

The Future Defense System for the Indonesian Nation State

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Abstract

The current global situation has encouraged interstate rivalry to become increasingly violent, so that the survival of every nation-state is becoming increasingly vulnerable. Therefore, every nation state has a responsibility to develop its own defense system to deal with the physical and psychological threats. This paper discusses the challenges and concepts of future defense system for the Indonesia, with the framework of analysis is the security vortex. The concept of the future defense system for the nation state of Indonesia is concentric defense, which consists of internal and external defense belt, by building three basic capabilities of the TNI to ensure national security, and to build global strategic partnership, which put Indonesia as an initial buffer of regional stability.

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Situasi global saat ini telah mendorong rivalitas antar bangsa menjadi semakin keras, sehingga kelangsungan hidup setiap negara-bangsa menjadi semakin rentan. Oleh karena itu, setiap negara-bangsa bertanggung jawab membangun sistem pertahanannya sendiri untuk menghadapi ancaman nyata yang bersifat fisik hingga psikologis. Tulisan ini membahas tentang tantangan dan konsep sistem pertahanan masa depan bagi Indonesia, dengan kerangka analisisnya adalah Pusaran Keamanan. Konsep sistem pertahanan masa depan bagi negara-bangsa Indonesia adalah concentric defense, yang terdiri dari internal dan external defense belt, dengan membangun tiga kemampuan dasar TNI untuk menjamin keamanan nasional dan membangun global strategic partnership, yang menempatkan Indonesia sebagai initial buffer of regional stability.

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Introduction

In the current global situation, nations are faced with a variety of environmental conditions, especially unpredictable world climate changes and natural disasters. Along with this, the condition of natural resources is also diminishing, as does petroleum.

This encourages the emergence of various problems associated within environment security, food and water security, energy security, economic security, political security, to military security and human security issue.

Given the various problems, the rivalry among nations in the world is increasing because of the demand for food, drinking water sources, raw materials, other materials to energy to ensure the survival of the nation and the country.

The availability of these resources becomes a very important factor because it can lead to severe domestic crises and the nation will

become one of the countries in the category of *failed states*.¹

The demand for the fulfillment of these needs, has encouraged the nations of the world to seek to expand, control and maintain its sovereign territory (Huala, 2011; United Nations General Assembly Resolution No. 626 (VII) 1952 and United Nations Resolution No.1803 (XVII) especially areas that have significant natural resources.

Given this condition, every nation develops its national strengths and capabilities, whether it's defense, economic and political. Therefore, the global, regional and national defense environment always needs to be reviewed and analyzed to develop the best defense system in the future.

This paper seeks to present a thought on the concept of a future defense system, namely the best future defense system for Indonesia, as the Nation-State is faced with security issues. In this case, the object of analysis selected is the Indonesian

¹ Crisis States Workshop, London, March 2006, "a condition of 'state collapse' – eg, a state that can no longer perform its basic security, and development functions and that has no effective control over its territory and borders (one that can no longer

reproduce the conditions for its own existence) atau 'Crisis states'...a state under acute stress, where reigning institutions face serious contestation and are potentially unable to manage conflict and shocks (a danger of state collapse)",

defense system compared to the defense system in some countries faced with security issues in their respective regions. The goal is to provide a new perspective in assessing Indonesia's defense system in the present.

Defense System of Some Countries in the World

Different fields, different grasshoppers, different ponds, also different fish. This proverb clearly gives the idea that the defense system of each country “definitely” will be different.

The author agrees with that thought, however, the author has the idea that although it is different, but the frame of thought has similarities in judgement. Differences often arise because of different perceptions in assessing or understanding every security issue that exists, whether global, regional or national, as in the explanation below.

The defense system of the United States is heavily influenced by the interests of protecting itself, its allied countries and its friendly countries (DoD USA 2008).

It is even asserted that the defense system is done by the United States as a responsibility given to the US on the nations of the world (DoD USA 2008). Therefore, the US defense system is always directed to face all the Challenges faced by the world, not just its own nation (DoD USA 2008).

With this framework, the United States insists that the defense system uses two approaches, namely promoting human rights, justice and dignity, and facing these Challenges, formulating their military strategy.

With this approach, the US defense system has a goal to face the Challenges that threaten the US and strengthen cooperation with other countries to further ensure US national security (DoD USA 2008). To that end, the US Department of Defense has set five key goals in its defense system: defending the homeland, winning the long-term war, promoting security, preventing conflict, and winning a total war threatening the US.

With that goal, the US built its defense system consisting of active

components, reserves, communities, the public sector and contractors.

The Georgian defense system (2017) also has the same relative view, ie using the approach “*Total Defense*” approach, because of the threat of aggression from major countries, especially the invasion experience of Russia.

The approach encourages Georgia to build its defense system to respond quickly to any threat of aggression “*in times of crisis and war*” and also enhance cooperation with other countries or other international communities, such as NATO.

The approach used by Georgia is based on consideration of the security environment that uses assumptions to the actions of Russia, the United States, NATO, the European Union, domestic and regional conditions, to transnational threats, formulated in the form of most defense scenarios allows.

In line with this, the defense system developed by the UK is also directed to ensure its national security (Chapman, 2015). The considerations he uses more emphasis on the problem of Russian revival, until the problem of *cyber threat*.² The British perspective is more emphasized on the balance of forces in the region, due to historical factors of the past.

Likewise, Australia, which builds its defense system by considering relatively similar problems with Britain, especially concerns the development of US foreign policy and China, world order based on international laws, acts of terrorism to cyber and space threats.

In addition, Australia also considers regional conditions, particularly border issues, bilateral relations with neighboring countries (especially Indonesia), as well as the conditions of every region near Australia (Chapman, 2015).

However, Australia's defense system is more emphasized on ensuring its security from the north

² Chapman, 2015, pg 50“...the emerging Russian threat, rebuilding conventional military capability to deter advanced nation threats in areas such as ballistic missile defense, weapons of mass destruction,

maritime surveillance, and next generation warfare arenas including cyberwarfare, intelligence, and strategic communications,....”

and lines of communication, maritime security and stability of the Indo-Pacific region. Therefore, Australia prioritizes maritime issues and strengthens its air attack capability, as well as improves the ability of land and coastal defense, especially in the north (Chapman, 2015).

Along with some of these countries, China's defense system is also developed taking into account various aspects that are relatively similar. In essence, the main aspect of Chinese consideration is the thought derived from its past leader, Mao Tse-Tung, as well as his past trauma and Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology.

The main problem for China was to unite all of the divided Chinese nation of their empire until the entry of the western nation which further divided the unity of China and also the cruelty of its colonialists. Under the circumstances, Mao Tse-Tung emerged as a Chinese leader who was considered successful in reuniting China in one leadership.

Since then, China has begun to rise from its downfall, so the Chinese defense system has the perception that its greatest threat is

the western factor. Under these conditions, China's defense system is more emphasized in defending itself from military attacks and western domination, reintegration of fragmented areas (such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, South China Sea, etc.), preventing the interference of other countries in its internal affairs, and build a respectful attitude toward other countries in China (The State Council The People's Republic of China, 2013). Therefore, China is increasingly building its military power to become the world's second largest in its military budget.

In line with the turn of the national leadership level, China's defense system is increasingly built stronger and more modern due to international and domestic pressures, as President Xi Jinping (Lam, 2015):

“China is facing two pressure: internationally, the country needs to safeguard its sovereignty, security, and development interests; domestically, political security and social stability should be ensured...the variety of predictable and unpredictable risks has been increasing markedly; a powerful platform that can coordinate security-related work is needed.”

This is because these pressures are perceived to pose various problems to China's national security, so President Xi Jinping confirms the concept overall national security which is closely related to its main national interest (Lam, 2015):

“Pay utmost to both external and internal security; territorial security as well as citizens’ security; traditional and nontraditional security...The security of not only individual [citizens and units] but also the collective will be safeguarded... China will stick to the path of peaceful development, but other countries should not assume that China will sacrifice its core national interests or that China will swallow the bitter pill of undermining its sovereignty, security, and developments interests.”

Dai Bingguo (in Lam, 2015), *state councilor in charge of diplomacy*, explains that China's main national interest is

“the core interests of China are defending its fundamental systems and national security, preserving national sovereignty and unification, and maintaining the steady and sustainable development of its economy and society”,

Reaffirmed by Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman, Qin Gang,

“Areas relating to national sovereignty, security, territorial

integrity, and development interests are all part of China’s core interests.”

President Xi Jinping emphasizes that the issue of national security is a top priority, as it is a major prerequisite in achieving a moderately prosperous society in all respects and realizing the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, so that China's defense system must always be ready in the face of potential dangers and enemy threats at all times.

Therefore, China's national security concerns cover all aspects of the nation's life, whether political, economic, military, social, cultural, technological, information, ecological, to nuclear security (Jinping’s, 2014).

To that end, China develops its military capabilities and strengths, in line with its increasingly vital national interests. China developed its military strength comprehensively by modernizing and standardizing its military strength and capabilities (Jinping’s, 2014).

Not only that, China also builds its military strength, with high preparedness on all threats of war, performs better simulation exercises,

and also strengthens the fighting spirit of officers and warriors to be confident and capable of winning any existing battles.

Thus, China's defense system is closely linked to China's ultimate goal of realizing a modern, prosperous and powerful China, as confirmed by President Xi Jinping (2014).

“A wealthy country may build a strong army, and a strong army is able to safeguard the country.”

In the end, China's national goals and ideals can only be achieved with China's strong defense system with strong military power (Jinping's, 2014).

“This great dream we have is to make our country strong. To achieve these aims we must strive both to enrich the country and build a strong national defense and powerful military.”

The defense system is not limited only within the territorial boundaries of China alone, but also capable to the whole world, as described by Huang Kunlun (in Lam, 2015), The nationalistic theorist:

“Wherever our national interests have extended, so will the mission of our armed forces...Given our new historical mission, the military forces must safeguard not only the country's 'territory boundaries' but also its

'boundaries of national interests'...We need to safeguard not only national-security interests but also interests relating to [future] national development.”

Indonesia's Defense System

Indonesia's defense system has been affirmed in the Defense White Paper of Indonesia (Ministry of Defence, 2015). Indonesia Minister of Defense affirmed that the defense system developed by Indonesia is emphasized on the role of Indonesian society in every state defense effort (Ministry of Defence, 2015).

Matters to be considered include the dynamics of strategic environmental security in the Asia Pacific region, the modernization of military power, the issue of border between countries, intra and inter-state conflicts, the tendency of contemporary conflict, the issue of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, espionage, transnational crime, knowledge and technology, climate change, natural disasters, food security, water, and energy, epidemic, and national strategic environment developmentl.

Assessment of these issues is summarized in a thinking about future threat estimates, which are military,

non-military and threats *hybrid*, with the source of its threat coming from state actors or non state actors, whether it's national, regional and international (Ministry of Defence, 2015).

There are three types of threats, it is recalled that the threat to Indonesia in the form of factual and non factual threats. The prioritized factual threats are terrorism, radicalism, separatism, natural disasters, territorial offenses, robbery, theft of natural resources, disease to smuggling and espionage. While non-factual threats that are prioritized are open conflict or conventional warfare (Ministry of Defence, 2015).

However, vision and mission of the Indonesian defense system (Ministry of Defence, 2015) is more towards to realize “...Indonesia yang Berdaulat, Mandiri, dan Berkepribadian Berlandaskan Gotong Royong”, (a sovereign, self-reliant, and a personality based on mutual cooperation Indonesia) with the goal to fulfill the procurement of drinking water.

The priority agenda of Indonesia defense system

development is preferred to support the aspect of community development, but an agenda is emphasized (Ministry of Defence, 2015) on the issue of “...melindungi segenap bangsa dan memberikan rasa aman pada seluruh warga negara Indonesia”. (protecting the entire nation and providing a sense of security to all Indonesian).

The agenda, implemented to create an integrated defense system between military and non-military defense. Efforts to realize the defense system is done by building a defense system that is universal, active defensive, layered, improve regional security, international cooperation, empowerment of the defense industry, and consolidate the awareness of defending the state.

Methods

Challenges Against Indonesia's Defense System

In this paper, the authors use qualitative analysis. From the explanation above there is a different approach between the defense system of several countries above with the Indonesian defense system in ensuring national security (Brown,

1983). Indonesia's defense system is more emphasized to face the threat from within the country that is only faced with Military Operations Besides War (OMSP), both combat and non-combat.

But in reality, neither Indonesia nor any country in the

world, the defense system of each country will be closely related to the states's and nation's survival. The picture below is a framework used by the author in analyzing the defense system owned by Indonesia.

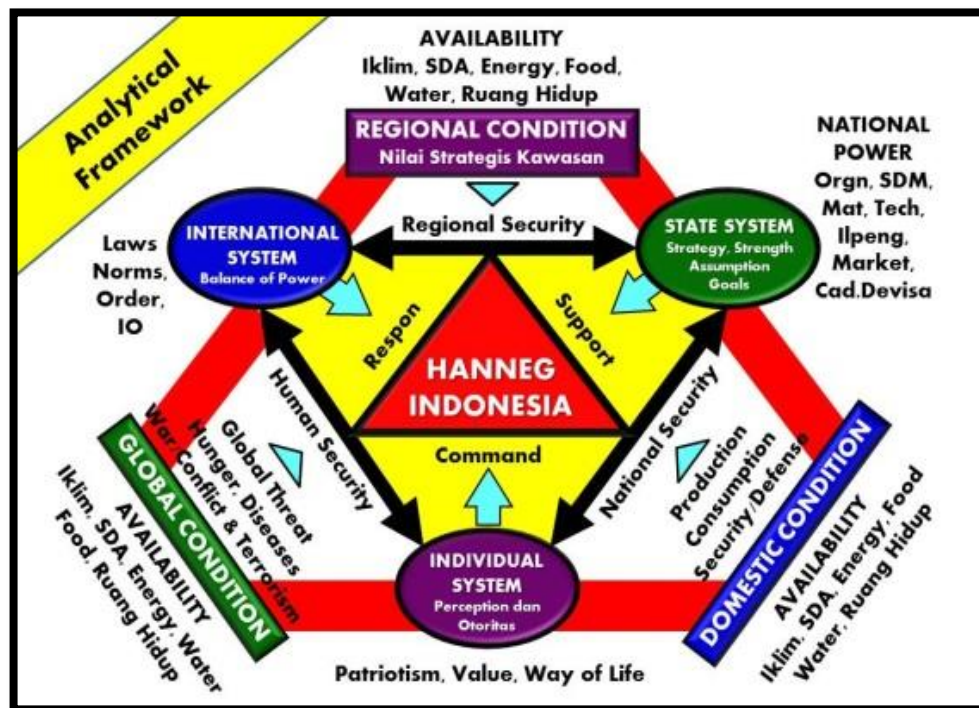


Figure 1. Framework Analysis. “Whirlpool of Regional Security in South China Sea Region”. (Source: Triswan Larosa, 2016).

With the above framework of analysis, any defense system built by Indonesia will face enormous Challenges, especially the inter-state rivalries (security dilemma) in the world to ensure the survival of Indonesian nation and state.

This first and foremost challenge is in line with Ohmae's (1995) view that in the future many countries will lose control or their sovereignty in the economic, even political and security.

This condition indicates that a nation in the world that will lose its

values, identity and even its existence in global politics, because the nations are no longer able to re-control the system of the country and vice versa very dependent with the help or “policy” of global actors.

Second challenge, Indonesia's defense system will also be faced with other state military (actor) strategies (Bowdish, 2013). That is, Indonesia's defense system must be able to face:

1. The actions of other state military (actors) that tend to be total destruction of the nation and state of Indonesia (like *genocide*); or
2. Actions aimed at paralyzing all Indonesian national powers (like with long-term wars or guerrillas, for example the Iran-Iraq War); or
3. Actions aimed at destroying the power of the TNI (such as the military actions of other countries that will attack the strength of the TNI); or
4. Actions that threaten the existence of the Indonesian nation (such as terrorism, *preemptive strike*); as well as other disguised state military actions to weaken the legitimate system of government at the time (such as separatists,

revolutions or coups, etc), so that in the end Indonesia no longer has an existence, identity and values (Ohmae's 1995).

This means that, inevitably, want it or not, Indonesia's defense system will be faced with both physical and psychological threats.

Third challenge, strongly related to the existence of international law or norms. If Indonesia's defense system does not consider the existing rules, laws or international norms, then the nearest neighboring countries will be perceive Indonesia as a threat or Indonesia will be assessed as an aggressive state, consequently the stability of the region will be disrupted.

Fourth challenge, Indonesia's defense system will be determined by three systems working simultaneously, ie individual system, state/national system and international system. Individual system shows the value factor and perception of Indonesian national leaders who have the authority to establish and mobilize Indonesia's defense forces.

These national leaders will play a role in fostering patriotism to support Indonesia's defense system (*nation at war*), define the defense strategy (*strategy of war*) as well as the appropriate defense policy (*policy for war*).

Which means, Indonesia's defense system is highly dependent on what is seen, heard and values owned by Indonesian national leaders. If our national leaders are wrong in perceiving correct information and believes in an aggressive value, then the decision will also be wrong, so that the Indonesian defense system will also face big problems.

Indonesia's defense system will also be faced with how much support the national system, namely the support of national power, such as the quantity and quality of human resources, defense materials, defense technology, science, defense industry, to national reserves.

The support of the national system will determine the independence of Indonesia's defense system in the face of any form of threat that exists, so it is not easily

“attenuated” by other states (actors). This is because, each country's defense system is highly dependent on its military weaponry system, which comes from the world's weapon producers.

Furthermore, Indonesia's defense system will also be faced with how strong the response of the existing international system, whether global system (response from big power or world organizations, such as PBB) and regional system (response from regional power, ASEAN, etc.). This means that Indonesia's defense system will be confronted with a balance of regional and global forces.

Fifth challenge, Indonesia's defense system will be faced with domestic, regional and global conditions. Basically, the three conditions are closely related to the problem of “availability” of energy, food, drinking water, living space, natural resources, to a climate that supports the survival of the Indonesian nation.

Domestic conditions are closely related to the problem of fulfillment of raw materials or materials for national productivity

and consumption needs, as well as issues related to security and defense, so that it will be able to encourage the emergence of national security problems.

Regional conditions are closely related to the issue of strategic value of the region for the vital national interests of each country, whether it is political, economic and strategic, for example the South China Sea region, the Middle East, etc.

For Indonesia, the two regions have a very high strategic value for Indonesia's vital national interests. Therefore, inevitably, the capabilities and strengths of the Indonesian military must be able to be "used" in these areas, although with certain limitations.

Finally, Indonesia's defense system will also be faced with global conditions closely linked to issues of war and inter-state conflict that are happening near or far from Indonesia's borders, acts of terrorism, hunger and drought, disease, to all that can be categorized as a global threat.

These problems are caused by changing natural conditions that are more difficult to predict and many natural disasters (nature chaotic) and increased acts of violence (terrorism) to humanity (dignity chaotic), economic recession to the monetary crisis that can not be solved by the economic experts and world leaders (economic chaotic), the various political problems of the world have not been able to be resolved well (political chaotic) and conflict or inter-state conflict is increasingly difficult to resolve (military chaotic).

From these explanations, the Challenges to be faced by Indonesia's defense system are quite complex. Nevertheless, by looking at the defense system developed by some countries above, the Indonesian defense system will be "definitely" faced with the threat of using physical and psychological violence.

Therefore, thoughts about the Indonesian defense system in the future must always be built so that the survival of the nation and the state of Indonesia is always guaranteed.

Results

The Concept of Indonesia's Future Defense System

With such complex Challenges, Indonesia's defense system must be able to face and overcome the rivalries between nations that occur in the present and future, both regionally and globally. Therefore, the grand design of Indonesia's defense system must provide the greatest and best benefits for the nation and the country of Indonesia, that is:

1. Indonesia's defense system can place Indonesia in a “safe position” in the global competition, that is, Indonesia can take strategic advantage for the national interest.
2. Indonesia's defense system can place Indonesia in a “crucial position” in global leadership, where Indonesia can play an active role or influence the balance of existing forces.
3. Indonesia's defense system can put Indonesia in a “balanced position” in global competition, where Indonesia can always

anticipate every change that exists in the global order.

In relation to the main and first Challenges, Indonesia's defense system needs to be more emphasized to ensure the nation's survival and national security, as well as China and other countries.

Indonesia's defense system must be able to ensure the preservation of Indonesian values, identity and existence, so that Indonesia is not one of the nation-states destroyed in the future.

Furthermore, it can be expanded to become greater, and acceptable to all nations of the world, and can “tackle” threats that arise against them.

It is, the mindset about national defense in Indonesia's national paradigm needs to be constantly changed, no longer have the mentality of the colonial era or the era of war of independence, which is expelling out the “colonizers”, but Indonesia's defense system must be able to guarantee the improvement of the welfare (economy) of Indonesia, national strength of Indonesia, and support the role and leadership of

Indonesia in international forums in rivalries between nations.

This requires an increase in the function and role of the TNI, not only as a defense instrument but as an instrument of Indonesian foreign policy, which can support every achievement of the interests of Indonesia wherever located in this world.

Therefore, inevitably, it must be revised again, namely the Indonesian defense system must be able to guarantee national security (Brown, 1983) the Indonesian nation and state must be able to guarantee the efforts of Indonesia in fulfilling the national vital necessity, must be able to guarantee and support the efforts of Indonesia in managing and exploiting every potential resource that is indispensable to Indonesia, both within and outside the territory of Indonesian sovereignty, and must be able to guarantee the perseverance of all that has been achieved and owned by the Indonesian nation to this day.

This is a very difficult task and requires a very large budget to support the task and role of the TNI in

the future, because it is closely related to the quantity and quality of defense equipment owned.

It is, the TNI is required to have three basic capabilities, namely the ability to guarantee all efforts of the Indonesian nation in achieving its vital interests, the ability to guarantee all efforts of the Indonesian nation in managing and exploiting every potential resource that is indispensable to the Indonesian nation, both within and outside the territory of Indonesian sovereignty, and the ability to guarantee all efforts of the Indonesian nation in preserving all that has been achieved and owned by the Indonesian people since the time of independence until today.

Along with this, the future Indonesian defense system must be in line with every policy and direction of Indonesian foreign policy. It is, Indonesia's defense system and foreign policy of Indonesia is like a "coin" which is always back to back (sebelah menyebelah), or like an "Indonesian man", which means his mindset is Indonesian foreign policy to achieve national interest, and his strong body is Indonesia's defense system to realize all the "ideas" that

exist. Thus, it can be said that Indonesia's future defense system must be able to win Indonesia in the rivalries among nations in the world.

Furthermore, the second challenge can only be overcome by the modernization of TNI alutsista that can overcome any threat of military force use, whether physical or psychological.

In accordance with the above explanation, the future Indonesian defense system must be able to overcome every country that wants to dominate Indonesia, both regionally and globally, in terms of politics, economy and security.

Indonesia's defense system must be able to deal with certain countries, both regional and global, that may threaten Indonesia, directly or indirectly, with the quantity and quality of modern weaponry systems possessing great destructive force, thus affecting Indonesia's foreign policy; such as the presence of certain country's military forces around Indonesia, the modernization of the capabilities of certain state weapon systems, the extent of nuclear missiles

and certain military presence in the South China Sea, etc..

Furthermore, Indonesia's defense system must be able to overcome certain countries that can affect Indonesia's vital interests directly or indirectly, such as the issue of Indonesia's national interest in the Malacca Strait, the problem of securing natural resources in Papua, the actions of the OPM supported by many other countries, etc. And last is the Indonesian defense system must be able to realize national security (Buzan, 1991) to create a "sense of security" for the nation and state in the international system that is anarchy (Buzan, 1983).

With these ideas, Indonesia needs to do a road map of the spectrum of war that is likely to be encountered by using some war/conflict scenarios. Some of the most likely scenarios are scenarios of great power domination of Indonesia, asymmetrical and symmetrical wars/conflicts, and coup.

The dominance of a large country can only be overcome by building a complex defense system, with a fourth-generation military

capability combined with counter-intelligence efforts, total diplomacy, handling economic blockade issues, strengthening people's nationalism, tackling terrorism problems and anticipating the support of other great power against the effort to divide the nation.

Symmetrical war/conflict scenarios can be overcome by building a defense system that puts forward the concept of balance, the balance of threats and the deployment of TNI forces in every territory of Indonesian sovereignty, and by strengthening existing territorial defenses.

Asymmetrical war/conflict scenarios can be overcome by building active defensive concepts, strengthening military cooperation with some countries, especially with certain great power that is a manufacturer of military equipment.

With this concept, Indonesia's defense system can be built by prioritizing the principles of innovations owned by the national defense industry, aimed at improving the quality of existing human resources (TNI soldiers and other

defense components), improving the quality and quantity of defense infrastructure, defense and enhancement of existing defense budgets.

In the aspect of defense technology, it is expected that the development of maritime power is now blue water navy, with priority on improving the quality of warships and submarines with great maneuverability and destructive power.

Along with this, the need to develop a national air defense system by applying integrated battlespace management system that can integrate all components of military power to guarantee the principle of "command of the air, control of the air", so that the Indonesian Air Space is free from any object or activity that could compromise national security.

In addition, it is necessary to strengthen the existing territorial defense system by integrating existing defense systems with future national air defense systems, including maritime forces, so that the entire Indonesian defense system is fully integrated. With the concept of

Indonesia's defense system, it is expected that the sovereignty, integrity and safety of the Indonesian nation and nation can be more secure in the future.

Overcoming the third challenge can be done by building an Indonesian defense system that prioritizes international standards in every use of TNI strength. This means that TNI systems must be built with standards recognized by the world or modernization with high technology and integrated, so that in every use of the TNI's power can be in line with the provisions in international law or norms.

With the fourth challenge, Indonesia's defense system must be built with the support of the best defense information system to support the decision-making process of Indonesian national leaders. This is necessary because national leaders must have the same perceptions and values about Indonesia's actual defense conditions.

They must understand all the risks, real threats and consequences for the survival of the Indonesian nation in the future. So they can foster

the spirit of the Indonesian people (nation at war), establish the best defense strategy (strategy of war) and the best policy for defense (policy for war) for Indonesia.

With this defense information system, Indonesia desperately needs a "National Security Council" or the like (such as the national security council in the US) that serves as a forum to unify their perceptions and values in the national decision-making process and at the same time establish the best national strategy, and together to foster the spirit of the people of Indonesia to face all existential threat and ensure the survival of Indonesia.

Through this vessel, they (especially the President of the Republic of Indonesia) can mobilize Indonesia's national power to support Indonesia's total defense system and can establish the best defense policy to face any response from the international system, either regionally or globally.

The fifth challenge can be overcome by Indonesia with a defense system that can build global strategic

partnership with existing “forces” both in the region and in the world.

This is due to the strong interdependency between nations in the world in the field of security, economy and politics. The main purpose is to build a “concentric defense” with countries around Indonesia, in the region to the world, as shown below.



Figure 2. Concentric Defense

With this concentric defense system, Indonesia's defense system consists of internal defense belts, the ASEAN defense belt, the Asia-Pacific-Indian Ocean defense belt and the global defense belt.

It concentric defense system aims to support the achievement of Indonesia's national interests by promoting defense diplomacy, in which Indonesia must choose appropriately and correctly the state

or actor who will become Indonesia's strategic partner.

In the external belt defense applied strategies to overcome the potential threat, because not all countries or actors have a “benefit” is good for the interests of Indonesia.

In the external belt, Indonesia seeks to build the solidity of the region in order to realize the rigidity of the regional security structure, with code of conduct. At the same time, placing Indonesia's role as an “initial buffer of regional stability” in maintaining regional stability, encouraging the exchange of regional security information and setting up a regional mechanism in addressing regional security issues.

While on the internal defense belt more implement towards the “elected” strategy, that is choosing the existential threat that will be faced with the strength of the TNI.

It means that Indonesia's future defense system must be able to set clear, active, “target” goals, with high flexibility, high mobility, presence, minimal casualties, far-reaching and well-integrated.

With this concentric defense system, Indonesia can influence the assumptions used by threat sources, provide a prompt and timely response to all actions that will threaten Indonesia, detect as early as possible action plan that threatens Indonesia, and can even stop the action plan.

Conclusion

Indonesia's defense system is a very complex national system, because, in essence, it is a policy for war that shows the spirit of the Indonesian nation to maintain the nation-state's survival by applying the Indonesian military strategy (strategy of war).

Thus, Indonesia's future defense system is largely determined by strong national leadership, reliable national military support and the response of existing international systems, particularly in the Asia Pacific region, especially Southeast Asia.

Therefore, the grand design of Indonesia's defense system must be able to overcome the rivalry between the nations that occur in the present and future, both regional and global, and ensure the survival of the nation

and state of Indonesia. Therefore, it is necessary to establish the function and role of the TNI as an instrument of Indonesian foreign policy.

In line with this, the national paradigm on national security must be reformulated in accordance with academic rules, so that the future Indonesian defense system can realize three basic capabilities for TNI strength, by applying various war/conflict scenarios, and improving the quality of TNI alutsista with international standards, able to set clear, active, "target" goals with high flexibility and mobility, remote setting, remote reach, and minimal casualties and well integrated.

The "National Security Council" body is a must in the future Indonesian defense system as a platform to unite the perceptions and values of national leaders in assessing and making decisions related to national security issues.

Indonesia's future defense system is concentric defense to build global strategic partnership with existing, regional and global strengths, consisting of internal and external defense belts, to build the

solidity of the region in order to realize the rigidity of regional security structures, with code of conduct and regional mechanisms in addressing regional security issues.

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