles that are consumptive, hedonistic, and materialistic. Moreover, Indonesia's abundant natural resources are open to rich countries. As youths, they must be critical of the challenges of world change in the current era of globalization because globalization has a very random and uncertain role.

Defending the State as a Prevention of Radicalism

State defense is a bulwark for the state in saving the survival of the nation's life. The implementation of the duty to protect the property rights of the state and its citizens, including defending and defending the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia from threats that come from within and outside the country, is the right and obligation of every Indonesian citizen. This has been stated in the 1945 Constitution Article 27 paragraph (3), which states that "Every citizen has the right and is obliged to participate in efforts to defend the state." Article 30, paragraphs (1) and (2), that "Every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in the defense and security of the state.

The sense of nationalism, patriotism, and love for the homeland, which are the main elements of the spirit of defending the country, becomes an essential thing in the midst of the swift influence and negative impact of the development of the strategic environment. Therefore, the formation of an attitude of defending the state must be carried out as early as possible through the state defense program by cultivating love for the homeland, awareness of the nation and state, willingness to be willing to sacrifice for the sake of the nation and state, living and practicing Pancasila so that they have a mental attitude that is aware of their rights and obligations. Obligations and responsibilities as citizens.

The development of state defense awareness in counteracting some of the phenomena above has also not been carried out comprehensively by a state administration, including the use or utilization of infrastructure for state defense awareness development initiated by ministries and institutions such as state defense education facilities, so coordination between ministries and government agencies is needed. Because fostering awareness of defending the state is an inseparable part of national development, its implementation is not only the responsibility of the Ministry of Defense but is a shared responsibility through ministries/agencies and all other components of the nation.

There are three social institutions that are very important to play a role in protecting the younger generation. First, educational institutions, through the role of educational institutions, teachers, and curriculum in strengthening national insight, moderate and tolerant attitudes in the younger generation. Second, family, through the role of parents in instilling love and affection into the younger generation and making the family a unit of consultation and discussion. Third, community: through the role of community leaders in the community in creating a conducive space for the creation of a culture of peace among the younger generation. Conscious and well-planned efforts are needed to instill in citizens the following foundational and state-defense values, namely:

a) Love for the homeland. Knowing and loving the homeland so that they are always alert and ready to defend the homeland of Indonesia against all forms of threats,

challenges, obstacles, and disturbances that can endanger the survival of the nation and state.

b) Conscious of the nation and the state. Conscious of the color of the Indonesian nation in the form of behavior, attitudes, and personal life so that they can socialize in accordance with the nation's personality.

c) Certain Pancasila as the state ideology. Pancasila is a guideline and way of life for the Indonesian people in the life of society, nation, and state in order to achieve national goals.

d) Willing to sacrifice for the nation and state of Indonesia. Willing to sacrifice for the nation and state. Willing to sacrifice time, energy, thoughts, and property for the public interest so that, in time, they are ready to sacrifice their body and soul for the interests of the nation and state.

e) Has the initial ability to defend the country. Psychologically (mentally), has a disciplined, tenacious nature, obeys all applicable laws and regulations, believes in one's own abilities, endures trials, and never gives up in the face of difficulties to achieve national goals. Physically (physically) have a health condition and physical skills that can support the initial ability to defend the country that is psychological. (Andre Perdian Perdana & Muslih, 2020)

If you look back at the pattern of the spread of radicalism in Indonesia, one of the prevention efforts that play an essential role is an understanding of defending the country against youth. This is reinforced by Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika to shape youth into citizens who have a sense of nationality and love for the homeland. Citizenship education is intended to shape students into human beings who have a sense of nationality and love for the homeland.

Increasing Understanding of State Defense for Youth Facing the Threat of Radicalism

The understanding of defending the state can be actualized through increasing awareness of the younger generation who have understood the awareness of the values of defending the country, love for the homeland, awareness of the nation and state, belief and truth in Pancasila, willingness to sacrifice for the nation and state and the initial ability to defend the country so that they have the ability to overcome and resolve various threats, obstacles, disturbances and challenges in order to support the interests of national defense and security. The young generation, as the next generation of the Indonesian nation and state, is expected to have the ability to care, be prepared, and be responsible in the context of increasing early prevention, deterrence, and deterrence in facing the threat of radicalism. (I Nengah Suriata, 2019).

In increasing awareness of defending the country, youth can participate in awareness of defending the country in the form of activities that are within the scope of government, corporate environment, community environment, and the environment and various agencies, organizations, public and private institutions as well as political parties to be able to continuously motivate against increasing threats. The existence of youth is at all levels of community life; coaching, motivation, and socialization of state defense awareness can be carried out so that increased awareness of the younger generation can still be maintained. Some of these participations can increase the awareness of defending the country for youth.

With the increasing understanding of state defense awareness, it will lead to attitudes and behaviors that are inherent for the younger generation in filtering the influence of the

threat of radicalism that enters the territory of the Indonesian state because radicalism can target the entire community, both youth, and parents.

Increasing the understanding of state defense for the younger generation against the threat of radicalism is also inseparable from other threats to the survival of the nation and state, such as; invasion and intervention of other countries, subversion, treason, and coups, separatism, terrorism, corruption, drug abuse, thuggery, smuggling and theft of natural resources, human trafficking and anarchic acts in conveying aspirations to the government. This understanding of defending the country is the strength for youth in fortifying themselves from various threats that occur.

The younger generation must be able to monitor, observe, and observe various developing issues so that they know what has been detected so that potential threats cannot be realized, even though the threats that are realized can already be anticipated well through a mature understanding of state defense. Then there has been an attitude of concern from Indonesian citizens to the threat of radicalism that comes from within the country and abroad. Through the potential threat of radicalism that has been understood and understood by the younger generation, it will lead to an attitude of nationalism in themselves to understand that defending the country is an obligation for all Indonesian citizens.

Besides that, it can also be improved for youth in anticipating the widespread involvement of youth in the vortex of the threat of radicalism. There needs to be a consideration from the state, such as. First, the method of defending the country and the design of materials that are relevant to the psychological characteristics of young people. Second, overcoming youth social dislocation and deprivation through social inclusion programs. Third, the cultivation of religious insight (religiosity) is integrated with national insight. Thus, there are considerations of understanding that defending the country can be realized as a form that already exists in youth. (Mas et al., 2021)

Conclusion

The understanding of defending the country is expected to be able to clearly change and influence the mindset of Indonesian youth so that they are not influenced by things that are wrong and also misguided. Implementation of state defense must be understood thoughtfully and comprehensively, and all youth must be involved. With the effective involvement of youth in national defense, an understanding of defending the country can be realized in the face of the threat of radicalism. Youth must have an understanding of defending the country through several models, using state defense materials with current communication conditions, overcoming youth's social dislocation and deprivation through social involvement programs, and finally, increasing the integration of national insight as a form of vigilance against the threat of radicalism.

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STRATEGI PERANG SEMESTA

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Strengthening the State Defense and Building an Attitude of Nationalism by Implementing the Universe War Strategy in the Era of Globalization

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STRENGTHENING THE STATE DEFENSE AND BUILDING AN ATTITUDE OF NATIONALISM BY IMPLEMENTING THE TOTAL WAR STRATEGY IN THE ERA OF GLOBALIZATION

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Abstract

Defending the State in a broad sense is not only in dealing with the military but also non-military threats. In the era of globalization and the rapid progress of science and technology, the forms of threats are very varied and complex; only nations that have competitive advantages can compete and win this competition. So that this research is intended to find out more about how defending the country awakens an attitude of nationalism, and the Universal War Strategy can be implemented in dealing with one form of war in the globalization era. The method used in this study is to use a phenomenological qualitative descriptive method, where the researcher will apply and apply his subjectivity and interpersonal skills in the process of exploratory research. The researchers assess that there is a correlation between state defense and nationalism with the implementation of a universal war strategy with efforts to deal with the war in the era of globalization, which must be spelled out more specifically in terms of the application of universality to improve the character of the nation, especially the younger generation to increase further their sense of nationalism towards the State of Indonesia because they are candidates for continuing the nation's struggle and development in the future.

Introduction

Youth is the nation's next generation who should continue the ideals of the nation's struggle. Youth are required to have a high sense of Nationalism in the swift currents of globalization. However, in reality, the flow of globalization has diluted the spirit of Nationalism among youth which threatens the existence of the Indonesian nation in the current era of global competition. Young people talk more about foreign cultures than their own national culture. Even youth is the nation's hope as a force that can ensure the survival of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) throughout the ages (Rangkuti, 2016). The key to success in competition in the current globalization is to instill the spirit of defending the country among the youth. Therefore, defending the country is a necessity and an absolute requirement for a nation's future survival, where the value of defending the country is the basis for youth in building their nation (Muharom Rusdiana, 2022).

Every citizen must secure, protect, and defend a country that threatens state sovereignty and territorial integrity (A. Subagyo, 2015). The obligation to defend the state is

carried out by all Indonesian people based on Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, Archipelagic Outlook, and National Defense. Not only that, efforts to defend the country are not the responsibility of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) but of all Indonesian people. This underlies the state defense program implemented by the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia and all related agencies (Suwarno Widodo, 2011).

The state defense program must be carried out appropriately. This program is carried out systematically and directly through education, considering that education is a space for building national awareness based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution (MT Hirnissa, Muzafar Shah Habibullah, and AH Baharom. 2009). Education is an activity to help the development of students achieve educational goals. The Law of the Republic of Indonesia, Number 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System, defines *education* as a conscious and planned effort to create a learning atmosphere and learning process so that students actively develop their potential to have religious, spiritual strength, self-control, personality, intelligence, morals noble character and skills needed by himself, society, nation and the State (Aniek Irawatie, Iswahyuni Iswahyuni, and Marina Eri Setyawati 2019). Defending the state in a broad sense is not only in the face of the military but also non-military threats. In the era of globalization and the rapid progress of science and technology, threats are very varied and complex; only nations with competitive advantages can compete and win this competition.

The inculcation of awareness of defending the state in every citizen, especially the millennial generation as heirs and successors to the continuity of national and state life, is very important to defend the country from threats from within and from within the military and non-military. The rights and obligations in efforts to defend the state and in efforts to defend national security are regulated in the 1945 Constitution (article 27 and article 30 paragraph (1), efforts to defend the state are the determination, attitude, and actions of every citizen in an orderly, comprehensive, integrated and continuous manner based on my love for the motherland, awareness of the Indonesian nation and state as well as belief in Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution for the integrity and progress of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

In the pre-colonialism period, there was a romance of the glorious life of the kingdoms in the archipelago, which was quite respected in international relations. The colonialism period was marked by the draining of human and natural resources for the benefit of the colonizers. During the struggle against the colonialists, a spirit of patriotism grew, willingness to make extraordinary sacrifices to face the colonialists. During the struggle to uphold independence grew a sense of patriotism, willingness to sacrifice, and very strong togetherness. The filling period for independence is my hope to build national character through education to educate the nation's life to realize lasting peace, prosperity, and protection of society. Every era will give birth to national cadres who will fight for the existence of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. National cadres will not appear suddenly but through a cadre process according to the problems and challenges. At present, the problems and challenges will naturally be different compared to the previous period, so the cadre process and the material method must also be different.

These national cadres will later become the spearhead in fighting for the existence of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia in a global society. They will defend the country in facing ideological, political, economic, social, cultural, and defense problems. To be able to produce these cadres, they must be designed systematically and sustainably; it is the Kesbangpolinmas Agency that is very suitable as the core strength of the activity without

neglecting other agencies/agencies to be synergized in the formation of national cadres that can defend the state and have a national character.

The flow of globalization encompasses a country that is interconnected, borderless and one interdependent country to another in this world. The movement of globalization has now entered Indonesia. The changes that have taken place over the past half-century have brought society to a direction full of fragmentation and cohesion simultaneously (Abdullah, I. 2006). In a situation like this, Indonesia can face various threats, disturbances, obstacles, and challenges from the dynamics of globalization. New values that come from outside come from globalization, then enter Indonesia, so these new values are not necessarily in accordance with the character or personality of the Indonesian people. In this regard, of course, there will be a shift in the values, character, and personality of the Indonesian nation, and it may even be considered outdated. In the daily patterns of Indonesian people's behavior, various thought patterns, attitude patterns, and individualistic patterns of action have been colored. On the other hand, it can be seen that the influence of globalization itself can result in a lack of strength in the Indonesian nation's national resilience, as explained above. This condition must be corrected, and a solution must be found for its completion because it is feared that, in time, it will disrupt national stability.

However, recently a threat has emerged that hit this nation. The greatest threat to the Indonesian nation at this time is no longer a military threat but a non-military one. Threats in the form of ideology, politics, economics, society, culture, technology, information, drug abuse, and moral decadence that occur in society are currently a threat to the Indonesian nation (Arianto, 2015). As for changes in interaction patterns that cause each individual to be able to consume, produce, then distribute information through social media so that it can influence opinions that spread in society, which can then lead to conflicts within countries, as well as between countries. This pattern then becomes a concern and even becomes a tool for several countries in the world to influence opinions that develop in the society of other countries so that they can be controlled without the need for war. They seek to influence the character of every individual from a nation so that they no longer have a strong desire to maintain the existence or sovereignty of their nation.

When the sovereignty of a nation is disturbed, it can be said that the country's defense is under threat (State Defense Doctrine, 2015). There is a threat to national defense, of course, and it must be faced with the right strategy. For Indonesia, the strategy of total war, which is the core of the national defense doctrine, is expected to be able to deal with all forms of threats that occur. The Indonesian Total War is not only used to deal with conventional wars but can also be applied to deal with wars in the era of globalization, even the fifth generation (Prabowo, 2009). Because the War of Opinion makes the character of each individual of a nation a target, an effort that is total in nature or involves all elements of national power is needed to be able to deal with it. So that this research is aimed at getting to know more about how defending the state awakens an attitude of Nationalism, and the Total War Strategy can be implemented in dealing with one form of war in the era of globalization.

Method

The method used in this research is to use a phenomenological qualitative descriptive method, where researchers will apply and apply their subjectivity and interpersonal abilities in the exploratory research process (Helaluddin, 2018). The researchers assess that there is a correlation between state defense and Nationalism with the implementation of a total war strategy with efforts to deal with the war in the era of globalization, which must be spelled out more specifically in terms of the application of totality to improve the character of the

nation, especially the younger generation to increase further their sense of Nationalism towards the State of Indonesia because they are candidates for continuing the nation's struggle and development in the future.

In this paper, which is carried out by examining library materials or secondary data, it can be known about the origins, also known as library law research (Soekanto Soerjono, 1984). good material, secondary and or tertiary. As an in-depth study and as support in this study, the authors conducted in-depth literature studies or literature studies using descriptive writing using qualitative methods.

The entire material collected, author processes and analyzes the materials that have been collected. The data obtained in this writing are secondary data derived from literature studies and documentation studies.

Result and Discussion

Fostering State Defense Awareness for all Indonesian citizens is one of the most important efforts to build deterrence in order to strengthen national defense in wisely facing every opportunity and threat for the Indonesian nation so as to be able to elevate the dignity of the Indonesian nation in the eyes of the world. Basically, it aims to build and shape the mental attitude and character of every Indonesian citizen towards the values of defending the country.

The vital role of Defending the State can be stated more clearly and in depth through a defense perspective. Indonesia's territorial integrity, along with all its resources, sovereignty, and independence, has constantly been threatened by foreign aggression from outside and armed struggles from within. If this threat becomes real and Indonesia is not ready to face it, everything can return to its most basic condition. The anticipation of the nation's founders is contained in one of the national goal points, namely, "Protecting the entire Indonesian nation and all of Indonesia's bloodshed." This statement forms the basis and cornerstone of defense objectives. Here its position does not stand alone but shares space with the goal of security or civil order and side by side with 3 (three) other goals, namely the goal of welfare (promoting public welfare), the goal of civilization (to educate the nation's life) and the goal of peace (participating actively in a just world peace). and eternal) (Budi Susilo Soepandji, 2012).

The 1945 Constitution also provides a mandate regarding national defense as stated in Article 27 paragraph (3) "Every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in efforts to defend the country." The method of implementing state defense is explained in Article 9 paragraph (2) of Law Number 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense which states that "Citizen participation in efforts to defend the state can be carried out through citizenship education, basic military training, participating in voluntary and compulsory military and dedication in accordance with the profession to defend the country and the nation ."Furthermore, another explanation regarding defending the country is that every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in efforts to defend the country, such as the mandate of the 1945 Constitution. This means that every citizen has the right and obligation to defend the country regardless of men/women, occupation and profession, young and old, clerics, politicians, police, civil and military. Defending the country is not the monopoly of one professional group, occupation, class, race, or ethnicity. Thus, the notion of state defense is expansive in order to be able to accommodate all groups, as well as interest groups.

Defending the Country

Defending the country is the attitude and actions as well as the actions of citizens who are based on a sense of love for the motherland, awareness of the nation and state, the belief that Pancasila is the ideology of the nation and state, the willingness and sincerity to sacrifice in order to face every form of threat, challenge, disturbance and obstacles (ATHG) both coming from within and from outside which can threaten and endanger the survival of the nation and state, territorial integrity, national jurisdiction as well as the noble values contained in Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. This gives meaning to every citizen to participate in activities to defend the country. The values contained in defending the country include (Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia 2014).

a) Love the Motherland with the indicators being:
   1. Safeguarding the land and yards as well as the entire space of Indonesia's territory.
   2. Proud to be Indonesian.
   3. Maintain the excellent name of the nation and state.
   4. Contribute to the progress of the nation and state.
   5. Loving domestic products, culture, and Indonesian arts.

b) Awareness of the nation and state with the indicators being:
   1. Having an awareness of the diversity of cultures, ethnicities, religions, languages, and customs.
   2. Exercising rights and obligations as citizens in accordance with applicable laws and regulations.
   3. Recognize the diversity of individuals at home and in their environment.
   4. Think, behave and do the best for the nation and state.
   5. Participate in maintaining the sovereignty of the nation and state.

c) Confident in Pancasila, Pancasila has the guideline and outlook on the life of the Indonesian people in the life of society, nation, and state in order to achieve national goals. Confidence in Pancasila as the state ideology is achieved by growing awareness, which is based on Pancasila, on the truth of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia, that only by practicing Pancasila in everyday life, the Indonesian nation-state will remain victorious, any differences of opinion in the life of the nation and state can be resolved by way of deliberation and consensus, that Pancasila can fortify the nation's mentality and character in facing threats both from within and outside the country. The indicators of the value of believing in Pancasila as the national ideology include:
   1. Understanding the values contained in the Pancasila precepts.
   2. Practicing Pancasila in everyday life.
   3. Making Pancasila the unifying nation and state of Indonesia.
   4. Continuously develop the values of Pancasila.
   5. Loyal to Pancasila and believed in being the foundation of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

d) Willing to sacrifice implies willingness, sincerity, and sacrifice for the benefit of the nation and state. Willing to sacrifice time, energy, thoughts, and property for the public interest so that, in turn, ready to sacrifice body and soul for the benefit of the nation and state. Indicators of willingness to sacrifice for the nation and state include:
   1. Willingness to sacrifice time, energy, and thoughts for the progress of the nation and state.

2. Ready to defend the nation and state from various kinds of threats.
3. Have concern for the safety of the nation and the state.
4. Have a spirit of patriotism towards the nation and country.
5. Prioritizing the interests of the nation and state above personal and group interests.

e) The initial ability to defend the country is a form of embodiment of citizens both psychologically (mentally) who have the nature of the discipline, tenacity, obey all applicable laws and regulations, believe in one's own abilities, stand the test, never give up in facing difficulties to achieve goals nationally, as well as physically (physically) have health conditions and physical skills that can support the initial ability to defend the country which is psychological in nature. The indicators of these values include:

1. Having intellectual intelligence, spiritual intelligence, emotional intelligence, and intelligence in surviving or overcoming difficulties.
2. Always maintain the health of the body and soul.
3. Tenacious and never giving up in the face of challenges.
4. Continue to develop physical and spiritual abilities.
5. Have state defense skills in the form of skills

In the life of the nation and state in the world, especially in Indonesia, the concept of national defense during times of peace and war is based on reflections on the spectrum of defending the state, which must be understood and understood by every citizen. This actually should be instilled and socialized, that every Indonesian citizen should always defend and fight for living space and their national interests. The preparation of citizens must be fostered and prepared from various aspects in determining the capability of the national defense itself so that national defense will affect the survival of a nation.

Nationalism

Globalization has changed everything; activities and even human character can also be changed, including the Nationalism of the younger generation. The more advanced the current of globalization makes the feeling of love and pride for culture decrease so that over time, the feeling of pride in one's own culture can disappear and reduce the sense of belonging to one's own nation. This has a very negative impact on the spirit of Nationalism of the young native Indonesian generation. (Tirtaharja, Nur. 2001)

In the Big Indonesian Dictionary (Depdikbud, 1997, p. 648), Nationalism is defined as awareness of membership in a nation that is potentially or actually together to achieve, maintain, and perpetuate identity, integrity, prosperity, and strength of the nation, namely the national spirit. Nationalism can be formulated as an understanding that creates and maintains the sovereignty of a country (in English, "nation") by realizing an identity that is owned as a common bond in one group.

Nationalism in the sense of national spirit due to cultural similarities means the main cultural similarities such as similarities in blood or descent, ethnicity, area of residence, belief and religion, language, and culture. In the early growth of Nationalism, it can be said as a psychological situation in the form of a person's total loyalty devoted directly to the state. Ties of Nationalism grow in society when the mindset begins to decline. This bond occurs when humans begin to live together in a specific area and do not move from the bonds of Nationalism. At that time, the instinct of self-defense played a significant role and encouraged them to defend their country, where they lived and depended.

Challenges of the Era of Globalization

According to Jemadu (Jemadu, 2008: 310), no one can avoid globalization. Each individual will be faced with two choices: "First, he places himself and plays a role as a player in the currents of globalization change, and secondly, he becomes a victim of globalization flows." The challenges of globalization include, among other things, the very rapid technological advances, especially computer technology, the emergence of an increasingly vibrant democracy, the recognition of human rights, gender issues, and the problems of new economic life after Asia has overcome the crisis. (Jemadu, 2008: 314) The rapid flow of globalization and advances in technology and science is a challenge that a nation inevitably has to face. The challenges of globalization that educators must anticipate with the importance of prioritizing professionalism (Oviyanti. 2013):

1. The development of science and technology is so fast and fundamental. Under these conditions, an educator is expected to adapt responsively, wisely, and wisely. Responsive means that education must be able to master science and technology products, especially those related to the world of education, such as learning using multimedia. Without good mastery of science and technology, educators will be left behind and become victims of science and technology.
2. The "moral" crisis that hit the Indonesian nation and state due to the influence of science and technology and globalization has resulted in a shift in the values that exist in people's lives. Traditional values that highly uphold morality may shift along with the influence of science and technology and globalization.
3. Social crises, such as crime, violence, unemployment, and poverty, occur in the world community. As a result of the development of industry and capitalism, social problems emerged that existed in society; not all levels of society could follow and enjoy the industrial and capitalist world.
4. National identity crisis. As a nation and state among other nations in the world, it requires a high national identity (Nationalism) from Indonesian citizens. The spirit of Nationalism is still needed for the existence of the Indonesian nation and state. High Nationalism from citizens will encourage the soul to sacrifice.
5. For the nation and state, it will create positive and best behavior for the nation and state.

Instilling a spirit of Nationalism needs to be carried out in schools, this is because schools are places of education and the formation of the soul and enthusiasm for the younger generation, which will determine the future of the Indonesian nation in the future. In addition, a large number of young generations of the next generation of Indonesia are still students at school, so if schools are able to provide national education to strengthen the character of the Indonesian nation, they will be safe in the future.

Instilling a spirit of Nationalism and strengthening national character for all students and students in Indonesia will strengthen national unity and integrity in the context of creating a solid and sturdy NKRI with personality. In order to form and foster a sense of Nationalism and national character for students and students, a facility is needed that can complement the implementation of education in schools. The presentation of information in the form of material that is interesting and relevant to the spirit of convenience for students and students needs to be developed appropriately.

UU no. 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System article 3 explains that national education functions to develop and shape dignified national character and civilization in order to educate the nation's life, aiming at developing the potential of students

to become human beings who believe and fear God Almighty, have good morals noble, healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, independent and become a democratic and responsible citizen.

This goal is a formulation regarding the quality of Indonesian human beings that must be developed by each academic unit. The formulation of national education goals is the basis for developing national character where character education is continuous and sustainable (continuous) starting from early childhood education so that it is well internalized in students.

The Ministry of National Education's concrete program in building national character is by promoting character education programs and activities in all units and nationalities, both curricular and extra, revitalizing personality subject groups to become progressive sources by the member and strengthening the value of character & value of orientation for the future, developing appropriate and effective character education programs and various types of training. The basic foundation of character education is Nationalism by providing a value orientation for the progress of civilization of the nation and state in the future by integrating the spirit of Nationalism with the needs of the nation's progress in the future.

So, with character education, a change is created from just good to being great, which is needed for the success of building the nation's civilization in the future. Great character, great personality, and outstanding achievements for the future can be described concretely. In fact, the nation's personality and self-image are the strength of the ethos, ethical and moral spirit expected for the progress of this nation in the future.

Conclusion

In facing the currents and dynamics of the current era of globalization, how can the government prepare all citizens to face this form of globalization by not having to sell sovereignty, ideology, politics, economy, socio-culture, and territory in the context of defense and security to foreign parties? The Ministry of Defense (Kemhan), as the leading sector in terms of carrying out the function of national defense, is the government agency responsible for the implementation of National Defense. Therefore, the Ministry of Defense is tasked with preparing the formulation of a General Policy on National Defense and establishing a Policy for Implementing National Defense. One of the challenges faced by the Ministry of Defense now and in the next few years is the need to increase awareness of defending the country for every city; where one of the efforts is to form the National Defense Education and Training Center, Badiklat Kemhan RI as a forum for organizing state defense education and training for Ministries/Agencies, Local Governments, and organizations in the community.

In the implementation of fostering state defense awareness not only through education and training alone, the use of electronic media, social media, and other media, with state defense cadres printed through training, requires a facility in the form of an agency/institution that handles defense cadres in applying, socializing about the values of defending the country so that what is expected by the government in instilling the values of defending the country can be achieved and right on the goals and objectives.

Especially for the younger generation to further increase their sense of Nationalism towards the State of Indonesia because they are candidates for continuing the nation's struggle and development in the future. In addition, the authors provide advice to the community and the government to work together in an effort to increase Nationalism among today's young generation. The spirit of Nationalism is needed for the continued existence of the Indonesian nation and state. High Nationalism from the younger generation will create

positive and best behavior for the nation and state. In the last decade, there has been a tendency for the spirit of Nationalism to diminish among the younger generation.

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Security Dilemma: Upholding Indonesia's Independence and Active Foreign Policy

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SECURITY DILEMMA: UPHOLDING INDONESIA'S INDEPENDENCE AND ACTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

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Abstract
The world condition where there has been a war between Russia and Ukraine and the involvement of the US has had a drastic impact on the international political system. As the two superpowers in the world today and not forgetting about China, Indonesia which has Independence and an Active Foreign Policy must face this challenge whether to choose one side or remain as a non-aligned movement country. This research focuses on the point of view where Indonesia is in a security dilemma between remaining as a non-aligned movement country or choosing to side with one of these superpowers.

Introduction

Since Mohammad Hatta made his speech titled "Mendajung Antara Dua Karang" in front of the BP KNPI Session in September 1948, Indonesia has maintained independence and active foreign policy, which is Indonesia's basic attitude, refusing to join one of the Blocks of superpower states, disputes over the establishment of foreign militaries' bases in the state, and refusing to be involved in the defense pacts of significant states (Materi Edukasi, 2017).

Vice-President Hatta, who served as the young Republic's concurrent Prime Minister and Minister of Defense, clarified the position of the government on a number of domestic and international issues during a meeting of the Working Group of the Central National Committee of Indonesia (KNPI), the forerunner of the Indonesian Parliament. Hatta argued against the People's Democratic Front of the Indonesian Communist Party, which held that Indonesia's best foreign policy during the Cold War was to support Russia. He said: "Do we, Indonesians, in the struggle for the freedom of our people and our country, only have to choose between Russia and America? Is there not another stance we may adopt in the fight for our ideals? "The Government firmly believes that the wisest course of action is one that prevents us from being the focus of a worldwide confrontation. Instead, we must continue to be the ones with the power to determine our own course in life and to pursue our own objective, which is Indonesia's total independence" (Kementerian Luar Negeri RI, 2022).

From this that we know Indonesia is one of the non-aligned countries in the world, and acceptance of standards for new members and reviewers are the Bandung Principles and Non-Aligned Movement Membership Criteria. The movement now includes 120 Member States, 17 Observer States, and 10 Observer organizations (World Data, 2022). The Non-Aligned Movement was founded in reaction to the Cold War decolonization process after World War II and the desire of newly independent nations to avoid allying with either superpower (the US or the USSR). The movement was started in 1961 in Belgrade by leaders

such as Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Sukarno of Indonesia. Members of the Non-Aligned Movement are prohibited from participating in military alliances or bilateral military agreements with superpowers if they are connected to conflicts between the Great Powers. The movement, however, opposes neutrality in international politics in favor of giving developing nations a voice and encouraging their cooperation in international issues (Munro, 2022a).

Base on from the article that written by Prof. Anak Agung Banyu Perwita in 2007 concluding that the government of Indonesia must be ablecontinue to promote cooperation with non-state actors in seeking useful income for the formulation of Indonesian foreign policy as part of the policy network approach. More specifically, this approach is in line with what refers to the increasing role and contribution of various community groups as strategic partners in the formulation and making of foreign policy (Perwita, 2017).

Condition of the superpower countries today as we can see that there are 3 countries that can be counted as superpowers they are America, China, and Russia. A superpower is a nation that commands significant influence within the international system and has the capacity to act on a global scale. Superpowers often possess a powerful military, a robust economy, and great political and cultural influence (Munro, 2022b). However, among the 120 member countries of the non-aligned movement, there are several countries that can be seen as close to one of the superpower countries. This can happen due to closer geopolitical and geoeconomic conditions and various other factors.

As we know that in 2022 there is a war happened between Russia and Ukraine and the involvement of NATO and US in it. This kind of case can make a sudden change in the international political system especially as a Non-Aligned Movement countries. Based on the reports of Vox in April 2022, there is a change with non-aligned movement countries where 93 countries choose to vote Russia expelled from the Human Rights Council, but 58 abstained, and 24 countries voted to against it where the abstentions inside it, including the non-aligned movement leaders Egypt, Ghana, India, and Indonesia, and China is one of the country who against in the vote (Guyer, 2022).

This kind of condition can make a country who stand on abstain in a security dilemma especially Indonesia who stand as one of a leader in Non-Aligned Movement countries whether to stand in abstain or choose to support one of the sides in international political systems. In this article author has 1 questions. The question is "Can Indonesia still uphold Independence and Active foreign policy systems when this kind of conditions happen?"

Method

The research design is a literature study using qualitative methods. Qualitative data will be obtained through processed data sourced from scientific journals, scientific research results, reference books, sources related to websites regarding the non-aligned movement and independence and active of Indonesia foreign policy. This question will be addressed using realism from the study of international relations, which focuses on the prisoner's dilemma in game theory.

Game theory provides a theoretical framework for imagining social interactions between rival players. In some ways, game theory is the study of strategy, or at the very least it studies the best choices that independent, competitor players may take in a strategic situation (Snidal, 2016).

Superpower States

Superpower states are nations with a sizable degree of political, economic, and military influence on the global stage. Because of their plentiful resources, advance technology, and powerful military capabilities, these nations are frequently regarded as the most powerful in the world. These nations have a strong influence on world affairs and wars, and they may influence international relations. International institutions like the United Nations and global governance are frequently dominated by superpower governments (Munro, 2022b).

Currently, the United States, China, and Russia are considered to be the three superpower states. The "big three" or "triple entente" are common terms used to describe these nations. Because of its powerful economic, military, and political influence, the United States is sometimes regarded as the leading superpower. China is becoming as a prominent participant on the international arena with a military and economy that are both expanding quickly. Due to its extensive natural riches and powerful military, Russia is a significant participant as well (Minakova et al., 2021).

United States

The United States is often considered a superpower state due to its significant level of political, economic, and military influence on the global stage. It has the largest economy in the world, with a GDP of over $23 trillion in 2021 (World Bank, 2022). The United States also has a powerful military, with the highest defense budget and the most advanced weaponry. In terms of politics, the United States has a federal presidential representative democratic republic form of government. It has a long history of democracy and has been a leader in promoting human rights and democratic values around the world. The United States is a member of numerous international organizations, including the United Nations, where it holds a permanent seat on the Security Council.

The United States is also a major player in international trade and has a strong influence on the global economy. It is a member of the World Trade Organization and has numerous trade agreements with other countries. The United States is home to many major global companies and is a leader in technological innovation. In addition to its economic and political power, the United States also has a strong military presence around the world. It has military bases in numerous countries and is a key player in international security. The United States is a member of NATO and has played a significant role in conflicts such as the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq (Cordesman, 2019).

Overall, the United States is a significant global player and has a significant amount of influence on the global stage. Its strong economy, political system, and military capabilities make it a dominant force in international relations.

Russia

Russia is a superpower state due to its significant level of political, economic, and military influence on the global stage. It has a large and diverse economy, with a GDP of over $1.7 trillion in 2021 (World Bank, 2022). Russia has a large amount of natural resources, including oil and natural gas, which are major exports. Russia has a federal semi-presidential republic form of government. It has a bicameral legislature, the Federal Assembly, and an executive branch headed by the President (Federation Council of Russia, 2022). Russia is a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and is a major player in international organizations such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Russia has a large military with advanced weaponry and a significant defense budget. It has military bases in several countries and is a key player in regional security. Russia has a long history of

involvement in international conflicts and has played a significant role in conflicts such as the wars in Afghanistan and Syria (Borshchevskaya, 2022).

In addition to its political, economic, and military power, Russia has a long and complex history that has shaped its current status as a superpower state. It has a diverse cultural heritage, with influences from Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. Russia is home to a wide range of ethnic groups and languages, and its culture has been shaped by its history as a major player in international relations. Russia has a long history of artistic and cultural achievements, with contributions in fields such as literature, music, and the arts. It has a rich tradition of classical music and has produced many famous composers such as Tchaikovsky and Rachmaninoff. Russia has also made significant contributions to the field of literature, with writers such as Tolstoy and Dostoevsky being renowned worldwide. Russia has a diverse geography, with landscapes ranging from tundra to forests to mountains. It is the largest country in the world by land area and has a wide range of natural resources, including oil, natural gas, and minerals. Russia is also home to a number of unique and diverse ecosystems, including the Siberian taiga and the Russian Far East (Hosking, 2022).

Overall, Russia is a strong global actor with a large amount of influence on the world stage. It is a powerful player in international affairs due to its robust political structure, economic foundation, and military capabilities. Increasing its influence in places like Eastern Europe and the Middle East, Russia has grown more aggressive in recent years.

China

China is a superpower state due to its significant level of political, economic, and military influence on the global stage. It has the second-largest economy in the world, with a GDP of over $17 trillion in 2021 (World Bank, 2022). China's economy has grown rapidly in recent decades and it is now a major player in international trade (Trading Economics, 2022). China has a complex political system that combines elements of authoritarianism and democracy. It is ruled by the Communist Party of China, which has been in power since 1949. China has a unicameral legislature, the National People's Congress, and an executive branch headed by the President. It is a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and is a major player in international organizations such as the World Trade Organization (Kamusella, 2021). China has a large and growing military, with advanced weaponry and a rapidly expanding defense budget (Jash, 2022). It has military bases in several countries and is a key player in regional security. China is also a major player in international peacekeeping efforts and has participated in numerous peacekeeping missions around the worl.

In addition to its political, economic, and military power, China has a long and complex history that has shaped its current status as a superpower state. It has a diverse cultural heritage, with influences from various regions of Asia and the Middle East. China has a long history of cultural achievements, with contributions in fields such as literature, music, art, and science. China has a diverse geography, with landscapes ranging from desert to mountains to forests. It is home to a number of unique and diverse ecosystems, including the Tibetan Plateau and the Gobi Desert. China has a wide range of natural resources, including oil, natural gas, and minerals, and it is a major player in the global economy. China has a complex political history, with a long tradition of authoritarian rule. It has undergone significant political and social changes throughout its history, including the revolution of 1911 and the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. These events have had a significant impact on the direction of the country and its position on the global stage. In recent years, China has become more assertive in international affairs and has sought to increase its influence in

regions such as Africa and the Middle East. It has also become more involved in international organizations and has played a significant role in global governance (Wang, 2020).

China is a major global power who has considerable influence on the world stage. It is a powerful player in international affairs due to its robust political structure, economic foundation, and military prowess. China has acted more assertively in world affairs recently and has aimed to expand its influence in places like the Middle East and Africa.

Non-Aligned Movement

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is a group of countries that do not publicly support or oppose any major power bloc. There are 120 member states and 17 observer countries in the movement, which was created in 1961. The Non-Aligned Movement seeks to advance the interests and concerns of developing countries and reduce their reliance on superpowers. The movement seeks to advance mutual aid and support among its members as well as international peace and security. It also aims to defend the territorial integrity and sovereignty of its member nations while promoting social and economic growth. The Non-Aligned Movement has made a significant contribution to international affairs, especially during the Cold War when it gave emerging nations a platform to declare their independence and advance their interests on the world stage (World Data, 2022).

There are weaknesses and advantage from this movement (Miholjcic, 2020), the following are :

Weaknesses
- The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) has been successful in uniting a diverse set of nations, but it lacks the right institutional structure for efficient decision-making.
- The NAM's lack of a permanent secretariat is a structural fault that prevents it from developing and causes it to be ineffective and uncoordinated.
- The NAM is reduced to a purely symbolic organization without genuine international influence to represent the needs and interests of its member nations as a result of this institutional deficit.
- The NAM struggles to establish itself as a significant international actor with a compelling agenda because it lacks clear guidelines and a solid institutional foundation.
- The NAM has no legal duties to uphold any policies or allegiances because it lacks a charter or legislation as well as a permanent secretariat.
- Because of its informal system of collaboration and absence of a permanent secretariat, the NAM is currently experiencing institutional difficulties.
- According to some critics, the NAM's actions are confined to infrequent meetings with protracted speeches and unimplemented decisions.
- The NAM's weak institutional foundation and lack of a rigid organizational culture harm its standing abroad and limit its capacity to take decisive, and well-defined action.

Advantages
- Since the NAM's establishment, its membership requirements have not altered and now include an autonomous, non-aligned foreign policy, non-participation in military alliances, support for national liberation movements, and the lack of any bilateral military agreements or foreign military installations.
- The NAM has had issues with its membership policy, such as an expanded membership without sufficient institutional change, which results in less effective action plans.

Despite these difficulties, participation in the NAM gives many developing countries from the Global South access to more political and economic influence than they could separately.

- Because they feel that "strong in numbers" will give them more influence over international affairs and a louder voice, a lot of developing nations join powerful alliances like the NAM. However, participation in powerful coalitions may also result in control and hegemonic supremacy, thus democratic and inclusive decision-making procedures are crucial.
- A group with more equal members is typically more democratic and accepting, and a group with greater equality based on common traits can be more powerful as a whole.
- If the NAM makes the required changes to its decision-making process and if UN reforms give weaker member states more democracy and influence, its size and diversified membership shouldn't be a concern.

Results and Discussion

Realism : Prisoner Dilemma of Game Theory

The study of strategic interactions between rational decision-makers is called game theory, a field of economics and mathematics. Game theory is used to examine state conduct as well as that of other international entities, such as multinational firms and non-governmental organizations. Researchers may better understand how various players in the global system make decisions, interact with one another, and react to systemic changes by using game theory (Hayes, 2022).

The current world condition where a country has decided not to side with one of the super power states has begun to show that this country has chosen one of its sides. This can be known from the news shown by the United Nations' social media, more precisely on Twitter, which shows support for the US to expel Russia from the UN Human Rights Council when the conditions are reversed, we still won't know for sure who was at fault in the case of the Russian and Ukraine war (UN News, 2022).

Picture 1. The UN General Assembly votes to suspend Russia's membership in the UN Human Rights Council – April 2022**.**

From this picture can be seen that so many countries are now choosing sides between US and Russia, and few that still abstain or not even coming to the assembly. Not only this assembly as a base that proves the possibility of the non-aligned already choosing sides, from the journal of Caucasus Strategic Perspectives also said that the non-aligned movement may stay as a non-aligned country but has high possibility of choosing sides because of the geographic, geopolitics, geoeconomics, and history of each country in it (Gurbanov, 2020).

Due to the situation in Indonesia's Natuna area, or more specifically the South China Sea, China will also have the ability to exert pressure on Indonesia. As a result, Indonesia's reaction to China's claims over the northern Natuna Sea cannot be based on hasty or emotional judgments. Calculations and analytical analyses of Indonesia's losses and profits from the policies adopted must serve as the foundation for Indonesia's decision-making and policies. Based on estimations of Indonesia's economic might and dependency on China, policy factors influencing its response may be determined (Ma'ruf et al., 2020).

Indonesia, as a country that stands in the non-aligned movement, can be seen that stay abstain in the UN General Assembly. Indonesia chose to stay with their idealism of Independence and Active foreign policy or non-bloc. In order to stand with their idealism and not choose sides, in the game theory of international relations. Indonesia should be able to convince non-aligned countries to remain non-aligned or increase the military, economic and political defense and resilience capabilities to maintain its sovereignty and position in the international environment. But the fact that the first solution, where Indonesia should convince the non-aligned countries to remain non-aligned, has already far from possible to do, and the second solution, where Indonesia must increase the military, economic, and political defense, is also hard to do because of Indonesia non-aggression pact and could not be possible to spend more on military capabilities and this is written in the white paper of Indonesia where Indonesia is not increasing so much in military capabilities because Indonesia is not an aggressor (Indonesia Ministry of Defence, 2015).

To prove that Indonesia as a non aggressor state, in the article from titled "Understanding National Identity To Create Love and Proud of Being a Part of The Indonesian Nation" from defense university said that, this is happening because of our history of wanting to be separated from the colonialism experienced, where from that with the same indonesia want to achieving independence, eliminating freedom by achieving justice and common prosperity (Arief et al., 2021).

In this kind of situation where another non-aligned country other than Indonesia is already choosing sides, Indonesia must do something in order to uphold their sovereignty. In the game theory, there is a theory about a quadrant of dilemma from an actor in the international system called Prisoner Dilemma. The prisoner's dilemma is a well-known illustration of a game theory issue that shows the tension between personal gain and the common good. In the prisoner's dilemma, two people must choose between working together or betraying one another. Both are confessing and remaining silent are options available to any person in this circumstance. If one person confesses and the other doesn't, the confessor gets off with a less sentences while the silent person gets a longer one. They both get a less penalty if they both confess. They each receive a relatively brief punishment if they both keep silent. The problem for the individuals is that it is always in their best advantage to confess, regardless of what the other person does. Due of this, even if it is not in their best interests to confess together, both people end up doing so. The conflict between self-interest and the good of the whole has been extensively researched in subjects including economics, psychology, and political science (Forst & Lucianovic, 1977).

According to the prisoner's dilemma, if both Indonesia and another non-aligned country cooperate and choose not to take sides, both parties would benefit from the peaceful resolution of the conflict. However, if one party defects and chooses to take sides and the other party cooperates, the defector would gain a strategic advantage while the cooperator would be at a disadvantage. If both parties defect, both will suffer the consequences of being involved in a destructive and potentially costly conflict. In this situation, Indonesia may be faced with the dilemma of deciding whether to cooperate with the non-aligned movement and maintain its neutrality or take sides with one of the superpowers. Suppose Indonesia were to cooperate and maintain its neutrality. In that case, it may avoid the risks and costs associated with being involved in a conflict, but it may also miss out on potential benefits that could be gained by aligning with a superpower. On the other hand, if Indonesia were to defect and take sides with a superpower, it may be able to gain some short-term advantages, but it could also potentially jeopardize its relationships with other non-aligned movement countries and expose itself to the risks and costs of being involved in a conflict.

Based on all of the weaknesses and advantages about non-aligned movement, Indonesia may choose to stand with Independence and Active Foreign Policy, that can be a good or bad decision to Indonesia. Indonesia in the matters of GDP, Indonesia only has 1 trillion US $ in 2021 (World Bank, 2022), and it may be a bad decision not to choose one of these superpower states in the future. In another way Indonesia can choose to stay as Independence and Active country or Indonesia choose to be Independence in Active foreign policy, but in order to achieve it, Indonesia must be able to have power as powerful as major power countries in the world.

Conclusion

Indonesia may still uphold its Independence and Active foreign policy but, as a state that stands as a non-aligned country in the world today, but the condition of Russia and Ukraine war has impacted the condition of international political systems where there are non-aligned countries choosing to side with one of the superpower states like US, Russia, and China. This research found that the condition for Indonesia today must be able to follow the challenge of the change in the international political system, especially as a non-aligned movement country in the world.

Overall, the change in International political systems drastically affects the foreign policy of all countries in the world today, including Indonesia in it. To follow the challenge, Indonesia must choose between to side with one of the superpower states or staying as a non-aligned movement country with so many disadvantages in the world today especially when the non-aligned movement's goal is only to be non-bloc countries when the proxy war between Uni Soviet and United States happened in the past.

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