

INDONESIAN DEFENSE DEGREE STRATEGY FACING THE THREAT OF COVID-19

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Abstract. National defense is faced with an uncertain changing strategic environment. For this reason, in order for a country to be able to maintain the sovereignty and security of its people, a state defense strategy strategy is needed that is adaptive to all changes and potential threats. The strategy of holding power during the COVID-19 pandemic is different from previous conditions. This study focuses on developing a strategy for deploying defense forces that are appropriate to deal with all these threats. The research uses qualitative methods with data collection techniques from literature studies. The results of the study prove that the concept of a grand strategy which is a universal defense system has principles that are suitable for dealing with increasingly complex threats in the future.

Keywords: Indonesian defense; national defense; strategy

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of national defense is to protect the entire nation and the entire homeland of Indonesia. This is in accordance with the mandate of the 1945 Constitution and was later revealed in the Law (UU) Number 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense. However, in reality, national defense efforts are faced with various threats. These threats are in the form of military and non-military threats, both threats that come from within and from abroad [1]. One of the real threats at this time is the Covid-19 pandemic. The Corona virus was first discovered in Wuhan, Hubei Province, China on December 31, 2019. Based on worldometers data, the pandemic outbreak has infected 204,098,545 people worldwide with a total death toll of 4,315,487. [2]. while in Indonesia, the total number of positive cases of Covid-19 was 3,686,740 with a death toll of 108,571 people. Thus, the Covid-19 pandemic has become an actual threat that attacks and causes paralysis in various aspects of life, starting from politics, economy, social, culture and including the defense aspect [3].

The categorization of a pandemic as a threat was strengthened by the issuance of a Presidential Decree (Keppres) No. 12 of 2020 concerning the Determination of Non-Natural Disasters for the Spread of Covid-19 as a national disaster.[4]. In the perspective of the national defense strategy, the presidential decree affirms the existence of non-military threats that directly threaten the safety of the nation, human security.[5]. However, it also indirectly threatens the sovereignty and integrity of the nation and on a certain scale it can expand widely so as to disrupt national stability which ultimately threatens the existence of the state. These non-military threats need to be handled with a non-military approach, while the function of Military Defense under certain conditions is as an element of

assistance whose involvement is based on state policies and political decisions.[6].

The Covid-19 pandemic has also become a foreign policy issue related to various issues such as the protection of diaspora citizens, cooperation in vaccine development research and health technology, vaccine availability and cooperation in economic strengthening aspects as one of the priorities of national interest.[7]. At least the pandemic becomes a new context and dimension in economic, political, social and defense issues. Therefore, in order to respond to these threats, an integrated defense strategy concept is needed in the context of developing, maintaining the capability, strength and title of the Indonesian state defense in the future amidst the threat of Covid-19.

National Development Planning Agency, [8] predicts that Indonesia's national life in the next five years will experience geopolitical and geostrategic changes. This will have an impact and become a potential threat, disturbance, obstacle, and challenge (AGHT) from various sectors including in the fields of Ideology, Politics, Economics, Social, Culture, Law, and Defense and Security (Ipoleksosbudhankam) both externally and internally directly or indirectly. indirectly that can endanger the integrity, identity, and life of the nation and state. The external strategic environment experiences changes in the types and forms of conflicts that can affect the internal conditions of a country's defense. Less than optimal domestic management, such as political, economic, socio-cultural, environmental, defense and security aspects can lead to insecurity (unsafe conditions).[9]. The dynamics of the strategic environment indicate that the nature and form of threats are increasingly complex so that tenacity and resilience are needed for the development of national power in order to face and overcome the AGHT through integrated

and synergized policies and strategies in a comprehensive and holistic manner from all aspects of national life. [10].

Based on the background of the problems above, the title of Indonesian state defense must find new strategies and patterns to deal with threats that continue to change and develop in line with the development of the strategic environment.

National Defense Concept

State defense is mandated by Law Number 3 of 2002 concerning State Defense Article 1 Paragraph (1) which is defined as "all efforts to defend the sovereignty of the state, the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), and the safety of the entire nation from threats and disturbances to the integrity of the nation and the state" [11]. The Indonesian state defense system involves all citizens, territories, and other national resources, and is prepared early by the government and is carried out in a total, integrated, directed, and continuous manner to uphold state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of the entire nation from all threats. (Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia [12]). according to Susdarwono, [13], the concept of national defense also discusses the concept of implementing political policies into strategic defense policies which are then packaged in several defense products. Therefore, the management aspect of national defense needs to be considered for the smooth implementation and implementation of a country's defense system [14].

Defense Strategy

Strategy according to the traditional concept in military strategy is defined as 'the art of employing military'. Liddle Hart said is not much different from what Clausewitz argued that war is an extension of politics. Strategy is often identified with war, but the war that happens is to create peace, avoid damage, create security, and achieve prosperity. (Indrajit, Defense & Indonesia, [15]). Therefore, the real goal of strategy is not to find a lot of battles, but to find situations that are very favorable for him in making decisions. The approach formulated by Basil Liddell Hart here is an indirect approach, because attacking the enemy directly is a detrimental approach and almost never produces results. [16]. According to Clausewitz's view, strategy is defined as the arrangement of ways of fighting so that we can achieve goals. Clausewitz focuses on war strategy, from which strategy emerges the winner of the war. Clausewitz considers that strategy has a very close relationship with politics and war, which is the purpose of strategy formation. The Clausewitz strategy is highly recommended for easy learning and implementation of policies [17]. The strategy theory approach is divided into four, namely: (1) Classical Approach; (2) Evolutionary Approach; (3) Processual Approach; (4) Systemic Approach (Whittington [18]). There are several concepts that make strategic analysis fail in strategic planning. Strategic planning carries too much controversial conceptual content (over what is, and what is not, strategic) that tends to mislead, as well as a small but important risk of encouraging the diffusion of undue attention away from military affairs. [18]. Military planning is too focused exclusively; whether it is a preferred concept

will jeopardize the inclusiveness mandated by nature and the character of the subject. War planning has a strong focus but is not exclusively precise, at least in the literal sense it is necessary to plan for peace [19].

Threat Theory

Threats are anything that threatens the sovereignty and integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Threats are the main factor in formulating the national defense system strategy, based on strategic analysis and identification of the nature of the threat, the possibility of a combination of various types of threats [20]. Threats consist of, military threats, non-military threats and hybrid threats, in the form of real threats and non-real threats [21]. Threats are the main factor determining the national defense strategy. Sources of threats with Indonesia's open strategic position are complex, these threats are not only military threats, both from within and from outside. RI Law No. 3 Years, [22] identify that the source of threats to Indonesia with an open geographical position is complex, not only in the military field, but also in the non-military field, both from within and from outside.

The essence of threat is a view that considers something as a threat, not because of its inherent nature [23]. What is central to security analysis is thus understanding the process through which particular 'threats' manifest themselves as security problems on the political agenda. 'Threats' in that sense are 'objective' when they are accepted by significant political actors, not because they have an inherent threatening status. In the theory of national security, Buzan views that threats can be interpreted differently by each actor. More than that, threats are interpreted and identified, 'threats are identified and given meaning is, for instance, better understood through an analysis of identity building and institutional transformation that does not lend itself to causality or quantification. [24]

Because balancing and bandwagoning are more accurately viewed as a response to threats, it is important to consider all the factors that will affect the level of threat that states may pose. I shall therefore discuss the impact of: 1) aggregate power; 2) proximity; 3) offensive capabilities; and 4) offensive intentions. To deal with threats, countries are usually allies. Factors affecting threat level: ability to attack, proximity to neighbors, ability to attack, and purpose of attack [25].

Organizational Change Theory

The goal of planned organizational change is to keep the organization as it is today and to survive. Types of changes made in accordance with the objectives to be achieved. Planned organizational structural changes (formation) as needed [26]. Organizational change is a very broad area. It addresses a variety of time spans, interests in broad patterns (industrial/professional trends) or organization-specific transformations, and types of changes [27] (technological, mergers, downsizing, etc.). Management of change is the ultimate managerial goal, because change is bound to happen. Organizational changes in the form of changing organizational boundaries, changing structures to make changes to the decision-making process

[28]. Types of organizational change: restructuring, reengineering (change in work systems), strategy re-engineering, acquisitions, downsizing, quality programs, and organizational culture renewal Kotler, Kartajaya, & Setiawan, [29].

II. RESEARCH METHODS

Research uses qualitative research methods to understand phenomena holistically with scientific methods and then describe them using appropriate grammar so that they can be understood by others. [30]. Primary data collection was obtained through library research activities on several documents and literature relevant to the research topic [31]. then, for data analysis, using the theory of Miles & Huberman which consists of three streams of activities that occur simultaneously, namely: data reduction, data presentation, conclusion drawing/verification[32].

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The state defense system is a universal defense system that involves all citizens, territories and other national resources, and is prepared early by the government and is carried out in a total, integrated, directed and continuous manner to uphold state sovereignty, territorial integrity and the safety of the entire nation from all threats [11]. In the context of Covid-19 as a non-military threat, the state defense system (Sis Hanneg) places government institutions outside the defense sector as the main element, in accordance with the form and nature of the threats faced, supported by other elements of the nation's power. [11]. In building a strong national defense system in the face of the threat of Covid-19, there are at least 3 things that can be considered, including [33].

Country geographical factors. Based on the uniqueness of its geographical identity, Indonesia is a maritime and archipelagic country located in a strategic location between two oceans and two continents. Therefore, the Covid-19 issue also needs to be viewed from a geopolitical, geostrategic and geoeconomic perspective in relation to foreign diplomacy and multi-lateral relations with regional and global countries in order to combat Covid-19 as a common enemy. [34]. Including in the defense aspect, it is necessary to pay attention to regional tension conflicts such as in the South China Sea, where when state actors are busy with the Covid pandemic, China is secretly building military infrastructure and strengthening its position in the South China Sea with the OBOR project agenda (one belt, one road) which continues massively.

Sumdanas (national resources). The national resource factor is one of the keys in handling the pandemic, although on the other hand it can also be a strategic vulnerability or vulnerability. National resources include: human resources, natural resources and artificial resources as well as infrastructure, as stipulated in Law no. 23 of 2019 concerning National Resource Management article 3. In

addition, Indonesia also has large resources, namely a large population (demographic bonus) and abundant natural resources.[35]. Therefore, one of the fundamental questions is related to the preparation of the grand strategy, how can the large Sumdanas be ready and suitable for use, especially when in an emergency condition is needed by the state.

Information technology development. In the analysis of the strategic environment, it is realized that there is a massive and exponential development of science, science and information technology. Changes in the strategic environment pressured by the Covid-19 pandemic have given rise to new normal behavior that is increasingly adapting to digital culture and technology. Science and information technology become a necessity to solve challenges, but on the other hand it also opens up new potential threats such as cyber war, energy, resources, advanced high-tech weaponry and the concept of revolution military affairs (RMA) driven by the spirit of hybrid progress between technology and technology. national defense strategic environment. Even in RMA terminology, success in war is not only determined by C4ISR anymore (Command, Control, Communications, Computers, Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance), but became C5ISR and has now become C6ISR with the addition of Cyber and Combat Resources. Where there is an emphasis on cyber and resource dimensions that show a glimpse of the face of future war with a hybrid war model, a threat that is an integration of increasingly complex military and non-military threats, a combination of conventional, asymmetric, and non-military threats. terrorists and cyber warfare as well as increasingly diverse and dynamic criminals[36].

Taking into account the conception of a strong national defense system as stated by Swastanto above, in addition to including the importance of the country's geographical factors, the use of national resources, and the use of information technology, a defense strategy is also needed. Andre Beaufre emphasized the importance of defense strategy as knowledge of the use of national power (military force and non-military force) for war efforts (security) and peace efforts (welfare) to achieve national goals.[37]

Grand Strategy Concept

A basic understanding of the national defense strategy needs to pay attention to three basic elements, namely forming (to shape), responding (to response) and preparing (to prepare).[38]. Based on this concept, the strategy must be able to shape the national and international security environment, respond to various spectrums of crises and prepare a defense to face future threats and challenges through efforts to build strength, develop concepts and organize defense that utilizes technological advances for the national interest.[39].

The geographical character, resources and strategic environment above also determine the defense and security system of the Indonesian state. Article 30 Paragraph 2 of the 1945 Constitution as a result of the second amendment states that national defense and security efforts are carried out

through the Universal People's Defense and Security System by the Indonesian National Army and the Indonesian National Police, as the main force, and the people as a supporting force. This universal defense and security system (Sishankamrata) is reinforced through Article 1 paragraph 2 of Law no. 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense in which the management of Sishankamrata involves all citizens, territories, and other national resources, and is prepared early by the government and is carried out in a total, integrated, directed, and effective manner. and continue to uphold state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of the entire nation from all threats. The universal state defense and security system has three basic elements[39]:

1. **Democracy:** defense orientation is dedicated by and for the benefit of the people;
2. **Universality:** all national resources are utilized for defense;
3. **Territory:** namely the defense force title system spread throughout the territory of the Republic of Indonesia according to geographical conditions as a defense unit.



Figure 1. Management of the National Defense System. [11]

The national defense strategy is also formulated in three basic substances of defense strategy, which include "what is defended" (ends), "with what to defend" (means), and "how to defend" (ways). In addition, one substance was added, namely risk, "How much is the cost/risk calculation" in carrying out the series of operational actions.(Mustopha, [40]). The substance and basic elements of the defense strategy are united in one conception of a defense strategy that is universal, total, directed and continuous. Lykke explained that strategy formulation is about maintaining a balance between these three things (ends, ways and means) like three legs of a bench.[41]. Thus, in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic, adjustments can be made to the defense strategy so that it can return to balance between objectives, concepts and resources.

Ends or the goal is a strategic goal of defense, namely to maintain and protect the sovereignty of the state, the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, the safety of the entire nation which is translated into four strategic targets. Means are national resources or

military forces and multiplier forces, namely Military Defense which is integrated and synergized with Non-Military Defense[42].



Figure 2. The Lykke Model [12]

Meanwhile, ways are the use of strong and high deterrence national resources in accordance with the Indonesian people's understanding of peace and war [36]. Thus, a grand strategy or what is commonly called a national strategy is the development, application and coordination of various instruments of national power that are multi-dimensional in nature such as political, economic, military diplomacy and also other developing influences such as culture and information to achieve objectives that contribute to the national interest. [43]

Strategy also provides clear direction in the future because of a systematic approach related to the dynamics of changing strategic environments. Based on the national interest, the strategy needs to continue to be developed by looking at three basic elements: Politics, Economics and Military as well as information technology and culture as international factors that affect the complexity of the environmental framework. [44]. Therefore, in this context, the grand strategy also needs to be seen in the analysis of the strategic environment and the interconnected conceptions of geopolitics, geoeconomics and geostrategy.

Development and Maintenance of Indonesian National Defense Capability, Strength and Title in the Future Amidst the Covid-19 Threat

The threat of Covid-19 provides a warning to conduct a more in-depth study and modification of the concept of defense strategy in the future where non-military threats also surface along with the progress of the times and changes in the strategic environment. In this regard, it is also important to build a non-military defense posture in order to strengthen the national defense system that is universal. The development of this non-military defense posture is carried out on the strength, capability, and title of state defense in order to respond to future threats. This non-military defense posture is developed by each ministry/institution outside the field of defense in accordance with its functions and non-military threats faced in the main elements and other elements, in particular with the tendency of increasing hybrid threats.

The development of a future non-military defense posture is carried out in order to realize non-military defense capabilities which include early alert capabilities, state defense, diplomacy capabilities, scientific and technological

capabilities, economic, social, moral capabilities, and capabilities to support the implementation of national defense. In order to measure all of these non-military defense capabilities, it is recommended that simulations and practices of the title of non-military defense force can be carried out periodically and continuously, in accordance with the dynamics of the development of the strategic environment as part of the activation of the universal defense strategy.

In addition, from a geopolitical perspective, the defense strategy also needs to look at the map of the balance of power constellation, both regionally and globally. The Covid-19 pandemic has not reduced the actual future threats, including various regional tensions that have the potential for conflict. In this case, the development of the defense industry in order to respond to the revolution in military affairs in a strategic environment needs to be continuously pursued. The unity of movement between economic, political and defense elements needs to support capability-based strengthening, not just threat-based in response to the nature of conflict, complexity and uncertainty in the global security environment [45]. with the Revolution in Military Affairs of developed countries, or the issue of regional geopolitical conflicts in the South China Sea which are complex and require the power of defense diplomacy in an effort to reduce tensions. Because fighting power: one of the instruments of great strategy, taking into account and applying the power of financial pressure, diplomatic pressure, commercial pressure, and, ethical pressure, to weaken the will of the opponent. [46].

The design of the defense strategy needs to be directed at the TNI's power center building as a center of gravity (CoG) that clearly captures critical capabilities, critical requirements and critical vulnerabilities. With this portrait, the strategy contains elements of discovery (discovery) and also directions (direction) to be ready to increase capabilities and be ready to face the turbulence of good civilization.[46]in a unified element, both economic, political and defense so that it is efficient for the achievement of the goals set by political policy [43]

Barlett and Holman in their writings, *The Art of Strategy and Force Planning* stated that in the formulation of a defense grand strategy, a multidimensional perspective must present a comprehensive conception that clearly regulates how the economy, politics (including strengthening defense diplomacy, networks in foreign policy) and military instruments (main components, supporters and reserves) of national power are used to achieve national interests and policies. This is necessary so that the grand strategy can improve defense capabilities as well as respond to challenges and threats in the midst of an increasingly complex era.

With various theories related to defense strategy, elements in defense strategy, various aspects of environmental change and strategy, the importance of military diplomacy, and how to build military and non-military defense forces to deal with various forms of real and unreal threats, both military, non-military and threats. hibida, then various strategic policies to strengthen the national

defense system must still be carried out, even though the Indonesian nation is currently still facing the Covid-19 pandemic. Several strategic policies in strengthening the National Defense System are proposed as follows:

Strategic Cultural Change

All of the policies presented above are integrated and their implementation requires a change in strategic culture. Based on President Jokowi's direction at the 2020 Defense Working Meeting, it was emphasized the picture of the future role marked by the threat of hybrid warfare, loaded with technology, high destructive effects, joint warfare and decisive battle. What was conveyed by President Jokowi showed the importance of changing strategic culture in order to face the threat of future wars. This strategic culture can be built through Revolution in Military Affairs. Precisely in the midst of this pandemic, all defense strategy policies must be consolidated to ensure the survival of the Indonesian nation in the future.

IV. CONCLUSION

The Covid-19 pandemic situation in a certain sense can be understood as a condition of "war" where the participation of all elements of society is needed to fight and win the battle. Therefore, as Carl von Clausewitz (1780-1831) said, strategy is the use of engagements for the object of war. The concept of a grand strategy that is a universal defense system (Sihanta) has principles that are suitable for dealing with increasingly complex threats in the future, especially in the midst of the actual threat of Covid-19 and various other actual threats such as hybrid wars where aspects are also needed. interoperability and advances in technology. In the relationship between the elements of the strategy related to economics and politics, the defense strategy needs to be strengthened to support national interests. In the economic dimension, for example, Indonesia, which has the opportunity to become the top 10 largest economies in the world, can be pursued by building economic resilience, including increasing industrial innovation. In this case, the defense strategy needs to think about so that the independence of the defense industry can be pushed forward so that it is not only a cost-center because it continues to dwell on gun and butter polemics, but is also a profit-center. Likewise in relation to technological developments and defense modernization in responding to the challenges of the revolution in military affairs.

In the political field, consolidated political power will create political stability which is indispensable in building national defense forces in a broad perspective. With political stability, Indonesia can also fulfill its responsibilities for the world. Indonesia, in accordance with the constitutional order, is obliged to actively involve itself in efforts to create a new world order that is free from colonialism, prioritizes independence as the right of all nations, and participates in carrying out world order based on independence, eternal peace and social justice. Indonesia's involvement in efforts to maintain world peace has consequences for how Indonesia

must have a reliable defense force needed for the implementation of the country's goals.

Therefore, the grand defense strategy needs to echo the Pancasila ideology with a geopolitical view that is unique to Indonesia so as to form a strategic culture to create an effective state power. Thus, Indonesia can be present in the midst of global tensions that are vulnerable to potential conflicts such as India-Pakistan, China-Taiwan, North Korea-South Korea, Iran-Israel, as well as US-China and Russia-US rivalries, as well as regional security issues such as tensions in the China Sea area. South (LCS) which also involves global powers. This threat can also be an opportunity for Indonesia to become a peace facilitator as a regional country that from the beginning has affirmed its position to be neutral, departing from an impartial non-aligned spirit and in line with the national goal of fighting for world peace.

In the midst of an increasingly borderless and dynamic strategic environment, it is hoped that a universal defense strategy can be drawn up that integrates various components, both military and non-military defense, specifically to respond to the Covid-19 pandemic and future threats. In addition, Indonesia can maximize its political role as a peace facilitator by strengthening the independence of the defense industry and active defense diplomacy in the constellation of regional and global geopolitical maps.

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