

Indonesian National Defense Strategy in the ASEAN Region of the 21st Century Based on Defense System and Security Population Demography

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Abstract: Given its strategic position between the Indian and Pacific Oceans, Indonesia has a very significant strategic interest and role in shaping the ASEAN Region. The proximity of Indonesia's position to one of the main conflict flashpoints in the ASEAN Region, namely the South China Sea (LCS), makes Indonesia vulnerable to spillover effects arising from various possible incidents and conflicts in the region. To safeguard its interests, Indonesia must be able to play its strategic role in ensuring a stable, safe and peaceful ASEAN Region during conflicts of interest of other countries in the region. To advance Indonesia's national interests in the region, diplomatic steps taken by Indonesia must be complemented and supported by strategic steps in the defense sector. Indonesia has long adhered to the Total People's Defense and Security System (the Universal People's Defense and Security System, hereinafter referred to as *Sishankamrata*) as the basis of its national defense policy. *Sishankamrata* contains core values and principles that guide the formulation and implementation of Indonesia's national defense policy. *Sishankamrata* is embodied in the doctrine, strategy, and posture of Indonesia's national defense as a strategic defense concept, *Sishankamrata* must remain relevant and suitable to deal with a volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous strategic environment (VUCA), while at the same time contributing to the advancement of Indonesia's national interests.

Keywords: ASEAN, *Sishankamrata*, VUCA

A. Introduction

The construction of the 21st century ASEAN region is characterized by the confluence of interests of various countries, as reflected in the diversity of geopolitical constructions echoed and promoted by several countries inside and outside the region. In general, the development of the ASEAN Region reflects the increasing intensity of interaction between people, government, and business in the 21st century facilitated by the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The region represents about two-fifths of the global population and one-third of the world's gross domestic product and global trade value (Shekhar, 2018). It also has a wealth of natural resources and strategic sea

lines of communication that serve as global traffic lanes for people and goods. This reality underlies the pattern of competition and cooperation between countries in the ASEAN region. In addition to the intensification of cooperation in the region which aims to promote mutual prosperity, there are also several unresolved territorial disputes between countries in the region that have the potential to become flashpoints for conflict. Furthermore, the rise of China, which was followed by the expansion of its ambitions and influence in the region, raises concerns of many countries about the threat it poses to their interests in the ASEAN Region, especially freedom of navigation in several strategic areas. maritime communication lines.

Competition in the region is currently moving on an increasing trend on an alarming trajectory, which has the potential to lead to open conflict. In 2021, China has passed the China Coast Guard Act (CCG) which allows the CCG to use weapons against foreign entities or individuals that violate China's sovereign rights and jurisdiction at sea; and revise the Maritime Traffic Safety Act which requires every foreign ship entering China's territorial waters to report ship and cargo information to Chinese maritime authorities. Meanwhile, in September 2021, Australia, the United States, and the United Kingdom announced a collaboration titled "AUKUS" which began with the formulation of the cooperation of eight nuclear-powered submarines acquired for Australia, a purported effort to protect freedom of navigation in the water's region.

Given its strategic position between the Indian and Pacific Oceans, Indonesia has a very significant strategic interest and role in shaping the ASEAN Region. The proximity of Indonesia's position to one of the main conflict flashpoints in the ASEAN Region, namely the South China Sea (LCS), makes Indonesia vulnerable to spillover effects arising from various possible incidents and conflicts in the region. To safeguard its interests, Indonesia must be able to play its strategic role in ensuring a stable, safe and peaceful ASEAN Region during conflicts of interest of other countries in the region. In the field of diplomacy, Indonesia has demonstrated its strategic role in the development of regional norms and the development of cooperation through the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) by initiating the ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific (AOIP), which elevates ASEAN's central role in establishing constructive relations. and inclusive cooperation, as well as bridging differences in regional construction and conflicts of interest between countries in the region. In general, AOIP received a positive response from various countries inside and outside the region (Agastia, 2020). However, this is still not enough to maintain regional stability, security, and peace as reflected in the continued escalation of conflict trajectories between countries in the region.

To advance Indonesia's national interests in the region, diplomatic steps taken by Indonesia must be complemented and supported by strategic steps in the defense sector. Indonesia has long adhered to the Total People's Defense and Security System (the Universal People's Defense and Security System, hereinafter referred to as *Sishankamrata*) as the basis of its national defense policy. *Sishankamrata* contains core values and principles that guide the formulation and implementation of Indonesia's

national defense policy. *Sishankamrata* is embodied in the doctrine, strategy, and posture of the Indonesian state defense. As a strategic defense concept, *Sishankamrata* must remain relevant and suitable to deal with the volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous strategic environment (VUCA), as well as contribute to the advancement of Indonesia's national interests. In the strategic uncertainty of the 21st century ASEAN Region, the core values and principles outlined in the *Sishankamrata* must be translated into an appropriate national defense strategy that contributes to the advancement of Indonesia's national interests in the region. Thus, what remains a question is the suitability of Indonesia's national defense strategy based on *Sishankamrata* in the context of the strategic uncertainty of the 21st century ASEAN Region.

B. Literature Review

Strategy Environment

Yarger (2006) suggests that the strategic environment consists of various contexts, conditions, relationships, trends, issues, threats, opportunities, interactions, and their internal and external impacts on the success of a country in establishing relationships with the physical world, other countries, non-state actors, and future opportunities and possibilities. The strategic environment is very uncertain and has very fluid characteristics, where alliances and partnerships between countries, as well as various threats to national interests, are always changing from time to time. The strategic environment has VUCA characteristics, which are described as follows (Magee and Roderick, 1998):

1. Volatile: the strategic environment is very quickly affected by any changes and reactions that occur in it, or in other words, the strategic environment is very dynamic.
2. Uncertain: the strategic environment is full of uncertainty as a result of problems and instability within it.
3. Complex: the strategic environment is made up of many interrelated parts, and their collective relationships are difficult to understand.
4. Ambiguous: the strategic environment can be interpreted from multiple perspectives, leading to several conclusions that might lead to the formulation of different solutions, recommendations, responses, or reactions to a problem.

The strategic environment can be viewed as a complex system, where the elements contained in it are interrelated with each other so that changes in one or several elements will cause changes in other elements in the overall strategic environment (Yarger, 2006). This paradigm is in line with the above nature of VUCA's strategic environment. Thus, the strategic environment must be understood from the perspective of complex systems with self-regulating tendencies. In this perspective, the strategic environment is constantly trying to move towards relative order or balance (Manurung, Herlina Saragih, 2022).

The complexity of the strategic environment results from the decisions, actions, or interactions of its components or agents, either individually or collectively, according to their own circumstances and interests. The actions or interactions of various components and agents in the strategic environment can affect the situation and interests in whole or in part on a macro scale. Some interactions are predictable, some are chaotic, and some are stochastic. Thus, the strategic environment has a nature of uncertainty that cannot be predicted and controlled using a direct causal analysis approach. However, it can still be formed to be in line with the interests of the state through macro anticipation that does not seek to impose domination in detail on each of its elements.

Grand Strategy

Osgood (1983) defines grand strategy as a country's plan to use all the instruments and resources at its disposal to support its interests effectively. Meanwhile, Foster (1985) describes grand strategy as the coordinated direction of all resources (i.e. military and non-military resources) that a country has to achieve its goals. The United States National Security Strategy (1987) states that a grand strategy must be rooted in broad national interests and goals with the support of an adequate commitment of resources. It must also be able to integrate all relevant aspects of national power to achieve national goals.

From the definition and attributes of the grand strategy above, several key propositions can be drawn that are useful for the formulation of Indonesia's national defense strategy to achieve its national goals. First, Indonesia's national defense strategy must recognize its broad national interests and objectives in a particular context, namely the VUCA strategic environment, to formulate a national defense strategy that is coherent with national strategies in other fields, such as in the field of diplomacy. Second, Indonesia's national defense strategy must provide the most effective way to mobilize all national resources in an integrated manner to advance its national interests and achieve its national goals.

Strategy Suitability

Whittington, et al (2020) stated that suitability in the context of evaluating a strategy asks whether the proposed strategy addresses the main opportunities and threats facing the organization through understanding the organization's position. In other words, conformity concerns strategic reasons. In terms of national defense strategy, White (2019) suggests several factors of asymmetric advantages as a basis for consideration to assess the suitability of a country's defense strategy against threats posed by state actors, which include:

1. Focal asymmetry: asymmetry results from differences in focus or concentration of opposing forces.
2. Operational asymmetry: asymmetry that comes from the operational aspects of two opposing forces.

3. Solution asymmetry: asymmetry that comes from the problem-solving choices of two opposing forces.

C. Methods

To translate the key propositions of the grand strategy to develop the framework of Indonesia's national defense strategy, this study lends the framework of Arthur Lykke Jr.'s strategy formulation, in which the strategy consists of goals, means, and means (Yarger, 2006). Ends outline what is to be accomplished; which means setting limits for the types and levels of support modalities needed to realize the strategy; while the method describes how to achieve the goal given the means owned. The illustration of national defense strategy framework used in this study is depicted in Figure 1.



Figure 1. Strategy Formulation Framework

D. Results and Discussion

Sishankamrata is a mandate of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Article 30 paragraph (2) which states that (free translation) "State defense and security is carried out through a total people's defense and security system with the Indonesian National Army and the Indonesian National Army". The National Police of the Republic of Indonesia as the main (element of) force, and (all) the people as the supporting (element) force." That is, *Sishankamrata* is based on the mobilization of all national resources, namely the armed forces and the people, to defend Indonesia from all threats and advance its national interests.

Sishankamrata rooted in three core values, namely "people-centered", "territorial-based", and "totality". The value of "people-centered" places the importance of the people at the heart of national defense; the value of "territorially based" emphasizes the readiness of an independent territorial defense posture following the characteristics of each region; while the value of "totality" underlines the integration and unity of the efforts of all components of national defense in defending the nation-state from all military, non-military, and hybrid threats.

The three core values of *Sishankamrata* are operationalized in a layered defense strategy and an in-depth defense strategy based on the Mandala concept or concentric circle, where the innermost circle covers the Indonesian mainland to the territorial sea; the inner circle extends from the territorial sea to the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ);

and the outermost circle is the area outside its EEZ (Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, 2021). These ideas place *Sishankamrata* as a strategic defense concept that shapes how Indonesia mobilizes its national resources to achieve its national defense and security goals in certain strategic environments, especially in the dynamics of the 21st century ASEAN region.

In the framework of strategy formulation, in general, the outline of the final objectives of Indonesia's national defense strategy in the ASEAN Region based on the *Sishankamrata* concept is described as follows:

1. End: Ensure security, stability, and peace in the ASEAN Region.
2. Meaning: All national resources, consisting of military and non-military resources.
3. How to: Choose an anti-access/area denial (A2/AD) concept that is oriented towards the refusal of the warring countries to exert their strength and cross the flashpoint of conflict in the region through Indonesian territory, which is manifested in the so-called "island defense concept big".

Given the strategic importance of the ASEAN Region for Indonesia, Indonesia has a very significant strategic interest and role in establishing the ASEAN Region. Laksmana (2020) argues that the stability of the ASEAN Region determines Indonesia's ability to develop. The proximity of Indonesia's position to conflict flashpoints in the ASEAN Region, particularly the South China Sea (LCS), makes Indonesia vulnerable to spillover effects arising from various possible incidents and conflicts in the region. In addition, Indonesia's strategic position in the middle of the Indian and Pacific Oceans allows Indonesia to position itself as a bridge between countries in both regions and extra-regional countries, thereby contributing to the mitigation of any conflicts that occur in the two regions. Therefore, the facilities needed for Indonesia's national defense strategy in the ASEAN Region are all national resources, namely military and non-military resources, which are human resources, natural resources, artificial resources, and national infrastructure. These resources must be managed effectively and efficiently to ensure their readiness and readiness for mobilization and conversion into a national force. The management of national resources needed for the implementation of the national defense strategy is based on the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 23 of 2019 concerning the Management of National Resources for National Defense.

The law categorizes all national resources for the benefit of national defense into three components, namely the main component, the reserve component, and the supporting component. The main component is the TNI which is ready to be deployed to carry out the task of national defense; the reserve component consists of national resources that have been prepared to be deployed through deployment to enlarge and strengthen the strength and capabilities of the main components; while the supporting components are national resources that can be used to strengthen the strength and capabilities of the main components and reserve components.

During the disruption of military technology that shifts the characteristics of warfare to become increasingly nonlinear, the A2/AD-based state defense strategy

within the *Sishankamrata* framework requires adequate technical support to become a reliable defense posture. Therefore, Indonesia needs to develop a three-service defense capability that is integrated with the strengthening of reserve and support components under the foundation of a network-based war capability, which consists of command, control, computers, communications, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance. (C4ISR) which is integrated in real-time with an integrated fleet weapon system, air defense system, fighter aircraft, ground defense system, and highly durable and integrated defense logistics system (Manurung et al., 2022).

Based on the strategic environment of the ASEAN Region, a possible conflict in the South China Sea or other flashpoints will involve a scenario where the warring nations' fleets reach the flashpoint via Indonesian waters. In this context, *Sishankamrata* can be reduced to a defense strategy based on the A2/AD concept. The United States Department of Defense (2010) defines A2/AD as a strategy that seeks to resist outside countries from projecting their power into a region. The factors underlying the defense strategy based on the A2/AD concept consist of (Tangredi, 2018):

1. Enemy strategic advantage perception;
2. The advantage of geography as the element that influences time the most and facilitates friction in the battle of opposing forces;
3. The general dominance of maritime space as a conflict domain;
4. The importance of information and intelligence, and the strategic and operational effects of fraud; and
5. The determinants of an extrinsic event in other regions or globally are often not seen to be related.

These underlying factors are considered suitable considering Indonesia's current position in the ASEAN Region and the strategic environmental trajectory of the region. In the context of Indonesia's national defense strategy in the ASEAN Region, the concept of A2/AD must be translated into a set of defensive capabilities aimed at preventing warring countries from mobilizing their strengths and crossing flashpoints of conflict in the region through Indonesian territory. Indonesia has formulated a so-called "large island defense strategy" which emphasizes the development of defense capabilities in each of its mandalas with large islands as the center of gravity to support capabilities deployed on the outer front. This concept tries to optimize the role of the geographical characteristics of the islands in the implementation of the A2/AD concept in the country's defense strategy.

The suitability of the A2/AD concept to be adopted as a method in Indonesia's national defense strategy in the ASEAN Region can be judged from the three factors of asymmetrical superiority in the war against Indonesia as the defender, which consists of focus asymmetry, operational asymmetry, and asymmetry of determination (White, 2019).

1. Focus asymmetry: In the context of military threats to Indonesia, focus asymmetry has the potential to benefit Indonesia in implementing an A2/AD-based defense strategy because the enemy will most likely only send troops with

a small proportion of strength to Indonesia, while Indonesia can focus all of its defense forces to deal with enemy attacks. in its territory.

2. Operational asymmetry: In the context of military threats to Indonesia, operational asymmetry has the potential to benefit Indonesia in implementing the A2/AD strategy because Indonesia only needs to face the enemy's efforts to control Indonesia's air, water and land areas, while the enemy must try harder to be able to maintain all of its forces in carrying out air control, sea control and land occupation operations in Indonesian territory.
3. Asymmetry of settlement: In the context of military threats against Indonesia, the option of settlement against Indonesia through direct military attacks on Indonesian territory may not be the main choice if the consideration of costs and risks is higher than the level that is acceptable to the enemy; while defense against enemy attacks towards Indonesia using the A2/AD strategy becomes a top priority if the enemy decides to carry out a direct attack on Indonesia. In other words, Indonesia is more prepared to face the risks and costs arising from efforts to defend its territory from enemy attacks than the risks and costs taken by the enemy to choose to attack Indonesia.

Therefore, the *Sishankamrata*-based Indonesian state defense strategy that chooses the A2-based concept in the form of a "large island defense strategy" will complement and support Indonesia's diplomatic steps within the framework of a grand strategy to further advance its interests in ensuring stability, security, and security. peace in the ASEAN Region.

E. Conclusion

The dynamics of the 21st-century strategic environment in the ASEAN Region are showing worrying signs of competition among the great powers. As a country with a strategic position in the region, Indonesia has a very significant strategic interest and role in shaping the ASEAN Region. For this reason, Indonesia needs a national defense strategy based on *Sishankamrata* as the basis for its national defense policy.

In this study, Indonesia's national defense strategy in the ASEAN Region is analyzed using an end-means-ways strategy formulation framework. Considering Indonesia's position and interests in the ASEAN Region, the ultimate goal is to ensure security, stability, and peace in the ASEAN Region; the way to achieve this goal is to choose an A2/AD-based concept that is oriented towards the refusal of warring countries to exert their strength and cross the flashpoint of conflict in the region through the territory of Indonesia; while the facilities needed are all national resources owned by Indonesia, namely military and non-military resources.

Evaluation of the suitability of Indonesia's national defense strategy is carried out by considering the asymmetric advantages of implementing strategies in the ASEAN Region. Based on this evaluation, it can be concluded that Indonesia's *Sishankamrata*-based state defense strategy is considered an appropriate defense strategy because it can demonstrate the appropriate level of strength and generate the

necessary influence to advance its national interests during war. strategic uncertainty in the ASEAN Region. Further research can study the feasibility and acceptability of Indonesia's national defense strategy as another important aspect of strategy evaluation.

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