

Force development against irregular and hybrid warfare in Indonesia

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Abstract

The development of national defense is directed to be able to answer various possible threats and actual problems that are adjusted to the geographical conditions and dynamics of the strategic environment. Current and future threats are growing very fast and increasingly complex. Threats to the state can essentially be classified into three types, namely military threats, both armed and unarmed, non-military threats, and hybrid threats. The threats that have emerged during the COVID-19 pandemic are irregular warfare and hybrid threats. This research will discuss the analysis of force development to face the threat of irregular warfare and hybrid warfare in Indonesia. This research uses a qualitative method with a literature study approach. Based on the results of the study, it is concluded that Indonesia as a country that has a strategic location and attractiveness of various spectrums needs to always prepare itself by implementing relevant strategies in accordance with the capital already owned in the Indonesian nation itself, this is needed to avoid national disunity due to irregular warfare that enters the joints of state life.

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1. Introduction

Current conditions bring the world no longer in Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity, Ambiguity (VUCA) which is characterized by its complexity but in BANI which brings disorientation, unpredictability, and chaos. BANI as an acronym for Brittle, Anxious, Nonlinear, and Incomprehensible was proposed in early 2020 [2]. Furthermore, according to Cascio, in articulating an increasingly common situation with volatility or complexity, simplicity is not enough to understand the situation that occurs. The existing conditions are not only unstable but also chaotic. The shadow of the future is not only difficult to foresee but completely unpredictable. Finally, what is happening is not only ambiguous but also incomprehensible.

With the existence of BANI, every country in the world, especially Indonesia, must pay detailed attention to every threat to sovereignty that will occur. As stated by Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto in the Leadership Meeting, the dynamics of a complex strategic environment have the potential to give rise to various forms of threats such as military, non-military and hybrid threats that will threaten national interests, territorial integrity, danger to state sovereignty and the safety of the entire Indonesian nation in the future [7].

Current and future threats are growing very fast and increasingly complex. Threats to the state can essentially be classified into three types, namely military threats, both armed and unarmed, non-military threats, and hybrid threats. Threat estimates in the next five years, in accordance with predictions and priorities, within the framework of existing doctrine, these threats are categorized in the form of real and unreal threats [6].

Threats that come must be responded to appropriately. Whatever the way and whenever the time. The threats

that have emerged during the COVID-19 pandemic are irregular warfare [5] and hybrid threats [6]. In this research, the author intends to discuss the development of forces to face irregular warfare and hybrid warfare in Indonesia.

2. Research method

The research method used in this writing is to use a data collection method through a literature study [10]. Literature study is a series of activities related to library data collection methods, reading and recording, and processing research materials. The stages that must be taken by the author in library research are as follows:

- Collecting research materials. The material collected is in the form of information or empirical data sourced from books, journals, the results of official and scientific research reports, and literature on the conditions for the development of irregular warfare and hybrid warfare in Indonesia.
- Reading library materials. In reading research materials, readers must dig deeply into reading materials so as to find new ideas related to the research title.
- Making research notes. Taking notes on research materials is said to be the most important stage because all the materials that have been read must be drawn to a conclusion in the form of a report.
- Processing research notes. All materials that have been read are then processed or analyzed to obtain a conclusion that is compiled in the form of a research report.

Data analysis in this study was carried out through the descriptive analysis method, which is defined as an effort to collect and compile data, and then analyze the data so as to produce a comprehensive conclusion.

3. Results and discussion

3.1 Irregular warfare and hybrid warfare

Irregular warfare is defined as violent conflict between states and non-state actors with the aim of gaining legitimacy and influence in the surrounding society [3]. Geopolitical changes in the world that occurred at the end of the 20th century fundamentally altered the security environment and forced Western countries to engage in new types of asymmetric military conflicts with non-state actors, terrorist organizations, and criminal syndicates. New types of threats, various military conflicts and the search for effective responses require reconsideration, generalization and assessment of the latest military experience and the formulation of theoretical concepts that will help to prepare and operate effectively within the zone of military conflict.

This condition led to the formulation and formation of new military theories, including hybrid warfare theory. The hybrid war theory developed by Hoffman includes four aspects: conventional forces, irregular tactics, terrorism, and criminal acts in one battle space [8]. This is corroborated by the statement of former TNI Commander Marshal Hadi Tjahjanto that the most prominent threat in the future is a hybrid threat [9]. Hybrid threats are threats that mix military and non-military threats. The development of Industrial Revolution 4.0 provides extraordinary benefits, but at the same time, it also creates a paradox of threats that utilize Industrial Revolution 4.0 technology so that in the future war will no longer be dominated by military power alone.

War has entered the 4th and 5th generation of warfare, namely asymmetric warfare, proxy warfare, and hybrid warfare. Hybrid threats can take many forms, such as cyber threats, biological threats, such as the current Covid-19 pandemic, and the threat of inequality. The future warfare model will be those who are able to exploit these threats and create security, and sovereignty.

3.2 Irregular warfare and hybrid warfare in Indonesia

The conditions of irregular warfare in Indonesia were explained in great detail during the Covid-19 pandemic by Prof. Indrajit, which consisted of four things [5]:

- First, the perception that the government has neglected public safety since the first pandemic signals were seen is repeatedly presented to the public through a number of evidences. Official remarks by government officials who were not serious in looking at the pandemic storm in the early days of its presence were framed in such a way and presented repeatedly via the mass media. Before the pandemic took place, there were many discourses among political elites and the public that led to a number of tensions. The triggers came from a number of sources. First, the thick and lingering feelings of "hurt" over the process and results of the last presidential election democratic party, where the two competing camps still cannot forget the past feud. The losing side still feels strongly that they were cheated by their incumbent opponent.

- Second, there has been a slowdown in growth due to various global trade and economic dynamics due to the fierce competition between the United States and China. The increase in national debt and the increase in imports show the seriousness of the conditions faced by Indonesia, which is described as a situation that will be further exacerbated by the pandemic.
- Third, law enforcement is still considered discriminatory, which is often compared to the phrase "sharp down, blunt up" by some critics. Radicals believe that the government uses legal and bureaucratic instruments to "eliminate" its political opponents, especially evident in the pandemic management policy that does not involve "political opponents".
- Fourth, the political pendulum is moving very dynamically, characterized by the maneuvers of political parties in moving wildly in the face of various rapid environmental changes. The public is confused by this movement so it is not clear which constellation is "friend, which is foe" in the state and democracy. Fifth, the submission of a number of draft laws, either government or parliamentary initiatives, which are considered not in favor of the small people.

An example is the omnibus law which is considered to only favor businessmen and the power elite, at the expense of ordinary people, or the Pancasila Ideology Bill which has drawn pros and cons everywhere. Sixth, there is still a lot of friction between community groups due to various recent issues that are hot to talk about such as the rise of communism, the caliphate, the concept of secularism, primordialism, and so on [1] and forgetting the common interest in facing a pandemic disaster.

In addition, the existence of hybrid warfare is a concern for Indonesia in running its life. One of the emerging hybrid wars is cyber warfare. The National Cyber and Crypto Agency data states that in 2019 there were 290 million reported cases of cyber attacks in Indonesia. Compared to the previous year when cybercrime caused US\$34.2 billion in losses in Indonesia, this number is 25% more.

3.3 Analysis of irregular warfare and hybrid warfare in Indonesia

The occurrence of irregular warfare in the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, for the following reasons [5]:

- By some, the relentless attacks on the government aim to bring down the legitimate government, by trying to convince the public that the government is not working as it should, and is no longer able to manage the pandemic and save the Indonesian economy;
- The desire to bring down the regime has also begun to appear with various parties trying to compare the success of the current government with previous regimes that are considered far more successful in managing the country, or comparisons with other countries that have succeeded in driving the pandemic out of their territory;
- Opinion building in the form of psy wars in various ways is put forward to win the hearts of the public, even to convince them, of components that are considered to be respected such as members of the DPR / MPR, retired military, religious leaders, former state officials, and leaders of mass organizations, who criticize the government's way of handling the pandemic; There are a number of movements that interfere with the power in running the wheels of government, as shown through various activities such as demonstrations, motions of no confidence, opposition declarations, debate challenges, complaints to international courts, and others; and
- The imposition of will on power has also begun to be seen by many community groups through approaches such as threats of mass mobilization, boycotting the implementation of regulations, ignoring enforced health protocols, and other matters.

These reasons continue to surface today by presenting a new war in Indonesia called irregular warfare. Irregular warfare is a challenge for Indonesia coupled with hybrid warfare. Both must be anticipated by Indonesia on the basis of the sovereignty and integrity of the Indonesian state. In the context of irregular warfare, the communication approach is important to be carried out continuously and continuously. Failure of political communication can trigger the development of irregular warfare in Indonesia.

In the context of hybrid warfare, Indonesia needs to prepare for it as a response to technological developments. Efforts to survive cyber operations are important but no less important is the countermeasure of such behavior so that it does not recur in the future. The presence of a cyber army is also a priority that has been launched, one of which is equipping soldiers with capabilities that they are ready to face possible cyber war [4].

3.4 Force development in the face of irregular warfare

In facing the challenges of irregular warfare that will occur in the future Indonesia needs to optimize all its resources, for this reason Indonesia as a large nation already has several resources that can be used as resources to face these challenges including:

a. *Capital Geography*

Indonesia's geographical position which is located in a cross position of the world, namely between two continents (Asia and Australia) and two oceans (Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean) has a very strategic meaning in the development of the Indonesian state both in terms of economy, politics, socio-culture and defense and security. With this strategic position, Indonesia has become an international trade route both by sea and by air. This makes Indonesia a country that has the potential to develop the trade and tourism sectors in order to improve the nation's economy. Indonesia is also the largest maritime country.

In addition, as stipulated in Law Number 3 of 2022 concerning National Defense, the Indonesian National Defense System is universal in nature, involving all Citizens, Territories and other National Resources including Natural Resources and Artificial Resources that are prepared early by the Government and held in a total, integrated, directed and continuous manner to uphold state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of the entire nation from all threats. To become a strong country, the main prerequisite is the country's ability to organize, prepare and use all resources owned for national interests. Therefore, it is necessary to manage national resources for national defense including natural resource management.

b. *Demographic Capital*

Indonesia currently has a population of 265 million or 3.49% of the world's total population. Indonesia is the fourth most populous country in the world after China (1.4 billion people), India (1.3 billion people) and the United States (328 million people). This is one of the supporting factors in national development as well as in efforts to realize national resilience, but it can also be an inhibiting factor if not managed properly in terms of the quality of its human resources.

c. *Local wisdom and Pancasila*

Indonesia's indigenous values have proven to be able to accommodate all group interests into a harmonious blend. These values are local wisdom that can bring Indonesia to the peak of glory, including the spirit of gotong royong, helping each other, pluralism, and ethics. The spirit of gotong royong is the local wisdom of the Indonesian people that has existed since our ancestors. The precepts in the Pancasila State Foundation are powerful guidelines that are timeless.

The first precept of Belief in One God is a guideline in how we practice our religion. The second precept, Fair and Civilized Humanity, is a guideline for interacting with fellow human beings, both domestically and around the world. The third precept, the Unity of Indonesia, is a guideline for how we state, our strength in the state is unity, not others. The fourth precept, "Democracy led by wisdom in the deliberation of representatives" is a guideline in democracy. If we carry out all of this well, we will undoubtedly be able to achieve the fifth principle, Social Justice for All Indonesian People. For this reason, all components of the nation must strengthen themselves and unite their determination to return to the original values and local wisdom of the Indonesian people and to guide and implement Pancasila correctly and fully in every aspect of the life of the nation and state.

In addition, the capital already owned in building defense forces will be related to how much the ability to convert national resources owned into an effective instrument of strength. Strategies and ways to deal with future wars include:

a. *Ideology Development*

1. The practice of the ideological pillars of the Indonesian state. objectively and subjectively continues to be developed and improved.
2. Pancasila as an open ideology needs to continue to be relevant and actualize its instrumental value so that it is still able to guide and direct life in society.
3. The motto of Bhineka Tunggal Ika and the concept of archipelago insight derived from Pancasila must continue to be developed and instilled in a plural society.

b. *Political Development*

In the current era of globalization, freedom of information voiced by the press and media must play an active role as a counterweight to power, not otherwise used by the authorities as a tool to perpetuate

power. Therefore, national resilience in the political field can be reformulated to create a political institutional system that is more open, transparent, accountable, clean, and non-corrupt, involves broad community participation, and is of a service nature.

c. *Economic Development*

1. The economic system is directed at realizing fair and equitable prosperity and welfare throughout the archipelago through a people's economy.
2. A populist economy should avoid the following:
 - Liberalism system that only benefits strong economic actors.
 - The system of ethatism kills the potential and creative power of economic units outside the state system.
3. The economic structure is strengthened in a balanced and mutually beneficial manner in harmony and integration between the agricultural and industrial sectors as well as services.
4. Economic development which is a joint effort based on the principle of kinship under the supervision of community members motivates and encourages active community participation.
5. Equitable development and utilization of its results are always carried out with due regard to the balance and harmony of development between regions and between sectors.
6. The ability to compete must be fostered in a healthy and dynamic manner to maintain and improve the existence and independence of the national economy.

d. *Socio-cultural Development*

1. Recontextualize, dynamize, and re-present regional culture creatively, realistically and in line with the times.
2. Reviving national culture with an integrative and responsive character for the formation of a dynamic and responsive Indonesian nation.
3. National integrity as a guide to national resilience in the field of socio-culture.
4. Development of religious life in a tolerant, open, and cultured manner.
5. Democratic national education to form people of character and culture who are nationalist and responsive to the times.

e. *Defense and Security Development*

Realizing the condition of the nation's deterrence based on awareness of state defense (patriotism) which contains the ability to maintain the stability of a dynamic state security defense, carry out development and defend state sovereignty by warding off all forms of threats.

As illustrated in the Indonesian philosophy of war: "The Indonesian people love peace, but they love independence more". Defense and security must be able to realize preparedness and state defense efforts that contain resilience, ability, and strength to ensure the continuity of national development and the survival of the nation and state based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

4. Conclusions

Based on the explanation of force development to face the threat of irregular warfare and hybrid warfare in Indonesia above, the author draws several conclusions, namely:

1. Irregular warfare and hybrid warfare are defined as threats that must be taken seriously by a country and also have an impact on the sovereignty and integrity of a country.
2. The development of irregular warfare threats continues to emerge as an integral part of the COVID-19 pandemic. In addition, hybrid warfare also continues to overshadow Indonesia with cyber warfare as one of the factual threats.
3. Cases of irregular warfare and hybrid warfare in Indonesia must be used as a threat projection with careful strategic preparation starting from shaping to responding and preparing both in terms of budget and human resource readiness.
4. Indonesia as a country that has a strategic location and attractiveness of various spectrums needs to always prepare itself by implementing relevant strategies in accordance with the capital that is already owned in the Indonesian nation itself, this is needed to avoid the occurrence of national disunity due to irregular warfare that enters the joints of state life.

Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare that they have no any known financial or non-financial competing interests in any material discussed in this paper.

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