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SOFT POWER PARADIGM OF INDONESIA'S DEFENSE

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Abstract

The proposed strategic budget of US\$ 104,247 billion submitted by Indonesia's Ministry of Defense in mid-2021 has created a debate about Indonesia's *Quo Vadis* defense spending. Some questions need to be answered to provide insight into the process of selecting the best method for Indonesia's defense. Increasing national defense capabilities should refer to the global dynamics to accommodate Indonesia's national interests. This research uses document study, Focus Group Discussion (FGD), field observations for data collection, PEST analysis (Political, Economy, Social, and Technology), as well as SWOT analysis (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats), and ends with interactive analysis to obtain inductive conclusions. The purpose of this study is to see how Indonesia's weaknesses and strengths, both hard power and soft power, thus proceed to interactive analysis. The results show that the soft power method is considered the most appropriate to the current global and strategic conditions. Increasing the capability of the defense equipment only without prioritizing aspects of the soft power approach has the potential to make Indonesia included in the mapping of major power state threats. The soft power approach must be put forward but also mutually enable hard power capabilities. The mutualism of those aspects is considered effective to gain Indonesia's defense strength.

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INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon that occurred in mid-2021 related to the proposed 2020-2024 strategic budget of US\$ 104.247 billion by Indonesia's Ministry of Defense continued until mid-2022. This phenomenon was followed by various activities that have been carried out by the Ministry of Defense to fulfill the 2010-2024 Minimum Essential Force Target. Starting from the planned

acquisition of the Rafale, F-15EX, submarines, and FREMM frigates (*Frégate Européenne Multi-Mission*), it has become an interesting discussion among relevant stakeholders (CNN Indonesia, 2022). From a military strength perspective, that budget is needed to obtain national security which is a major part of Indonesia's national interest. On the other hand, there are pros and cons to the proposed budget,

considering that the national security factor cannot be achieved only with a hard power approach but also through a soft power approach. In other words, an asymmetric approach is also needed to achieve an ideal condition for Indonesia's defense. The asymmetric approach presents an alternative way of thinking about the kinds of threats we face from both states and non-state actors in the contemporary strategic environment (Blank, 2003).

The three main components proposed by the Ministry of Defense and Security regarding its budget submission are equipment acquisition, maintenance and care, and interest payments. The ideal condition for Indonesia's defense and security is to maximize the opportunities that exist through its potential. SWOT analysis (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats) is an adequate method for strategic analysis (Bratko et al., 2021). In other words, Indonesia's defense system needs to adapt the existing strengths and weaknesses to develop possible ways of acting. Meanwhile, examining the current external strategic environment, starting from the global political issues, economy, socio-cultural, technological development, environment, and law for understanding strategic risk (Sammut-Bonnici & Galea, 2015). Defense expenditure is an important component of national security and every country allocates a significant portion of its resources for this purpose. However, given the scarcity of resources and the competing demands from other sectors, a nation's ability to meet all its defense requirements is not unlimited (Behera, 2008).

The US\$104,247 billion budget proposed by the Indonesian Ministry of Defense in 2021 for the acquisition, and maintenance of equipment, as well as interest payments, must be properly adjusted to the types of threat issues that commonly arise against Indonesia today. The dynamics of the strategic environment should also be used as a determining variable in formulating national defense policies. Geopolitical and geo-strategic developments have an influence that cannot be ignored. The

exponential development of information technology and its significant impact on the global socio-cultural system is also interesting to study further. This study will try to conduct a brief analysis from a strategic and global point of view that is expected to provide a glance of knowledge on the existing phenomena.

METHODS

Limited resources and unlimited needs have resulted in conflicts of interest among countries in the world. United Nations (UN) data shows that global conflict trends have increased significantly from 2010 until now. Marc (2016) defines conflict of interest between countries as one of the reasons for the increasing number. To anticipate the threats that arise as a result of the conflict of interest, it is normative for each country to strengthen its defense and security. More specifically about the main problems of defense and security and conflicts between countries, this study uses the rationale of war (hard power) and peace (soft power). War and peace are classified as traditional issues in international relations studies. This theme is still receiving high attention and is still used as the main reading material in reviewing the problems of a country's defense and security system paradigm.

The concept of war (hard power) and the concept of peace (soft power) have different characteristics, although most people believe that the soft power approach will not be effective without being supported by the hard power approach behind it. Soft power and hard power are more mutually enabling than they are fungible (Gray, 2011). Armitage & Nye (2007) has the concept that a country's hard power resources consist of military strength, population size, natural resources, social stability, and territory. Meanwhile, the soft power of a country rests on the 3 resources of the country. The three resources include culture, political values, and foreign policy (Nye, 2008).

To understand soft power in today's global context, a methodological change is needed. One of them is related to who the executor (agent) is. The model proposed in

this paper emphasizes the following soft power agents: the state, NGOs, civil society, MNCs, and networks of soft power actors.

The first traditional actor of soft power is the state, which implements initiatives through various state institutions. However, the state is no longer the only actor capable of building and mobilizing soft power. The global context requires governments to integrate other agencies into their decision-making processes. NGOs, MNCs, civil society, and individuals have become significant agents (Bolewski, 2008). Martens (2003) explained that Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) can be interpreted as professional independent entities with the main objective of promoting common goals at the national or international level. NGOs are often seen as strong agents and have legitimacy because of their organizational priorities and the strength of their mass base as a basis. NGOs have been heavily involved in the formulation and implementation of international laws and norms. Most important, NGOs take part in all stages of the negotiation processes at global conferences (Martens, 2002).

Legitimacy is important in soft power. Through NGOs, we can gain objectivity and transparency. Meanwhile, Nye (2008) stated that Multi-National Cooperation (MNC) is another source of power in soft power. In many cases, sometimes private actors, as well as a small state, become more powerful than a superpower. MNCs have been proven to contribute to the spread of power such as economic interdependence, transnational actors, nationalism in weak countries, the spread of technology, political change and modernization, urbanization, and improved communication in developing countries.

The qualitative approach is used in this research to understand social phenomena from the point of view of the subject where the researcher is the key instrument (Soejono & Abdurrahman, 2005). The type of research used in this study is a type of qualitative description by studying the existing problems and working procedures

that apply. Qualitative descriptive research is an attempt to describe, record, analyze and interpret conditions that are currently happening or exist, in other words, qualitative descriptive research aims to obtain information about existing conditions (Mardalis, 2006).

Table 1. Hard Power & Soft Power Instrument

No.	Hard	Soft
1	Military	Cultural
2	Population	Political Value
3	Natural Resources	Foreign Policy
4	Social Stability	
5	Territory	

Source: Processed by the Authors, 2021

The data collection method in this paper uses several data collection techniques to obtain the main and additional data sources. Starting from literature studies, in-depth interviews, and Focus Group Discussions (FGD). The type of data that will be obtained in this data collection consists of primary data and secondary data. Primary data will be obtained through in-depth interviews with informants, while secondary data will be obtained from document studies. Technical analysis of the data in this study using SWOT analysis (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats), PEST analysis (Political, Economic, Social, and Technology), and Interactive Analysis Model (Sugiyono, 2014). Starting from data reduction, summarizes, chooses the main things, focuses on the important things, and looks for pattern themes, so that the data is easier to control (Nasution, 1988). After the data is reduced, the next step is the presentation of the data.

The third step in analyzing qualitative data is concluding/verification (Miles, Huberman, & Saldanna, 2014). The initial conclusions put forward were still temporary and would change if no strong evidence was found to support the next stage (Sugiyono 2014).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Changes in the strategic external environment have brought their residual

effects to the world of defense and security. Global dynamics related to politics, economy, socio-culture, and technology (PEST Analysis) have opened up opportunities for developing countries to fight for their interests against conflicts of interest with a major power.

The following are the results of Focus Group Discussions (FGD) with experts from several research institutes. The selection of experts is based on the defense studies background and also experience in defense and security research. The purpose of the FGD is to gain an understanding of the external environment from the PEST analysis method. The relevant experts in this study come from several research institutes, such as President of Makara Strategic Insight, Director of Eksekutif Lentera Research Institute, Non-resident researcher at Lesperssi (Lembaga Studi Pertahanan dan Studi Strategies Indonesia), and Research Coordinator of MPPI (Montessori Public Policy Initiative).

From the results of the FGD with the

experts, it was concluded that the dynamics of global politics are moving towards the polarization of the political power of countries that prioritize democratic and humanist values. Nationalism has been eroded by humanist groups who see everything from the point of view of humanity and freedom of speech. To determine the position of the internal strength of the Indonesian state against the external strategic environment, this study conducted FGDs with four different sources and used SWOT analysis in analyzing the results of the FGDs. The determining variables in this SWOT analysis are the level of internal factor analysis strategy (IFAS) and external factor analysis strategy (EFAS). The first stage carried out in the SWOT analysis is the preparation of determinants related to the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats that Indonesia has in its defense system by resource persons. These determinants can be seen in Table 3.

Table 2. Pest analysis

POLITICS	ECONOMICS	SOCIAL CULTURES	TECHNOLOGY
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Democracy •Humanism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Supply-Demand Natural Resource & Food •MNC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Civil Society •Social Media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •IoT •Satellite/Drone

Source: Processed by Author, 2021

Table 3. SWOT Determinants Matrix

No.	Strengths	Weaknesses
1.	An open culture	Inadequate military strength (Machine dan Material)
2.	Political values that lead to polar democracy, humanism, and as a member of the United Nations	Defense strategies that are not suitable for archipelagic and maritime countries (Method)
3.	Free and active political policy	Human resources capabilities that have not been able to make defense equipment that is by global defense standards (Man)
4.	Adequate propaganda/news cyberinfrastructure (Man, Machine, Method, Material, Money)	Weak social stability (separatism, radicalism, and intolerance)

5.	Geostrategy, geopolitics, natural resources, and market potential that can be used as diplomatic strengths	Culture of Corruption Collusion Nepotism that characterizes natural resource management
No.	Opportunities	Threats
1.	Positive Brand Image of Indonesia in the international world	Foreign military forces, both in the form of military bases and aircraft carriers at several points bordering Indonesia such as the Philippines, Timor Leste, Australia, Singapore, and Papua New Guinea
2.	Global politics that leads to democratic and humanist values	The geopolitical location of Indonesia is surrounded by commonwealth countries such as Australia, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, Singapore, New Zealand, PNG, India, and Vanuatu.
3.	Free market system and MNC	International finance/economics that affect Indonesia's macro, micro, monetary, and fiscal economic conditions
4.	A socio-cultural global society that supports democratic and humanist values	The forward defense policies of developed countries are caused by an increase in demand that is not linear with the resources they have.
5.	Global application of internet of things (IoT), internet of the battlefield (IoB), and internet of Military (IoM) technology in strategic defense.	Defense technologies owned by developed countries such as nuclear, MDW, and tectonic weapons are still applied in their defense systems.

Source: Processed by the Authors, 2021

In the next stage, the level of External Factor Analysis (EFAS) is determined. The following are the steps taken by this study in determining the level of EFAS. First, weight to strategic determinants with a scale meaning of 1.0 (very important) to 0.0 (not important). The maximum value of the weighted determinant will be = 1.00. The basis of the weight value given to these determinants is the magnitude of the impact on strategic factors. Furthermore, this study gave a rating for each determinant on a scale of 1 (weak) to 10 (very strong). based on the influence of these factors on the conditions concerned. Positive variables (opportunities category variables) are given a value from 6 to 10, while negative variables (threats) have a value of 1 if the threat is very large (compared to the average competitor of the same type), beside the small threat value is scored 5. Furthermore, multiplied the weight by the value (rating) to obtain a weighting factor. The result is a weighted score for each determinant whose value varies from 4.0 (high) to 1.0 (weak). To obtain the total weighting score of the analyzed determinants, the weighted scores that have

been obtained are added up. This total value shows how the external strategic factors react. In this study, EFAS showed a figure of 4,595. This means that the EFAS value related to Indonesia's national defense is in the threat zone. This can be seen in Table 4. Next, this study conducted an Internal Factor Analysis Strategy (IFAS). The purpose of this analysis is to show how the variables analyzed react to internal strategic factors. The steps performed in IFAS are the same as the steps in EFAS. The sources assess the weight and rating of each determinant to find out the final score. The results of the EFAS analysis can be seen in Table 5. Based on the calculation of the IFAS analysis carried out by the four sources, the figure is 5,275. This shows that Indonesia has internal strengths that can be maximized in its defense strategy.

From the results of the analysis of EFAS: 4,595 and IFAS: 5,275, it is known that the position of the tangent point is in quadrant 2. Even though it has threats, Indonesia has internal strengths. The strategy used is to use strength to take advantage of long-term opportunities in the form of a diversification

EFAS	Weight	Rating	Score
Opportunities			
Positive Brand Image	0.096	7	0.672
Global politics	0.105	8	0.84
Free Market/MNC	0.100	7	0.7
Global Social Culture	0.096	7	0.672
IoT, IoM, IoB	0.100	8	0.8
Threats			
Foreign Military power	0.095	1	0.095
Geopolitics	0.103	2	0.206
International Financial/Economics	0.100	2	0.2
Forward Defense Policy	0.106	2	0.212
Nuclear, MWD, and Tectonic weapon	0.099	2	0.198
Total	1.00		4.595

Source: Processed by the Authors, 2021

IFAS	Weight	Rating	Score
Strengths			
Open Culture	0.094	8	0.752
Political values that support democracy and humanism	0.110	8	0.88
Free and active foreign policy.	0.105	8	0.84
Qualified cyber propaganda/news capabilities	0.096	7	0.672
The power of diplomacy	0.105	8	0.84
Weaknesses			
Inadequate military strength (Machine & Material)	0.095	2	0.19
Improper defense strategy (Method)	0.090	2	0.18
The ability to build technology is less qualified (Man)	0.097	2	0.194
Weak social stability	0.105	3	0.315
KKN culture in natural resource management	0.103	4	0.412
Total			5.275

Source: Processed by the Authors, 2021

strategy. The form of the diversification strategy is to make breakthroughs in new activities through optimizing internal strengths, namely an open culture, political values that lead to polar democracy, humanism and as a member of the United Nations, free and active political policy, a qualified cyber propaganda/news infrastructure (Man, Machine, Method, Material, Money) as well as geostrategy, geopolitics, natural resources and market

potential that can be used as a diplomatic power.

Based on the PEST and SWOT analysis, this study continued the interactive analysis to draw an inductive conclusion. From the results of the interactive analysis, the paradigm shift in Indonesia's defense and security system is a wise move. The soft power approach, which so far has only been a complement to hard power, should be turned into the main instrument with

assistance from hard power. Instruments such as culture, political values, and foreign policy are more suitable to be put forward to minimize and eliminate defense and security threats. This is of course with the assistance of instruments from hard power such as the military, population size, natural resources, social stability, and strategic territories.

The phenomenon of submitting the 2020-2024 strategic budget of US\$104,247 billion, for the acquisition of equipment, maintenance, and care as well as interest payments, shows that Indonesia's Ministry of Defense is still focusing on the hard power approach to eliminate and minimize threats. Based on the analysis, it is less effective in the development of global dynamics as well as the strengths, weaknesses, and possibilities of the Indonesian state to act. The policy proposed by Indonesia's Ministry of Defense to prioritize hard power with a significant amount will certainly change Indonesia's position in the eyes of developed countries (major power) regarding opportunities and threats. The early warning system that has been built will certainly give a different indication of the approach and budget. It is more qualified for Indonesia's Ministry of Defense to draw up a budget that prioritizes soft power such as cultural propaganda, a foreign policy that prioritizes coalitions and consolidation of countries in the region as well as common interests and political values that prioritize diplomacy.

CONCLUSIONS

This study concludes that the making of defense and security policies related to the procurement of equipment should adapt to the external environment (PEST Analysis) as well as strengths, weaknesses, and possibilities of action (SWOT Analysis). So those policies are made effective, efficient, and by the nature of defense and security.

In the world order, Indonesia has its character from the western world. Its strategic geographical location for world economic traffic, population demography

with the world's largest Muslim population, and abundant natural resources make Indonesia a prominent country. This makes western countries view Indonesia as a strategic country, both in threats and opportunities (SWOT Analysis). Related to this perspective, Indonesia needs to adjust its defense and security system. Prof. Purnomo Yusgiantoro stated that the purchase of the type and number of Indonesian defense equipment would adjust to the assessment of major countries in viewing the level of threat to Indonesia so that the procurement was sought not to make Indonesia included in the threat mapping.

RECOMMENDATION AND LIMITATION

Based on the findings of this research, Indonesia needs to combine the usage of hard power and soft power approach in effective ways. It essentially suggests that Indonesia should leverage its diplomatic resources (soft power approach) as a main instrument to amplify its influence to achieve national interest, but still supported by a hard power approach to gain Indonesia's defense level in the world. Today's security environment is concerned not only with defense equipment, war, and military but also with other aspects such as foreign policy or international diplomacy (Victoria, 2018). That can advance a country's national interest. The researcher realizes that there must be shortcomings and many weaknesses in a study. Short space of time and limited data for the public is the limitation of this study.

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