

Defense Strategies for Large Island and Cluster of Small Island in Preparation for Modern Warfare

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Abstract: The war between Russia and Ukraine opened the eyes of the entire international community about the potential for modern wars and third world wars, especially for Indonesia which implemented the defense strategy of the major islands. The strategy is oriented towards building defense forces on large islands, so as to protect themselves from attacks from the enemy and provide protective assistance to small islands located nearby. But the concept of defense that focuses on large islands needs to be reviewed for its suitability to face the threat of modern warfare, especially proxy wars, which instead focus on small and outer islands that are not the main focus of defense force development. Based on this, this research was carried out with the aim of examining the suitability of the defense strategies of large islands to deal with modern warfare, as well as the development of strategies that can effectively face modern warfare. The Research method that was used for this study literature. The research used the secondary method of data collection. The method of data analysis was content analysis. The results stated that the defense strategy of the big islands has loopholes, making it less effective to deal with the threat of modern warfare in the form of *proxy* wars. The development of a strategy that can be done is to establish the radar defense strategy as one of the orientations in the defense strategy of the big island. Thus, the construction of defenses on large islands is not only oriented inward, but also to the surrounding small islands. Practically speaking, the defense concept is part of the defense of large islands that prioritizes the implementation of joint tni trimatra operations that are conventional and non-conventional, which have a wider scope to reach all areas of small islands around large islands.

Keywords: Large Island, Defense Strategy, Proxy War.

I. INTRODUCTION

The development of the global environment is increasingly fraught with uncertainty. After previously being hit hard by the 2019 *coronavirus disease* (covid-19) pandemic that caused millions of deaths and economic setbacks, then furthermore when the panic began to subside due to the control of covid-19, there was a war between Russia and Ukraine that has the potential to be a pioneer for future international conflicts, as well as the possibility of a third world war[1].

The war was started by a conflict that continued without a solution agreed upon by the two countries. As we know, that Russia and Ukraine are the fragmentary states of the Soviet Union which each decided to stand as an independent state. Relations between Russian and Ukraine after independence was actually going well, which can be seen from the existence of several cooperation agreements between the two countries. But as the political changes that occurred in Ukraine, precisely

when there was a presidential change in 2014 won by Viktor Yushenko, then Ukraine's global political orientation turned away from Russia towards NATO and the European Union. This caused the closeness between Ukraine and Russia to decrease, so that Russia could no longer freely instill its anti-western influence in Ukraine[2].

In addition, there is also a conflict of economic problems between Ukraine and Russia, namely when Russia raises the price of gas it supplies to Ukraine and European Countries with a very large increase. This is the basis of the economic conflict between Russia and Ukraine, which continues and gives birth to various related economic conflicts, such as when Russia stopped gas supplies to Ukraine in 2007 because Ukraine could not pay debts and gas payment fines, or when there were allegations of Russian gas theft by Ukraine in 2009. Based on these political and economic problems, Russia is trying to use the support of parts of pro-Russian Ukraine to divide Ukraine. The support was also used as an excuse by Russia to conduct special military operations by attacking Ukraine. According to another point of view, Russia is deliberately looking to secure its position in the world's geopolitic competition, specifically by blocking Ukraine from joining the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Russia's incursion into Ukraine is not necessarily through the deployment of military force, but begins by prioritizing the role of non-state actors, namely ukrainian regions that become separatists. Based on this, it can be said that the type of war waged by Russia against Ukraine is a modern war in the form of a proxy war. Modern war in this form has the potential to occur in Indonesia which has a historical record similar to Ukraine related to the existence of a region that wants to secede from Indonesia. Examples of such areas can be seen in the case of East Timor, the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), and the Free Papua Organization (OPM). After the occurrence of a proxy war by Russia against Ukraine, it is not impossible that various separatist movements in Indonesia will be used by foreign parties to weaken and destroy national defense forces from within[3].

Based on the potential threats described above, the focus of attention on conflict-prone areas and the potential to become the center of the separatism movement is very important to prioritize. The area can consist of the outermost island, a small island far from the center of government, or a region with a historical record of separatist movements. However, currently the orientation of defense area development is precisely centered on large islands to create independence in carrying out

protracted wars. The implementation of the national defense strategy was indeed considered the most relevant before the emergence of the threat of modern war in the form of proxy wars. Before the threat of proxy war becomes a reality in Indonesia, it is necessary to develop a strategy for the defense of large islands to be more suitable to prepare Indonesia for this modern form of war[4].

Based on the above presentation, this study was carried out with two objectives to answer two questions as follows: 1) Is the implementation of the defense strategy of large islands suitable for modern warfare?, 2) How is the development of the defense strategy of large islands in order to be effective in facing modern warfare? The results obtained from the analysis in this study are expected to open up insights from all parties about the potential for modern warfare and how the readiness of Indonesia's defense in the face of one type of modern war. In addition, the findings of this study are also expected to be considered in the development of defense strategies for large islands with reference to the potential for modern wars in the future[4].

II. RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses a qualitative approach, which is an approach to explore the hidden phenomena behind the events that occurred, namely the Efforts of the Government of Indonesia to build the defense of large islands. In this qualitative approach, researchers in addition to conducting makai research activities as well as acting as research instruments, by actively engaging in data collection activities and developing questions to explore more deeply phenomena that are not visible on the surface. Qualitative approaches are used in this research to obtain an explanation of the development of the most appropriate defense strategies for large islands to be implemented to prepare the country's defense for modern warfare. This study uses secondary data, which is data obtained from literature studies. The definition of secondary data is data that is not collected by researchers through field surveys directly, but obtained from other parties who have conducted field surveys. In a sense, secondary data collection does not require researchers to interact directly with informants. Secondary data obtained by researchers from literature studies, namely collecting and reading documents containing data on modern warfare, global conditions that require the development of these strategies, defense strategies of large islands, and the most appropriate form of development of large island defense strategies to deal with modern warfare[5].

The data analysis in this study uses qualitative descriptive analysis techniques. There are three steps of analysis after the data is successfully collected, which begins with the reduction of the data, followed by the presentation of the data, and the withdrawal of conclusions. The stage of data collection and data analysis is carried out in an interactive cycle, namely by continuously between steps and allows for looping according to the needs in order to obtain in-depth interpretation results and can answer the purpose of research[6].

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

A Modern War

Wars between countries are currently quite a small possibility of occurring. Wars only occur in certain countries with a complicated history and still struggling with prolonged conflicts, which are followed by armed clashes because they cannot find a mutually agreed peace solution. However, this does not mean that the threat to the sovereignty of the state has disappeared due to the existence of a new form of war called modern warfare, which also has the potential for destruction is very large[7].

Modern warfare is a war that has a much different concept from previous wars. In this case, the understanding of several generations of war will be able to make it easier to understand the concept of modern warfare. The first generation of wars is a war that relies on humans as the main factor to win the war. This war can be considered a very conventional war because there are no various types of weaponry that can help humans to fight their enemies in warfare. Therefore, the weaponry factor is the difference between the first generation of war and the second generation war. Along with the development of technology, it creates various types of weapons that can strengthen humans in warfare. The weaponry factor is growing with the presence of information technology products that can also be applied as instruments to win wars. This is the difference between second and third generation wars, which are related to the involvement of information technology in addition to weapons of war such as rifles, cannons, missiles, and others. In third-generation wars, parties that have technological advantages are more likely to win wars because they are able to carry out attacks that are indirect[7].

Various factors that can be used as weaponry then began to be applied to the fourth generation of warfare with the aim of destroying the enemy in all aspects of its defense. The fourth generation of war emphasizes the empowerment of all kinds of weapons to destroy and weaken the enemy, to then be severely attacked until the enemy's sovereignty can be snatched away. Modern warfare can be said to be a war that has the characteristics of the first to fourth generation wars. A fairly complete definition of modern war can be seen in the Decree of the Head of the Education and Training Agency of the Ministry of Defense of Indonesia Number KEP/1016/XI/2020 concerning Proxy War Learning Materials. It is mentioned in it regarding modern warfare as follows:

"Modern warfare is a war very different from previous military concepts, methods and technologies, emphasizing how combatants must be modernized to maintain their combat viability. Therefore, modern warfare is a growing subject, looking different at different times and places. In its narrowest sense, modern warfare is simply a synonym of "contemporary war"[8].

Modern warfare has a variety of forms, ranging from asymmetric warfare, hybrid warfare, network centric warfare, cyber warfare, and proxy warfare.

1. Asymmetric Warfare

Asymmetric warfare is a war that occurs between parties that have much different military forces. This war is called asymmetric warfare because the difference in strength makes the war take place unevenly. One side has great potential to lose compared to the other because of the huge military power difference.

2. Hybrid Warfare

Hybrid warfare is a war that combines several characteristics of a war from different generations, namely conventional warfare, asymmetric warfare, and information warfare. The goal of hybrid warfare is to weaken and destroy the opponent from within which is followed by a physical attack as a complement to the enemy's destruction.

3. Network Centric Warfare (NCW)

This third type of modern war is a direct confrontation war on the battlefield with an emphasis on military strength and the technological sophistication of war to conquer the enemy.

4. Cyber Warfare

Cyber warfare is a war with a battlefield that is in cyberspace. The parties involved in this type of modern war launch attacks on each other through computer devices with the aim of disrupting the enemy's system, weakening unity and unity through the spread of hoaxes that damage, damage the economy, and others. Cyber warfare relies on advances in information and communication technology, the sophistication of computer devices, and human intelligence to launch non-physical attacks on the enemy.

5. Proxy Wars

This fifth type of modern war involves non-state actors in military confrontations. The party that masterminded the war was not directly on the battlefield, but used the other (non-state) party to launch an attack on the enemy. The non-state party is provided with weaponry and logistical support in order to have destructive combat power, so that it can at least weaken the enemy's combat power. Proxy wars are wars loaded with political content because of the hidden interests behind providing war support to non-state actors.

In addition to the above definition, there is also a definition according to other points of view regarding modern warfare, namely wars carried out in the form of control of power by a global coalition against certain countries that are considered unwilling to facilitate the interests or threaten the interests of countries that are members of the global coalition. The goal of modern warfare according to this perspective is to destroy all important areas of the target country, ranging from the political,

social, cultural, ideological, as well as defense and security fields[9].

Defense Strategy of the Big Islands

The current defense strategy implemented by Indonesia, namely the defense strategy of the Big Islands, refers to The President of Indonesia Regulation No. 8 of 2021 concerning the General Policy of State Defense in 2020-2024 (hereinafter referred to as Presidential Regulation 8/2021). Precisely in the third of the seven directions of increasing the country's defense capabilities as follows:

1. Implementation of the country's defense system on land, sea, and air forces by realizing the construction of spare components and supporting components;
2. Development and implementation of the concept of defense of large islands;
3. Implementation of accountability, transparency, and corruption-free in defense budget management;
4. The development of tni posture that has strategic power and high mobility capabilities to be projected inside and outside the jurisdiction of NKRI in order to uphold sovereignty and protect national interests;
5. Revitalization of the defense industry as a manufacturer of advanced, strong, independent, and competitive defense and security equipment tools to meet the country's defense needs;
6. Increased international cooperation in the field of defense and involvement in world peace missions under the auspices of the United Nations and other international institutions in order to participate in maintaining world order and peace; and
7. Increased nonmilitary defense capabilities implemented by ministries outside the field of defense, institutions, and local governments by optimizing the utilization of national resources for the benefit of the country's defense.

Consideration of the establishment of Presidential Regulation 8/2021 and the defense strategy of major islands as a major national strategy is because Presidential Regulation No. 97 of 2015 concerning the General Policy of State Defense in 2015-2019 is considered irrelevant to the current conditions[10].

According to an explanation from the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, the defense strategy of large islands is a strategy that prioritizes the development of defense of large islands in Indonesia in order to organize defense independently. The essence of defense is to guard, protect, and defend, not to attack. As for the thing that is guarded, protected, and maintained is the sovereignty of the country from the threat of war, which demands defense readiness on large islands in the form of adequacy of national food, water, energy, and infrastructure reserves, as well as the availability of defense logistics centers spread throughout the country's territory. Efforts to ensure adequacy in food, water, and energy reserves are carried out by empowering tni trimatra in accordance with

the scope of their respective duties, as well as through coordination between tni trimatra and other government agencies that are food, water, and energy managers. Related to the preparation of food adequacy, the TNI trimatra can coordinate with the National Food Agency (BPN). In accordance with the explanation in the Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 66 of 2021 concerning the National Food Agency, BPN is a government agency that carries out government duties in the field of food. The types of food that can be managed by BPN with the coordination of tni trimatra include rice, corn, soybeans, sugar consumption, onions, poultry eggs, meat, and chili peppers[11].

In connection with the preparation of water reserves and infrastructure, coordination needs to be carried out by the TNI trimatra with the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing (PUPR), especially with the Directorate of Drinking Water, to ensure that water needs and water reserves, as well as the need for national infrastructure facilities in the region to be the focus of defense force development can be fulfilled. Related to the preparation of energy reserves, the TNI trimatra needs to coordinate with the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources to ensure adequacy of energy needs and supplies. As for identifying the following logistics needs to meet these needs, the TNI trimatra needs to coordinate with the Logistics Affairs Agency[11].

In accordance with the concept of defense, the TNI trimatra must be a coordinator in the process of building defense forces by involving various ministries and government agencies. This is based on the position of the TNI as the party that best knows the level of need for the availability of food, water, energy, infrastructure, and logistics to meet the needs of defense force development. Although the dominance of activities may be carried out in the land area, the synergy of the TNI trimatra is still needed with the division of tasks that can be adjusted based on the results of meetings and discussions involving representatives of the TNI trimatra[12].

Development of The Great Islands Strategy to Deal With Modern War

Indonesia urgently needs to reflect on the case of Russia and Ukraine because Indonesia's historical record bears similarities with Ukraine. As well as the roots of the war, Russia supports separatism of two Ukrainian regions, Donetsk and Luhansk, having previously seized crimea in 2014. Based on the argument for maintaining the security of the region that broke away from Ukraine, Russia also decided to carry out special military operations by attacking Ukraine[13].

The problem of separatism is also experienced by Indonesia. There has been a region that has separated from Indonesia, namely East Timor in 2000, then there are also some areas that are indicated to have a desire to secede from Indonesia, such as the Free Papua Organization (OPM) which is the most extreme and blatantly shows its resistance with Indonesia in Papua. OPM has even caused mass panic that forced papuans to evacuate due to the burning and killing of the

people. OPM also often opened fire on TNI and Police personnel, causing the death of the defense and security guards. In addition, there is the Free Aceh Movement which also had time to show armed resistance against Indonesia[14].

The existence of separatism efforts can be a gap for foreign efforts to destroy Indonesia through modern wars in the form of proxy wars. This type of modern war is probably the most necessary to anticipate by Indonesia because of the cracks that have been presented before. As for other types of modern warfare, both asymmetric warfare, hybrid warfare, cyber warfare, and NCW wars also need to be anticipated after Indonesia ensures that its national defense is ready to face proxy wars. Efforts to deal with proxy wars should depart from the implementation of Indonesia's current defense strategy, which rests on the readiness and independence of major islands to carry out protracted wars. On the one hand, the strategy is the most appropriate strategy to implement because the big islands in Indonesia are the center of important life activities, so that independence in defense will bring stronger protection, especially on these large islands. But on the other hand, the concept of modern warfare, especially proxy warfare, turns out to have the opposite essence to the defense strategy of the big islands. Proxy wars actually make areas that have a long distance from the center of government and defense, such as remote areas, outer areas, or conflict-prone areas, as the main targets[14].

If referring to the concept of the defense strategy of large islands that has been put forward before, then the concentration of defense area development on large islands will indeed increase the defense power on large islands, which can further provide protection support to the surrounding small islands. On the plus side, the strategy can be said to be appropriate to deal with modern wars, especially in the form of proxy wars. But on the downside, *the* practice of proxy warfare can develop rapidly, especially with the existence of sophisticated devices that allow for various war preparations that are difficult to anticipate if Indonesia's defense development is not really focused on areas that are vulnerable to proxy war. Based on this, the defense strategy of large islands that focus on large islands requires development in order to make the defense forces in *the* proxy war target area also stronger. The defense strategy of large islands can be seen as an important foundation needed to start the construction of comprehensive national defense, namely the construction that starts from the strengthening of large islands, which is continued with strengthening defenses on the surrounding small islands. In the end, the development of national defense can strengthen the entire territory of the country with large islands as a center of self-defense[15].

In order to achieve this goal, it is necessary to develop the defense strategy of large islands by optimizing the empowerment of integrated trimatra combined with sensing using satellites or radar. As is the nature of a radar created to detect movement around it, the construction of defenses on large islands should not only strengthen the large islands, but

also ensure that the defense centers on large islands are able to shade the various small islands around them. In other words, the creation of defense independence on large islands is directed at making the defense of large islands the person in charge of defense on the surrounding small islands[16].

Detection-based protection developed in radar defense systems that are part of the defense strategy of major islands is organized by prioritizing the application of information and communication technology. On every small island that is partly protected by a large island nearby, it is necessary to build transmission posts managed by TNI personnel. Through the transmission post, intense communication was carried out with the big island to send information about the latest hankam situation and various potential threats that came to the fore. Thus, connectivity between large islands that are centers of self-defense with small islands around it can be maintained, so that the slightest threat in the vulnerable region is targeted by proxy wars, can be anticipated and eliminated as soon as possible. Organizing the development of the defense strategy of the big islands requires synergy from the TNI trimatra. Matra Darat as the manager of the transmission post and the builder of nationalism around it, matra Laut acts as a logistics organizer, and the Air Force as a supporter of radar movements by conducting periodic patrols around small islands. The synergy of the TNI triMatra is expected to optimize defense along with the process of building defense forces to increase the independence of large islands. Practically speaking, the TNI trimatra conducts joint operations of a conventional and non-conventional nature to overcome threats of a traditional and modern nature, as well as being a pioneer and defense builder in preparation for the implementation of protracted war operations[17].

IV. CONCLUSION

The defense strategy of large islands that are the focus of national defense aims to strengthen the country's defense by building the defense independence of large islands that can at the same time provide defense support to the surrounding small islands. The strategy is basically suitable for use as anticipation or preparation for modern warfare, especially in the form of proxy wars. But given the development of increasingly sophisticated technology, proxy wars can also develop and will be difficult to anticipate with the manual implementation of large island defense strategies. Therefore, it is necessary to develop strategies to be more effective to deal with modern warfare. The development of defense strategies for large islands in order to prepare for modern warfare in the form of proxy wars is to optimize the empowerment of integrated trimatra combined with sensing using satellites or radar. Through the defense concept, the big islands are directed to be the person in charge of defense on the surrounding small islands. Thus, the construction of defenses on large islands is not only oriented inward, but also to the surrounding small islands. Practically speaking, the defense concept is part of the defense of large islands that prioritizes the implementation of joint tni trimatra operations that are conventional and non-

conventional, which have a wider scope to reach all areas of small islands around large islands.

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