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Contemporary Irregular Warfare: Defense Strategy

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Abstract

Globalization influenced by the development of science and technology has brought the world into the era of industrial revolution 4.0. It led to an unstable and confusing situation, which implies the emergence of VUCA (Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity, Ambiguity) conditions. VUCA created the term Irregular Warfare as a new form of war, which is defined as a violent struggle between state and non-state actors to gain legitimate influence on the people relevant in the form of terrorist attacks, subversion, and rebellion or separatism. Irregular Warfare in Indonesia is known as a non-military threat, which must be faced by state institutions outside the defense sector as the main element. This study aims to develop a non-military defense strategy in dealing with non-military threats through the collaboration between the ministry of defense with ministries/agencies and local governments as the main elements under the mandate of the defense law. This study used qualitative research methods and phenomenological descriptive-analytical design and supported by relevant theories such as; strategy theory and synergy theory. This study indicates that the synergy of the ministry of defense with the ministries/agencies and local governments is significant in realizing a reliable national defense system.

Keywords: Non-Military Defense Strategy, Irregular Warfare, Synergy

1. Introduction

The development of a strategic environment at the global level has shown the globalization phenomenon that led to a concept called VUCA (Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity, Ambiguity), explaining the nature of future challenges and the nature of the changes that are being and will be faced. This condition is known as the Industrial Revolution 4.0, a condition in which advances in information technology, such as artificial intelligence, supercomputer technology, autonomous vehicles, and the internet, are integrated and affect all aspects of human life. For example, VUCA at the global level, when people are anxiously waiting for the open military friction between America and China in the South China Sea conflict, but unexpectedly what happens suddenly is the battle between Chinese and Indian troops on the border of the two countries (Khair, 2017). At the national level, when all components of the Indonesian nation are busy overcoming the COVID-19 pandemic, the Omnibuslaw Law on labor was published without notification and clear reasons. It has made all the nation elements agitated due to some impartial articles for workers/labor and small people. Even at the recent national case, the return of Habib Riziq Sihab to the homeland amid the Covid 19 pandemic has presented new problems that can disrupt the stability of national security. Some of the examples above represent how the conditions of VUCA and the industrial revolution 4.0 significantly affect human life, which means that this will also affect the presence of various contemporary threats faced by every country globally, including Indonesia.

The Indonesian nation defines state defense as all efforts to defend the country's sovereignty, the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the entire nation from threats and disturbances towards the wholeness of the nation and state. The management of the national defense system is a government function. Therefore, as the organizer of the government function, the President determines the General Policy for State Defense as a reference for planning, implementing, and supervising the national defense system. This general policy accommodates every government effort to build, maintain, and develop in a directed and integrated manner for national defense components. The General Policy for National Defense is formulated based on government and state policies as a guideline for the ministry of defense and other ministries/agencies following their duties and functions related to national security by involving local governments and other elements of the nation's power (Government of the Republic of Indonesia, 2015). As a follow-up to the general national defense policy, the ministry of defense, as the leading sector in the defense sector, describes a national defense strategy that becomes the direction and guidance for all parties in carrying out defense strategies military and non-military defense.

In the state defense strategy, threats to the state are classified into three types of threats: military threats, non-military threats, and hybrid threats. Fourth-generation wars with patterns similar to each other, hybrid, gray zone, asymmetric proxies, irregular warfare have become a world threat and are called contemporary modern wars (Djoko, 2014). Likewise, Indonesia has stated that the threat of Irregular warfare is known as a non-military threat. According to the mandate of the law, a non-military defense strategy is needed to overcome it that non-military threats must be faced by ministries and institutions outside the defense sector as the main element. In 2020 state defense policy issued by the Ministry of Defense explained that the actual threats that are developing and will continue for the next few years include those classified as non-military threats. Those can be separatism and armed rebellion, terrorism and radicalism, cyber threats, intelligence threats/espionage, biological weapons threats, disease epidemics, and the distribution and misuse of narcotics. The killing of a family in Lemba Toga Village, Sigi Regency, Central Sulawesi, on Friday, November 27, 2020 which was allegedly carried out by the Poso East Indonesia Mujahidin Group (MIT) (Puji, 2020) has shown that the threat of terrorism in Indonesia is still a serious threat to safety citizen. In addition, in Papua, the Free Papua Organization activities or now often referred to as KKB (armed criminal groups), are still ongoing even though in August 2020, the TNI and Polri shot dead Hengky Wanmang during the Nemangkawi operation (Detiknews, 2020). Hengky Wanmang is the leader of an armed criminal group (KKB), which has a bad reputation in Papua.

This research was conducted to examine non-military defense strategies in the face of irregular warfare by building a synergy between ministries and institutions with the ministry of defense in creating a non-military defense system.

2. Method

This study used a qualitative research method, using a phenomenological analytical descriptive research design. This method and design were chosen to describe or provide an overview of the object under study through secondary data in the form of evidence, notes, or reports compiled in the documentary data archive without analyzing and making general conclusions. Therefore, the author can describe the phenomena accurately regarding the synergy of building a non-military defense system in facing irregular wars.

3. Research Result and Discussion

As a result of globalization, that led to the era of the industrial revolution 4.0, which impacted the presence of VUCA conditions in human life. The emergence of irregular warfare as a non-military threat results from the complexity and ambiguity that VUCA brings to human life. Non-military threats increasingly dominate the form of threats that attack Indonesia in the next few years with dimensions of ideology, politics, economy, socio-culture, national safety, and legislation. Facing this form of threat requires a non-military defense strategy formulated and implemented by ministries outside the defense sector. However, of all the strategic products issued by the ministry of defense, both national defense strategy, state defense doctrine, and national defense strategy guidelines, which

are mentioned as non-military defense doctrine, do not yet explain what strategies the ministries and institutions are implementing as the main elements in dealing with non-military threats.

3.1. Theory of strategy

Thomson in Oliver (Islamy & Alaydrus, 2019) explains that strategy is a way to achieve an end result. The result concerns the goals and objectives of the organization that have been set. There are three levels of strategy in the company, a broad strategy that applies to the entire organization, a competitive strategy for each activity, and a functional strategy that directly drives the competitive strategy.

The strategy is a plan about what will be achieved or what an organization will become in the future (direction) and how to achieve the desired condition (route) (Nazarudin, 2020). In other words, a strategy is defined as a large-scale plan, long-term oriented, and determined to enable the organization to interact effectively with the environment in overall competitive conditions that are directed at optimizing the achievement of goals and various objectives.

A theory of strategy, according to Wee in Alamsyah (2017), in the book 36 (thirty-six) of the 18th classical Chinese strategy: "Destroying a group of criminals by arresting their leader. The entire enemy organization will be destroyed if the leader can be captured in an attack, and the enemy force base destroyed.

From prehistoric times to modern times today, human life is inseparable from conflict or war that is carried out to fulfill its interests. Clausewitz (1831) argued that strategy is knowledge about the use of battle in winning wars. Meanwhile, the war itself was a continuation of politics. The formulation of the right strategy is necessary to win a war or conflict. In line with the dynamics of the global development of the world, the concept of strategy is interpreted more broadly, which talks about military capabilities and begins to penetrate all areas of human life. A strategy is closely related to politics in the context of the state.

The relationship between strategy and politics is then being explained. If politics reveal goals and state opponents, then the strategy will formulate its goals and what is needed to achieve these goals. The explanation above reflects that it can be concluded that strategy is the entire intellectual and physical operation that is prepared to respond to and control any collective activity amid conflict.

Furthermore, according to Liddell Hart in Marsono and Tri (2020), it defines that strategy is the art or skill of distributing and using military means to achieve policy ends. Thus the system can be interpreted as the art or science of determining ends, formulating ways, and determining the means used to achieve goals. So that in compiling a strategy, it must contain goals (ends), ways to be taken (ways), and means of infrastructure (means) used.

From the definitions that have been previously presented, it can be concluded that strategy is a tool to achieve competitive goals or advantages by considering external and internal factors of an organization. In this study, the theory of strategy is used to reveal the means and methods of the Indonesian government to deal with the threat of irregular warfare by developing a non-military defense strategy through the synergy of ministries and institutions outside the defense sector.

3.2. Theory of Synergy

Synergy is a word that is easy to say but difficult to apply. It is a form of mutually beneficial cooperation achieved through a collaboration of each party without any feelings of defeat. According to Stephen Covey in his book entitled *7 Habits of Highly Effective People*, if $1 + 1 = 3$, then it is called "Synergy." In the word of synergy the differences appear only to complete and fulfill each other to achieve a greater result than the Number of parts per part. Through synergy, the collaboration of different paradigms (Mindsets) will create greater and more effective results related to the process being undertaken, showing the same goals and agreement for positive results. Synergy

is a process that each party must go through, which requires time and consistency. Some points that must be done to build mutual trust so that synergy is created as a creative collaboration include: (1) avoiding bad judgment on other parties, (2) If you are not sure you can be right, don't give promises, (3) Do as you want to be treated by other people (4) Do not disappoint others (Intermedia, 2017). Creating synergy is mutual success built through habits. Creating synergy does not mean compromising in the middle, but rather looking for a third alternative and reaching the top. Synergy is dealing with a difference, not similarity. Synergy will build creative collaborations by respecting differences, building strengths, and compensating for weaknesses.

3.3. Non-military threats as a trend

The fourth-generation war is a modern war without formal military involvement, or it can also be called a civil war. Radical changes have occurred again in this war toward norms of war which return to the past war culture involving not only the state (state actor) but ethnicity, religious followers, families, and the business world through the use of all kinds of means in the conflict to achieve its goals (Darmono, 2015). The post-cold war security environment changed and had six dimensions. First, the source of the threat began to change, which initially came from the external environment, changed from the domestic environment. Second, the nature of threats to the state is changing from military to non-military threats. Third, the response to threats has also begun to shift from military to non-military. Fourth, the state was initially responsible for security, and it changed to a collective one. Fifth, the shift in the core value of security to the individual from the state and national to global security. The sixth policy of developing military instruments leads to a security policy that focuses on sustainable human development (Indrawan, 2017). Threats to the state can be defined as a series of events that can pose a series of threats to two dimensions simultaneously, namely directly or indirectly endangering people's lives; and limiting government policy options. Reflecting on what has been described, analysis of threats can be carried out in two methods, namely (1) based on threat (threat-based assessment) analysis of the calculation of threats faced; and (2) based on capability (capability-based assessment) analysis of the ability to carry out a military action (Indrawan, 2017).

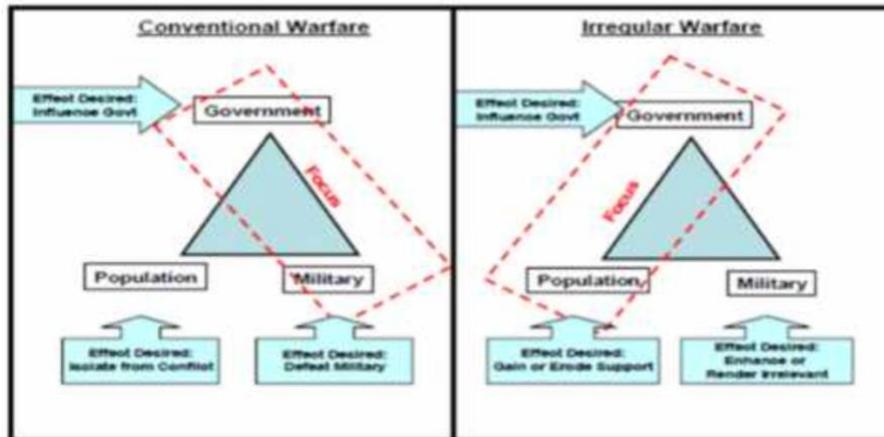
Law number 3 of 2020 concerning State Defense in article 7 paragraph 3 explained that the state defense system in facing non-military threats places government agencies outside the defense field as the main element based on the form and nature of the threats faced supported by other aspects of the nation's power. The national defense system that is being built is a defense and security system that supports all national potentials as a whole. Security within the scope of national resilience should be established as an environment based on peace, namely the realization of dynamic stability in the political, economic, social, cultural and defense and security sectors that are capable of creating a sense of security for the community, free from fear, intimidation, and riots (Kurnia, 2014). According to Anggoro (2016), the national defense must become the main pillar for deterrence and assurance for that sovereignty. One example, in the era of globalization, threats to economic sovereignty have emerged. This threat can be explained as the weakening of state authorities' ability and strength to manage the national economy to create people's prosperity and guarantee national interests. Economic globalization is one of the external and internal economic threats, namely inflation and uneven infrastructure development. The economic threats experienced by Indonesia were further exacerbated during the COVID-19 pandemic. Non-military threats to the entire nation's safety can be in the form of food and water crises, disease outbreaks (including the COVID-19 pandemic), natural disasters, and energy crises.

3.4. Irregular Warfare as a Contemporary Issue

Contemporary global issues emerged when the Cold War ended and/or when the modern international system took a unipolar form (Amaritasari, 2017). Current and future wars are predicted to shift from conventional warfare (military versus military) to unconventional/irregular (Arif Mustofa, Pujo widodo, 2020). The military, which is the most fully equipped and uses the most advanced technology, does not guarantee victory. This phenomenon is then referred to as irregular warfare. Irregular warfare is defined as a way of warfare or tactics that are determined not as conventional warfare tactics and focus on the relevant population, where each operation must consider the enemy and the relevant population (Kelly in Asral Efendi, Pujo Widodo, 2020)

Irregular Warfare is also defined as a violent struggle between state and non-state actors to gain legitimacy and influence over the relevant population/people (Doctrine, 2011). It does not lead to military power or to control territory. Irregular Warfare is more directed at political struggles with violent and nonviolent components illustrated as follows:

Figure 1: Comparison of traditional warfare with irregular warfare



Source: Air Force Doctrine Document 3-2 15 March 2013

The term "Irregular Warfare" is defined to illustrate the deflection of classic conventional forms of war by the enemy using non-traditional methods such as guerrilla warfare, terroristic attacks, subversion, and rebellion to control the local population. Its implementation can use various kinds of content and capabilities, both military capabilities and other capabilities, to erode the power, influence, and hope of the legitimate government. Irregular Warfare is carried out on a protracted basis and uses hidden or not overt tactics. It is different from conventional, which focuses on defeating the enemy's military by minimizing the population/people's involvement. Thus, it can be said that future wars are very likely to occur in non-conventional forms or called Irregular Warfare. The use of non-military means is directed at destroying the people's psychology to reduce the government's credibility, which will ultimately disrupt the stability of national defense.

According to (Kiras, 2015) there are four key factors to the success of irregular warfare, namely: First is time. Having sufficient time, rebel/separatist/terrorist groups can consolidate, reorganize, plan, and build conventional forces capable of seizing control of the state. The second is space. The empowerment will withdraw if in an area it is considered under the supervision of the authorities, and will carry out attacks if the enemy is weak and careless and then controls the area. The third is support. Terrorist and rebel groups fighting in an irregular warfare pattern need help, either internal or external, in their struggle. Rebels and terrorists will eventually surrender and lose without support. Fourth is legitimacy. To gain sympathy and support, the terrorist and rebel groups will make statements/narratives, which are then published to get legitimacy/recognition of what they have done.

The conflict in the African continent is an example of how Irregular warfare can destroy a country. The wars in Africa currently happening are the Somali crisis, the Darfur conflict, and the prolonged conflict in the DRC. The northern regions of the DRC, South Sudan, Rwanda, and Northern Uganda, are seen as one protracted conflict. African conflicts are mostly waged by a mixture of groups such as actors from state organizations, military, non-state and informal groups. Conflicts in Africa are generally driven by economic motivations based on greed models, and disputes over natural resources such as gold, diamonds, and cobalt often lead to armed conflicts that develop into guerrilla wars (Ferreira, 2011).

Suppose we look at the African conflict from the internal conflict. In that case, war is limited to the scope of a country throughout the history of maintaining the Republic of Indonesia's independence to date. The Republic of Indonesia has recorded several wars in a row, starting with the rebellion of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in Madiun in 1948, DI / TII year 1948-1962 until the Fretilin Rebellion in East Timor 1974-1999 and GAM in

1976-2005. And at this time, the Free Papua Organization (OPM) 's disintegration effort is still a challenge in itself in the attempt to defend the independence of the Republic of Indonesia at a fixed price (Rizqa Noor Abdi, 2020).

3.5. Non-military defense in national defense

This paper will briefly mention the relationship of non-military threats and national security to the national defense system. State defense is part of the state's main elements related to the matter of protecting the territory, citizens, and their political system from other countries' threats. It is not an easy matter in implementing national defense, but it is a very complicated matter. In its implementation, state defense always involves all citizens and regions, natural resources, the existence of science and technology, national geopolitical mapping, human resources, and the national defense industry. Law on National Defense explains that the national defense system is a comprehensive defense system that involves all citizens, territories, and other national resources. It is prepared early by the government and is carried out in a total, integrated, directed, and continuous manner of enforcing sovereignty state, territorial integrity, and the entire nation's safety from all threats. According to the national defense system model, the involvement of citizens, territories, and other national resources is an input in the entire national defense process.

The implementation of the state defense system is not only aimed at dealing with various military threats but also non-military threats that have recently increasingly threatened the Indonesian nation. The 2014-2019 general state defense policy explains that the development of an integrated state defense system consisting of military defense and non-military defense is directed at synergizing and generating the effectiveness and efficiency of coordination in national security implementation. Furthermore, the state defense policy also explains that in terms of empowering non-military defense, it is carried out through the capacity building, synergy, and ministries/institutions' role as the main elements in dealing with non-military threats. It is also supported by other ministries/agencies with their respective duties and functions and other elements of the nation's strength. The TNI is prepared as another element of the nation's power in an integrated manner to support ministries/institutions and local governments in non-military defense. In the general policy of national defense for 2014-2019 that has been implemented so far, it is clear that non-military defense is also included in the national defense system, which needs to be developed and empowered. However, in implementing the state defense system so far, the non-military defense has not been developed and maximally empowered both at the ministerial and institutional level. Moreover, regional governments become the main elements in dealing with non-military threats.

As a follow-up to Law No.3 of 2002 on national defense, the Ministry of Defense issued Regulation of the Minister of Defense regulation No.19 of 2016 concerning strategic guidelines for non-military defense. In an effort to overcome and eliminate non-military threats, a non-military defense strategy guideline has been prepared, which contains the threat estimation, essence, implementation, and guidance of all national resources. The strategic guide for non-military defense is a derivative rule from the non-military aspect of state defense doctrine. The strategic guidelines for non-military defense are defined as non-military defense doctrine. It becomes the main doctrine for implementing non-military defense, which serves as a reference for ministries and institutions outside the defense sector to develop strategies and postures for non-military defense in their respective sectors according to their respective duties and functions.

Furthermore, it is described in the form of implementation guidelines and regular operational procedures and compiling contingency plans under non-military threats that are predicted to threaten Indonesia. This guideline describes the non-military defense's objective of safeguarding and protecting state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and all communities' safety from non-military threats. According to the non-military defense strategy guidebook (Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, 2016) issued by the Ministry of Defense, the non-military defense system has placed government agencies outside the defense sector are being the main elements adjusted to the threats faced and receive support from other elements of the nation's power. In other words, the implementation of non-military defense is an effort to optimize the role of ministries/institutions outside the field of defense and local governments as well as other elements of the nation's power to face threats with ideological, political, economic, socio-cultural, technological, public safety and legislation dimensions. The non-military

defense strategy aims to safeguard government sovereignty, maintain territorial integrity, and protect citizens according to its resilient nature. The non-military defense strategy is implemented through a strategy of deterrence, repression, and recovery. In the non-military defense strategy guideline issued by the ministry of defense, the ministries / agencies and regional governments' strategy in dealing with non-military threats has currently become the actual threats that attack this nation.

3.6. Non-military Defense Strategy against Irregular Warfare

Facing non-military threats in the context of irregular warfare requires a non-military defense strategy that involves all elements of the nation's power. By still paying attention to national defense interests, each ministry/agency (K / L) elaborative needs to create derivative policies according to their respective functions and roles. A response is needed to follow up on this with strategic, integrated, and comprehensive efforts formulated in a strategic national defense policy that is synergized between the ministries/agencies (Risman et al., 2018). This strategy can be realized through synergy between ministries and institutions, with the ministry of defense as the ministry responsible for all matters concerning defense in this country. The Ministry of Defense is tasked with compiling national security doctrine and strategy, which includes determining the forms of military and non-military threats that are predicted to attack Indonesia in the next five years. In compiling strategic products, the Ministry of Defense should have involved ministries/agencies outside the defense and local governments to understand the strategic product preparation process and understand each ministry/agency and local government's responsibility in the national defense system.

As an effort to strengthen vertical and horizontal synergy in dealing with non-military threats, it is necessary to develop a securitization framework based on the thoughts of Mely Caballero-Anthony and Alistair D.B. Cook in "Non-Traditional Security in Asia" (Alfajri et al., 2019). The government should carry out five stages in determining the status of non-military threats that are predicted to attack Indonesia until it reaches the policy formulation process, namely the "State Defense General Policy," which is valid for five years and becomes a guideline in implementing national defense.

First is the Issue Area. It is a process of identifying problems and testing the vulnerability level that can become a non-military threat. This process is carried out by each ministry following their respective fields and in each region by the local government. Then it is summarized by BIN to become a product of strategic environmental development. It is then submitted to the Ministry of Defense as the basis for formulating general state defense policy and other strategic products.

The second is Securitizing Actor. After the development of the strategic environment compiled by BIN has been submitted, the Ministry of Defense and ministries/agencies, as well as local governments, synergize to formulate a State Defense General Policy. It includes a priority for future threats and the main actor in carrying out defense and security efforts. Herein lies the role of ministries/agencies and local governments as the main elements in overcoming non-military threats.

The third is Security Concepts. This stage is related to the strategy formulation process carried out by ministries/agencies and local governments to overcome non-military threats that have been determined in the general policy on state defense. In the drafted strategy concept, it is necessary to prioritize the synergy of all ministries and institutions as well as local governments in the use of national resources which are transformed into defense resources and the utilization of regional spatial planning into defense territory spatial planning.

Fourth is Process. This stage is where the non-military defense strategy formulated by ministries/agencies is implemented and socialized to all parties involved. It is including the community about the total people's defense system, which places all citizens as elements of the nation's strength in facing every threat through the state defense program.

The fifth is the evaluation. In this stage, an evaluation of all strategies that have been implemented in dealing with non-military threats is carried out for three years running. In this process, it is hoped that any deficiencies in any strategies implemented by ministries and institutions and local governments can be completed in the next five years.

The synergy of non-military defense between ministries/agencies and local governments is needed to encourage more effective and efficient handling of non-military threats. In implementing the non-military defense strategy, the ministry of defense plays a very vital role. According to the mandate of the law, the state defense system is managed by the government, the defense ministry. Therefore, the ministry of defense always monitors and controls ministries and institutions and local governments in implementing non-military defense strategies in the corridors of their respective duties and functions. Also, what has been mandated by the defense law in article 7 paragraph 3, which reads, "The state defense system in facing non-military threats 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 strength." It could not be implemented optimally by ministries/agencies as the main element in dealing with the threat of Irregular warfare, which is increasingly multidimensional in shape and type and directly attacks the joints of people's lives.

4. Conclusion

From what has been previously described, regarding non-military defense strategies through the synergy of ministries and institutions in dealing with Irregular warfare, it can be concluded that the non-military defense strategy in dealing with Irregular warfare requires synergy from the ministry of defense as the manager of the state defense system and strategy with ministries/agencies and local governments as the main element in dealing with non-military threats. This synergy began when drafting the general policy concept for national defense was carried out at the ministry of defense. The synergy between all stakeholders involved in the national defense system is necessary to achieve a strong national defense in facing non-military threats. The non-military defense strategy that has been formulated and legalized needs to be disseminated to all ministries/agencies and regional governments. Therefore, the common perception will be achieved in managing and implementing the state defense strategy in each region. It is necessary to formulate a regulation that is higher than the ministerial code on non-military defense strategies that can be used as guidelines by ministries/agencies and local governments in the management and implementation of the national defense system, especially the non-military defense strategy, so that there is no overlapping in its execution.

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