

Concept of Indonesia National Security Related to Defense in Facing Environment Dynamics Post the Covid-19 Pandemic

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ABSTRACT: *The growing spectrum of threats and the spirit of democracy are driving changes in perceptions related to security in most countries. The Covid-19 pandemic that has been experienced by almost all countries has also affected the perspective of the country's readiness to face threats that cannot be predicted in advance. This change is manifested in the form of security sector reform. Indonesia's national security after the Covid pandemic is influenced by the interaction of the interests of other countries that want to be considered. Changes are not gradual and unpredictable (volatilities); uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity that occur in the midst of global life have also penetrated national security. This is no longer seen as limited to security where the military is the main actor (traditional security concept) but has become a multi-sectoral domain. The concept of security is seen as a unit that includes national defense, internal security, public security, and also human security. The definitive solution to this VUCO condition is the implementation of the Indonesian vision as stated in the 1945 Constitution; understanding the pattern or flow that occurs to minimize uncertainty over the conditions that occur; solutions and clarity in addressing complex security issues; and efforts to create defense innovations with agility in finding, processing, analyzing data and information in the life of the state.*

KEYWORDS: *Indonesia National Security, Environment Dynamics, Post the Covid-19*

I. INTRODUCTION

Since the end of the second world war, it can be said that in Southeast Asia there is no longer or almost no interstate war. What often arises is conflict within one country (intrastate conflict) caused by ethno-religious differences. This can set a bad precedent for a heterogeneous country like Indonesia. Learn from the threat of asymmetric warfare which is sometimes not clear in nature, such as the threat of health through Covid 19 or the threat of imported products from abroad. Even the failure to amend the Constitution has resulted in government policies that are not in favor of the interests of the people. This needs to be a concern for the existence of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Since the end of the Cold War, there has been no war using military weapons or armed conflict that is felt by most countries in Asia, especially Indonesia. However, it is not necessarily warring with the military and even non-military that does not happen. Non-International Armed Conflict (NIAC) in Papua, such as separatists or OPM terrorists, has become a threat to the integrity of the nation. With the advancement of modern military technology, Papuan OPM combatants have surpassed TNI weapons, at the expense of members of the army and even officers. Even though the armed conflict in Papua has been played out by proxy wars from other countries or neighboring countries that have economic interests (environment) and other strategic interests.

After the Covid-19 pandemic, there are habits that have become the new normal. On several occasions, to anticipate and overcome existing problems (including national security issues), regulations were made involving several units of ministries/agencies, in the form of joint circulars. In terms of technology and virtual, all sectors of government, private sector, and all lines that previously were not used to using virtual and online technology were forced by circumstances to take advantage of it. These devices must be mastered so that the

community can survive to do and complete the main work/tasks. Physical activity that takes a lot of energy and money, with the new normal, becomes more efficient, energy-efficient, and stable. Activities in the national security sector can also adapt to more dynamic conditions in the changing information technology and digital virtual worlds.

From a cultural perspective, the Covid pandemic in several countries can trigger a clash of civilizations (Samuel Huntington). This is very possible because the economic needs in a disrupted condition are needed to survive. However, it is different in Indonesia. With a fairly high cultural and social structure, social spirit and helping each other even though there is an obligation to maintain social distance in physical interactions but in an effort to help fellow humans when there are neighbors who are experiencing a process of independent isolation, other residents still help to raise their mental health. Covid patients/survivors. Material support in the form of food and daily necessities of life is also provided. Placing food in front of the fence of the survivor's house so that residents undergoing self-isolation do not need to leave their homes, but their food needs are helped. Healthy people also feel safe because people who suffer from COVID do not leave their homes to look for their basic needs. Security and social order are of utmost concern. Taking care of each other as a form of social care with the concept of protecting and caring can strengthen the resilience and social security of the community. It is a basic right which is human security which is better to be preserved.

II. DISCUSSION

The Covid-19 pandemic is a lesson in the country's readiness to face threats or any conditions that cannot be predicted in advance. Owen (Ling et al., 2010) reveal that the strategic environment in times of disruption has VUCA characteristics, namely: volatility, full of uncertainty, very complex, and ambiguity. Volatility is a rapidly changing nature of the strategic environment. When the nature of change so quickly gives birth to the nature of uncertainty in the strategic environment. The relationship between elements in a strategic environment is so complex. Planning and decision-making become increasingly difficult in a strategic environment because of ambiguity. Changes and developments in the strategic environment have implications for changing threats (Stephen J. Gerras, n.d.). One of the goals of forming the concept and system of national security is to strengthen the capacity of security actors to adapt to the dynamics of the strategic environment (National, 2010).

The dynamics of the post-Covid-19 national security system

The Covid pandemic seems to be starting to subside. Following the easing of Covid, several dynamics of Indonesia's national security occurred. Among them are the South China Sea conflict and the presence of Australian submarines in Indonesian waters. This can pose a threat if not mitigated properly.

In the regional area, Indonesia is still in conflict with China regarding the South China Sea and the diplomatic route because at this time they have not found a common ground. America's arrival in Southeast Asia can certainly trigger new problems if we side with America. This could damage political and economic relations with China. Another alternative is to immediately formulate and ratify a law on the Indonesian continental shelf. With this, Indonesia has a strong foundation for resolving the South China Sea conflict. This alternative is accompanied by an increase in weaponry or adequate battleships. The experience of the American arms embargo also needs to be taken into consideration in the sense that we must look for other alternatives such as cooperation in the manufacture of combat equipment or trying to build our own weapons.

The nuclear-powered Australian submarines linked to the AUKUS pact need Indonesian waterways to move forward in the event of a physical conflict between the US-China. As a country that signed a nuclear-free zone agreement, of course, we cannot allow Australian nuclear-powered ships to pass through Indonesian waters. The impact of the presence of nuclear-powered warships if they pass through Indonesia will create vulnerability in the eyes of the international community because Indonesia is considered inconsistent. A firm stance is needed in this case so that the sovereignty of the state is maintained. The need for policies to deal with this situation is based on a vision built from the start before the conflict.

America as a hegemon country is known to have won various kinds of battles, of course, it will not allow other countries to interfere with its existence which has been built since the end of the cold war. On the other hand, China is currently emerging. There is a term that, as strong as a wall is, there must be a weak point, some of which are used well by China. It is proven by China by controlling almost the entire economy of Asia, Australia, and Europe which are America's allies.

In the health sector, the Covid-19 variant continues to grow and can trigger new types of viruses. countries affected by these biological weapons, will not remain silent. There may be thoughts of creating a new outbreak of the Covid-19 variant as a counterattack. In addition, the advantages of vaccines and medical equipment that can be considered quite promising can be a potential calculation to be raised. Covid-19 is a non-military threat, which is a very important thing to be used as a valuable lesson for all of us and all the children of the nation to always be vigilant. National vigilance against epidemics and various national threats requires balancing all state policy instruments through healthy governance (Paleri, 2008).

Talk about state threats in general according to Hans Günter Brauch et al. (2011) are: According to Webster's Dictionary a 'threat' is "(1) a statement or expression of intention to hurt, destroy, punish, etc. in retaliation or intimidation", and (2) "an indication of imminent danger, harm, evil, etc.; as, the threat of war", namely: a threat is "(1) a statement or expression of intent to injure, destroy, punish, etc. As retaliation or intimidation", and (2) "an indication of danger, danger, a crime that will occur in the near future as a threat of war. Barry Buzan (1991) states that the form of threats is often born of "perceptions of policy-making actors and is not necessarily substantively real". These threats and vulnerabilities are the contexts for the presence of national insecurity. The level of vulnerability of a country is closely related to the weakness of a nation and the weakness of its strength.

The forms of threats are aggressive and non-aggressive. The non-aggression threat is the deployment and use of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) strength which is strengthened by increasing the strength of the Kogabwilhan (Combined Regional Defense Command) and Koopsus (Special Operations Command) of the TNI in a proportional manner, both integrated and independent. This encourages the deployment and use of relevant ministries/agencies and local governments in accordance with their duties and functions related to military issues or threats to provide assistance to the TNI in order to achieve maximum results. Encouraging relevant ministries/agencies and local governments as the main elements in mobilizing their strengths to deal with non-military threats with ideological, political, economic, socio-cultural, public safety, technology, and legislation dimensions.

In responding to all conflicts and their escalation, any conflicts that develop and increase and endanger/threaten national security stability can reduce the strength of national resilience. By actively synergizing according to the field of conflict or disaster that is happening or becomes an issue that threatens state security, conflicts can be overcome. The increase and decrease in conflict can be a major concern for all components of national defense in all relevant ministries to determine conflict zones and the incubation period for increasing and decreasing conflict emergencies or threats that are currently hitting national security, as shown in the picture of the structure of the ups and downs of conflict below, this:



[1] SOURCE: STUDY CLASS UNHAN RI

The Covid-19 pandemic is also an international disaster, it is suspected by America as a biological weapon developed by China, and the impact caused by this Chinese-made virus has also paralyzed the economy of America and its allies. America decided to investigate the origin of the virus, but the accusation that the virus came from China was denied by the Chinese government and reversed America's opinion that the virus could be made in America. It seems that China has indeed read this scenario, and has prepared an answer to America's accusations. This conflict is also inevitable, the two giant superpowers fighting each other will be a consideration for Indonesia to take careful preparations to maintain national security from threats that could be a type of pandemic that is far more powerful than Covid-19 and various other threats. -military in the form of asymmetric attacks and proxy and hybrid threats are more complex.

Pandemic 19 is an important and valuable lesson to make Indonesia's national resilience more alert and prepared with various aspects and existing inter-agency strengths. At present, what is developing after the pandemic is of course there are still multi-dimensional threats that are interrelated with impacts and consequences, starting with post-pandemic health threats that still have an impact on the economy, political threats such as demonstrations that cause people's trust to fall in government to decrease and indirectly increase vigilance. of political and social security.

Post-Covid 19 Strategic Environment

Paul Kinsinger and Karen Walch, argue that the VUCA concept of a volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous world –was introduced by the US military when the Cold War ended and as the United States noticed the emergence of a multilateral, not bilateral, global landscape posited in the VUCA concept the state in which the world turbulent, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous. Because it is possible that our country, which is now said to be independent, will one-day experience colonial efforts, both physically and non-physically, when viewed from the natural resources that we have are very abundant. VUCA according to Shinseki, Hesselbein, and Eric (2004), similarly expressed by Bob Johansen (2019), proposes to respond to VUCA threats with Vision, Understanding, Clarity, and Agility, in making decisions requires several considerations that are adapted to VUCA problems, the decision must be reliable and can be implemented into a principle that will become a force in the eyes of the International. Indonesia must think carefully and consider the impacts that may arise, from the following efforts:

- a. Volatility because today's changes are not gradual and predictable, but intermittent and surprising. Army leaders served in an unstable environment. Changes can come suddenly and without notice. Since great planning and foresight cannot predict or influence all future events, Army leaders work to shape the future under conditions so that they can control, using diplomatic, information, military, and economic instruments of national power.
Facing Volatility by having a Vision, the Vision of our country is clearly stated in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution, so wisely we are more flexible and benefit from being able to cooperate with the two warring countries. But of course, the decision to cooperate must be adapted to current conditions.
- b. Turning from Uncertainty, in dealing with problems that we do not yet know the certainty of the direction and purpose of the event, then we must try to understand the pattern or plot that was created. The ability to read developing situations and try to understand what will happen will certainly be more difficult and you have to stay focused on sorting out information. Communication is also needed to clarify understanding and answer questions that may arise.
Switching from Uncertainty to Understanding Facing the current global situation as a result of the AUKUS pact, of course, we must also provide clarification or feedback that we remain neutral. An understanding of conflicts as well as interests between countries is needed in understanding and predicting the impacts that will occur. In implementing a neutral or free-active policy, perhaps with a statement that "Our country respects and understands Australia's decision, but we still maintain our principles as a nation that upholds peace". The conflict between the US-China also needs to be understood from the root of the problem to clarify the interests of each country and also related to the cooperative relationship with Indonesia that has been well established. From these projections, we can conclude the impact of a problem and also how to anticipate the worst possibility. In addition, contra information that is made to cover a certain purpose needs to be sorted out properly so that it will reduce errors in interpreting information. In an effort to make policy for the conflict, every stakeholder in the government needs to sit down together and communicate the impact that occurs on the decision options taken, especially related to the world maritime axis program. Wisdom and priorities need to be used as guidelines in making decisions because every decision must have risks and losses. Very rarely is a decision pure without risk or loss. Or we can learn from China, which has developed its human resources and economy so that from a strong economy, we can build sophisticated and up-to-date defenses, even though the population is very large.
- c. Overcoming Complexity with Clarity calm and clarity in mapping complex and interrelated problems will sometimes take a long time, but in certain situations sometimes we also have to be faced with choices. For that, we must be able to analyze the opportunities and losses that will occur.

Overcoming Complexity with Clarity, after understanding and studying the problem, of course, we will find a complexity that is quite complicated. Sometimes in solving problems we need to use tactics and have to follow the flow first or the term "Losing is not necessarily losing". This means that it is very deep where we clearly succumb to the situation first by preparing a strategy, then after a gap appears then we rise. Indeed, it will take a long time to give in, with the intention of waiting for carelessness or the right moment to turn things around. Knowledge, clarity of accurate information and expertise in reading situations, and leadership character are needed in making a strategic decision.

The current complexity for Indonesia is that if we side with one country, it will not necessarily guarantee the security and stability of our country. If we sided with America, of course, China would be hostile to us and might cut off some potential economic cooperation, and also currently we are still dependent on the Chinese economy. In addition, we must also allow Australia, which will have nuclear submarines to pass through Indonesian territory. Of course, it will cause a negative response in the eyes of the world. On the other hand, if we side with China, then we will have a little problem with America or its allies. What if we experience an embargo? or human rights issues arise in conflict areas, the withdrawal of foreign tourists or other foreign cooperation (schools, joint training, transfer of knowledge, etc.). In addition, internal factors such as problems in the maritime area related to illegal fishing, terrorists, piracy, robbery, and others have not been resolved properly. Efforts to establish the Continental Shelf, budget constraints, the number of defense and security tools as well as blue economy processing can also add to the complexity of the problems to be faced. So it needs careful thinking, reading the situation and the right information as well as priorities for the economy and state security adapted to the current state of the country.

- d. Overcoming Ambiguity with Agility A problem becomes ambiguous or biased when we cannot find a lot of information, so we need agility in gathering existing information, processing, analyzing, and creating solutions or innovations that might be able to solve the problem. From the explanation of the VUCA concept developed by the American army, we can see a real manifestation in the development of the world situation which is heating up in the midst of the Covid-19 Pandemic.

Overcoming Ambiguity with Agility In reading a problem, will sometimes lead to several different interpretations depending on the point of view and completeness of the information. Regarding the current AUKUS pact, of course, there will be different perceptions. Judging from the military cooperation that has been built for a long time between Australia and America, of course, this is not a strange thing. However, Australia's courage as a signatory to the nuclear-free zone agreement in terminating the contract with France, which is also a NATO country and an ally of America, may be interpreted differently. It is obvious that the interests between America and Australia are more important than those of France. It was strengthened again by a clarification from the NATO side who continued to maintain good relations with Australia after the incident. In addition, Australia's participation in joint exercises between America and India also strengthens the common interest between America and Australia. Indonesia at least needs to be vigilant in dealing with these problems. At the very least, it is necessary to make the right decisions and be neutral in Australian decision-making. It is necessary to process relevant data and information by taking into account the development of the current situation and learning from the past when conflict areas in Indonesia were always interfered with by Australia, which is now strengthening relations with America. With nuclear weapons, of course, we must also prepare a strong defense to prevent intimidation and nuclear weapons testing around Indonesian territory. We need to raise international voices so that Indonesia remains a nuclear-free zone so that it can limit Australia's movement for the time being.

The VUCA concept may be used as a reference in dealing with the challenges of the times and international issues in the defense sector, then developed into all lines of national defense and security. Indonesia is a Non-Aligned State and has a political system that is free and active, of course, has a far-sighted vision according to the opening of the fourth paragraph of the 1945 Constitution, which states that the state participates in carrying out world order based on independence, eternal peace, and social justice. Indonesia in dealing with international problems always uses diplomacy or communication by prioritizing win-win solutions. In addition, efforts to solve problems are also to strengthen good relations to gain votes in the International Council. The term physical contact is the last resort when no solution is found. Even then, with an active defensive concept, it means that our country was the first to be attacked. In the current heated global VUCA environment related to the US-China conflict, of course, Indonesia must be able to take a strategic decision according to the values of the preamble of the 1945 Constitution.

Hans Kelsen published on collective security within the framework of international law in 1957. Hans limited his studies of security to 'the protection of the state against the use of force by other states.' This is closely related to national security in the sense of protecting the territory from external military threats and recognized attacks, as the *raison d'être* of sovereign states. However, after the Cold War ended, security risks such as organized crime, nuclear disarmament, and terrorism moved into the center of national and international security talks. As security practices change, researchers see it becoming more widespread. The notion of 'human security' has also added a new dimension to the expansion of the concept of security. United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Human Development became a policy discourse in 1994 in a report on security. Humans were then given a theoretical basis for the development of the 'responsibility to protect' concept as a policy agenda which was officially endorsed in 2005 at the World Summit Outcome. The concept of security used by countries in the world has also changed along with the changing development of the strategic environment and threats. In 2004, the UN Secretary-General's High-Level Panel Report identified economic and social threats, transnational organized crime, as well as conflicts between countries, internal conflicts, terrorism, and weapons of mass destruction as global security threats (Nasu, 2015).

From the description above, there are many factors that become the target domain of the war, such as ethno-religious, sociocultural, geopolitical, national, and political conflicts. This penetrates into all aspects of national life, including the economy and health. Education is the determining factor in the defense of asymmetric warfare in Indonesia. Diversity and differences in ethnicity, nation, and religion can be vulnerable to being scorched in asymmetric warfare if they are not used as a gift of strength that must be cared for, nurtured, and nurtured with the strength of the above factors. Differences become scientific and natural which brings goodness to be maintained as the nation's greatest and most beautiful asset from God Almighty.

III. CONCLUSION

Our National Security System called SISHANKAMRATA (Universal People's Security Defense System) is an integrated security defense system that involves all elements of the state and components within the nation so that every time a threat comes into the Indonesian state, preparedness and inter-agency integration will automatically run with the existing effectiveness. All components of the nation and state can unite their power together with their sector ledger whose role is the Ministry of Health in synergy with the state intelligence unit, the TNI, the police, all ministries, and existing components of society which form the unity of the formulation of national strategic policies in fighting the pandemic which has difficulty in implementing the Interagency strategy, sourced from all aspects of the life of the nation.

Future solutions that need to be addressed strategically, namely to become lessons that we have learned from this Covid 19 Pandemic, as a non-military threat that has undermined the foundations of the life of the Indonesian people and nation by strengthening the national security defense strategy in the education sector, fostering children Want the nation, especially the future leaders of the State to be strengthened/strengthened the patriotic souls of the nation, the character of defending the country, reorganizing the mental and spiritual insight of their nationality in geopolitics and geostrategy. Re-managing existing natural resources into a supportive environment in a strategic Sishankamrata by implementing Jakumhaneg (General Policy for National Defense) as a guide and basic reference for managing national defense security resources.

The objectives of the national defense and security strategy are national stability, harmony, and peace in Indonesian diversity, to become a country that has the strength of resilience to face various kinds of threats, especially threats that have been felt by the nation such as Covid 19 which should be the highest stepping stone for Indonesia to rise. , because Indonesia has Sishankamrata which is supported by all elements of the nation, the Diverse Ummah, all ethnic races of the nation in Indonesia United in the Indonesian National goal with SISHANKAMRATA as a strategy and national protection body for the Indonesian state government.

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