COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT IN DEFENSE PLANNING FOR INDONESIA AND POLAND

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Abstract

Besides the same red and white flag, Indonesia and Poland share a similar historical setting which includes revolutions, wars of independence, and the promotion of national unity. Indonesia has succeeded in reforming and demonstrating the true democracy in the international community. While Poland was succeeding in making changes by turning into a constitutional state after being freed from communism. On the other hand, Poland was the only European economy to escape from the 2008 recession. Since the fall of the communist regime, based on the existing historical struggles and capacity of the Polish state which knew how to leave the communist state and its successes in the economic field, the Researchers is interested in the search for the comparison between the management defense strategies in Indonesia and that of Poland. The purpose of this study is to see a comparison of strategic management in defense planning for Indonesia and Poland. The method used is qualitative. Regarding the trend in the development of the strategic environment or the estimation of the lack of possibilities for traditional military tangible threats mentioned explicitly in the Defense White Paper of the Republic of Indonesia and the Polish State Defense White Paper. The results of the study showed that the use of defense diplomacy instruments became dominant. In addition to developing defense policies and defense planning in the form of strengthening Indonesia’s defense structure and posture comprehensive. Indonesia needs to strengthen defense capabilities in the Southeast Asian countries by strengthening the basis of posture and defense structures associated with the vision of the world's maritime axis. Thus, a sustainable Essential Minimum Force (MEF) is achieved.
INTRODUCTION
Changes in the world order after the cold war have encouraged the expansion of understanding of the concept of security from both academics and practitioners. Each country has its history, although Indonesia has experienced the implementation of management defense in the absence of adequate theories, either strategic planning in the production of strategic formulations, implement it directly with field practice and win the war against a strong country, both well-trained soldiers, as well as modern weapons and full it has (Supriyatno & Ali, 2018).

The situation and trends of the strategic environment at the beginning of the 21st century are disparate when compared to the period of the last decade in the 20th century. Challenges and problems in the future tend to be more complex because the development and advancement of telecommunications, transportation, and information technology have a major effect on change the strategic environment, then globalization will change the order of social life, economics, and defense patterns and systems, thereby affecting the life patterns of the national dimension, relations between countries, regional, and international. On the other hand, the advances in telecommunications and informatics technology have fundamentally changed human life in carrying out activities in their life, politics, economy, social and also defense systems. Technology-based on informatics as a symbol of the era of globalization, there has been an informatics revolution without recognizing the geographical location and national boundaries achieved through global internet access based on information technology.

Global developments and trends are some of the factors that greatly influence regional security dynamics. The interaction and dynamics of relations between major world nations such as the United States, China, Japan, Russia, and the European Union, are the factors that influence the map of military technology and security maps in the region (Asia-Pacific) (Republic of Indonesia Ministry of Research and Technology, 2005).

European countries have a history of implementation of defense management. Modernization of the defense/military sector has been a challenge in itself over the past decades. Some focus on transforming the armed forces (BA) to meet better security challenges in the 21st century, some are leading reforms across the defense/military sector, and some build the army from scratch (formerly adherent to an authoritarian regime and/or state) which is still in transition to a democratic regime). Central European countries have high hopes for the ongoing security sector reform (SSR), including Poland.

Referring to bilateral relations between Indonesia and Poland. Close relations between Indonesia and Poland have been marked by the opening of diplomatic representations at the embassy level in Jakarta (Indonesia) and Warsaw (Poland). Besides the same red and white flag, Indonesia and Poland share a similar historical setting which includes revolutions, wars of independence, and the promotion of national unity. Indonesia has succeeded in reforming and demonstrating show the true democracy in the international community. Poland succeeded in making changes by turning into a constitutional state after being freed from communism. Poland is a democratic state of the law with a market economy, observing international law by which it is bound. Poland strengthens its national security capacities to ensure stable development of the country and an improvement of the living conditions of its citizens. Likewise, Indonesia at the time of the proclamation of independence on August 17, 1945, was torn by the Dutch into a federal state in several countries, namely the state of Pasundan, the state of Indonesia East, the State of Kalimantan, and the Republic from Indonesia. Indeed, at that time, we had not been able to manage our
national resources to maintain the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia (Supriyatno & Ali, 2018).

In terms of geography, Indonesia and Poland have similarities. The territory of Poland includes various ecoregions and is known for its forest and biodiversity. Indonesia, with its biodiversity and natural resources, has made this country eminent. In addition, the Polish economy is considered to be one of the most resilient of the post-communist countries and one of the fastest-growing EU countries. With a strong domestic market, low private debt, low unemployment, a flexible currency, and not relying on a single export sector, Poland was the only European economy to escape from the 2008 recession. Since the fall of the communist regime, Poland has pursued a policy of economic liberalization. This is an example of the transition from a planned economy to a market economy. The country's most successful exports include machinery, furniture, food, clothing, footwear, and cosmetics.

Based on the existing historical struggles and capacity of the Polish state which knew how to leave the communist state and its successes in the economic field, therefore it is interesting to deepen and analyze the comparison between the management of defense strategies in Indonesia and Poland. This study aims to compare the strategic management in defense planning in Indonesia and Poland.

METHODS

This study uses a comparative qualitative approach, which is based on non-numeric data such as articles and pictures, and filtration of data is done for interpretation from literature review (Creswell, 2003). Review sources from journals, reports, books, and articles from reliable sources.

This research refers to several other studies that conducted comparative studies, such as the research conducted by (Sari, Munandar, Cahyadi, Borowy, & Adha, 2021) on Determinants of Entrepreneurial Intention among University Students: A Comparative Study between IPB University (Indonesia) and WULSS-SGGW (Poland). The study used a quantitative comparative approach using SEM analysis tools. Based on this research, the use of a comparative approach can provide the best practice reference in such a way you can see the potential development of the object being compared in the future. Another research that serves as a reference is the research carried out by Anwar (2021) on the comparative study between the main orientations of state policy and the medium-term development plan. According to the research, comparative is intended to find similarities and differences in objects, about people, about work procedures, about ideas, criticism of people, groups, and also to compare common views and changes in views of people, groups or countries, to cases, to people, to events or ideas (Anwar, 2021; Arikunto, 2010).

Strategic Management Basic Concepts and Theories

Strategic Management is an interdisciplinary field of science and has developed rapidly in recent times. Science develops along with the development of other disciplines, such as marketing, micro, macro, organizational behavior, and more. Wandrial (2004) stated that strategic management consists of analysis, decisions, and actions of an organization undertakes to create and sustain competitive advantages. Meanwhile, Wheelen & Hunger (2012) stated that strategic management process as a set of managerial decisions and actions that determines the long performance of a corporation. It includes environmental scanning (both external and internal), strategy formulation (strategic or long-range planning), strategy implementation, and evaluation and control.

Strategic Management Time

Strategic management has evolved. The science of strategic management began in the early 1950s and was popularized by
several management experts, including Peter Drucker, Selznick, Alfred Chandler, and Igor Ansoff (Bracker, 1980). In the early 1960s, the concept of strategic management began to be operationalized in commercial organizations, such as the Boston Consulting Group which developed a process model dealing with cost/volume relationships of the vanities of products. Many strategic conclusions regarding cost, volume, market share, and profitability are developed.

Seen from the point of view of the scientific literature according to the research carried out by Franke et al., (1990) the impact score and the number of citations of scientific journals related to strategic management continue to increase. The success of strategic management journals is related to the level of editorial research stature, may be associated with situational factors such as location and prestige which contribute to journal visibility (Franke et al., 1990). On the other hand, increasingly rapid technological developments have contributed to changes in strategic management, in which attention to a sustainable development strategy is currently the main thing (Ivanova, Holionko, Tverdushka, Olejarz, & Yakymchuk, 2019).

Management Objectives
Design and management skills are required to manage organizational resources to achieve goals. Thus, in the family of defense sciences, there is a managerial approach in the field of defense or defense management. Defense management helps government regulate human/natural/man-made resources, defense industry, defense technologies, defense intelligence, defense zones, defense regulations, and even defense budget or financial support to achieve national defense objectives. This study, which compares the strategic management approach of Poland and Indonesia in the preparation of defense planning, contributes to the development of defense management science and becomes a benchmark for managers in the sector defense itself.

Praditya (2015) states that management is deciding what to do and to get it done through the effective use of resources, while for the defense sector, management referred as to produce military capability planning and effective use of resources. As such, defense management can lead to strategic success in the field of defense with appropriate governance that is an effective and efficient use of resources. According to Fluri (2002), defense management is a big concept that incorporates different aspects, both legal and conceptual through institutional development and resource management for operations, international cooperation, and defense civil control. Defense management is closely related to good governance, especially to produce output through processes that are transparent, accountable, effective, and efficient.

Based on Table 1, the benefits of defense management are to help the government, in this case, the Ministry of Defense, to sort out which tasks can be arranged and carried out according to the level and class. This sorting aims to make policies, planning, and management run effectively and efficiently by using limited resources. This sorting also aims to prevent excessive budget spending and policies that are not large compared to what should be done (Praditya, 2015).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION
In this chapter, the defense planning of Indonesia and Poland will be analyzed by Lykke’s (1989) strategic management approach. The defense planning part will be classified to the step of strategic management. Strategic orientation consists of national interest identify, analyzing strategic environment (internal and external environment), and set threat priority. Strategy formulation consists of three main elements, namely ends, means, ways. After
Table 1. Role and Place of Management at the Level of Defense Organizations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Policy</th>
<th>Planning</th>
<th>Management</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Operations</td>
<td>The military strategy of the Combined Doctrine</td>
<td>Operational Planning</td>
<td>Policy implementation operational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Tasks</td>
<td>SOP Operations Directive</td>
<td>Estimated Principal Task Order Decisions</td>
<td>Implementation tasks that will be faced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Tactical)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Operation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Praditya, 2015

that, implement the strategy and then evaluate the result of strategy. The framework analysis can be seen in Figure 1.

Identify National Interest
The first step of the strategic management process is identifying the organization’s current mission, goals, and strategy. In this step, countries will analyze national interests. This study will compare the way of Indonesia and Poland in formulating the national interest.

National interest is protecting land, political goals, and cultural identity against interference by other nation-states (Morgenthau, 1949). Each country has a different approach to National Interest. Indonesia's national interest is to ensure the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia stands strong based on Pancasila and Indonesia Constitution 1945 and guarantees continuity of national development to achieve national goals (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2015). On the other hand, Poland has a different contextual national interest from Indonesia. Overall, it seems there are similarities in the national interest of both nations, survival, and sustainable development. The difference is Poland lists its international position as a goal in the national interest.

The national interest of each nation will influence the matter of threat formulation. The more intimidating the threat for national interest the more prioritized to be handled. On the other hand, the threat that has no direct impact on the national will have a lower priority to be handled.

Analyzing Strategic Environment and Threat Priority
Furthermore, strategic management in the defense planning process is analyzing the strategic environment to formulate threat priority. In this step, countries will analyze national interests. This study compares the way of Indonesia and Poland in analyzing

Figure 1. The Framework Analysis
Source: Compiled by Authors, 2021
the strategic environment. Both internal and external strategic environments are analyzed to formulate the threat priority. Indonesia and Poland have different internal and external strategic environments. But it does not mean that Indonesia and Poland will have different threat priorities.

Indonesia finds the shift in the internal strategic environment are domestic conflict (caused by a separatist, political interest, and social conflict), disaster, energy scarcity, illegal activity, cybercrime, and terrorism. Then, the external environment that impacts Indonesia is the U.S. re-balancing policy, South China Sea dispute, border issues, technology development, weapon of mass destruction, and climate change.

Poland has a different change in the internal strategic environment. Poland's strategic internal environment are armed organization crime, society, economy, cyber, and energy. Then, Poland strategic external environment:
1. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which is redefined its tasks in the context of the new international situation after the end of the cold war by adding two other tasks to the core mission of collective defense, crisis management and cooperative security.
2. European Union that has been facing a crisis and declining dynamics of the common economy.
3. Strategic presence of U.S. in Europe remains the foundation of European security and relations with Russia.

Then, to formulate threat priority we need to combine the national interest and the change in the strategic environment. Indonesia has three priority threats to be handled, namely terrorism, cyber, and disaster (Ryacudu, 2019). It is because internal conflict by radical society can lead to terrorism, a society that integrated to cyber can be threatened by cybercrime, and Indonesia's geographic location that fragile to the natural disaster. These three priority threats can endanger Indonesia's national interest. While, Poland priority threats are a transnational and asymmetric threat, societal and economic security in cyberspace (Poland Government, 2014). Poland and Indonesia have similarities in two threats priority, namely terrorism and cyber. On the other hand, the differences of both countries in threat formulation are a disaster and societal and economic security. Indonesia is more fragile than Poland in a disaster event. Therefore, Indonesia listed disaster as a priority threat while Poland did not.

**Formulate Strategy**
In this step, strategy formulates by considering the national interest, threat priority, and change in the strategic environment. Both Indonesia and Poland have formulated the strategy to encounter the threat. According to Lyke's approach (Lykke, 1989) about strategy, the strategy consists of the end, means, and ways. The 'end' of a country must be the national interest. 'Means' are available resources that can be used to achieve national goals. This study defines resources as military power and economic condition. The comparison of resources from both countries is shown in Table 2. Table 2 shows the comparison of available resources to encounter Military and Non-Military Threats. Available Manpower, Military Personnel, Aircraft Strength, Combat Tank, Naval Assets, and Defense Budget are resources that representative to the encounter of military threat. Population and Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) are representative to encounter a non-military threat. This study uses these variables because of economic aspect is the key to encountering other non-military threats, e.g., ideological, political, and cultural threats. From Table 2 we can conclude that in military threat anticipation, Poland is better to prepare in the number of Aircraft Strength, Combat Tank, and Defense Budget. This is because Poland is a member of NATO and the improvement of military...
Table 2. Comparison Resources to Encounter Military and Non-Military Threat

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resources</th>
<th>Indonesia</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>267,026,366</td>
<td>38,282,325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Available Manpower</td>
<td>130,842,919</td>
<td>18,758,339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Personnel</td>
<td>1,080,000</td>
<td>193,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aircraft Strength</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combat Tank</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naval Assets</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defense Budget</td>
<td>$9,200,000,000</td>
<td>$10,780,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>$3,402,500,000</td>
<td>$1,166,500,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Global Firepower, 2021

power is necessary. Indonesia has larger resources to encounter Non-Military threats, it can be seen from Population, Purchasing Power Parity, and Economic Growth. The available resources will influence the formulation of the strategy.

After knowing the ‘end’ that will be achieved and the available resources, then the ways of achieving must be arranged. Poland and Indonesia have several ways to achieve the end from available resources. Indonesia has several ways to protect the national interest, namely preparing total defense, preparing active-defense approach, compiling multi-layered defense, improving maritime-land-air security, improving international cooperation, improving and developing defense industry, and strengthening state defense spirit (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2015).

Indonesia has a grand strategy to protect the national interest that is the Total Defense System. The defense system is based on the value of democracy, totality, and territorially. Based on the democracy and totality value, Indonesia has two kinds of defense, military defense and non-military defense. Indonesia puts the military as the main component to encounter the threat supporting with reserve component and supporting component. While in encountering the non-military threat, Indonesia puts ministry and nation institution as the main element and supported by other elements in operational activity.

Poland has other ways to protect the national interest. Poland has two kinds of strategies to achieve the goals, there are operational and preparatory strategies. In operational strategy, Poland has three options that can be outlined, an option of maximum internalization of Poland’s security (which corresponds to the integration scenario), an option of strategic autarky (self-reliance and self-sufficiency) which refers to the disintegration scenario, and an option of sustainable internalization and autonomy of Poland’s security corresponding to the evolutionary scenario. From the three options mentioned, the third option is recommended for the ministry of defense. It means that the strategic security activities should focus on remaining determined and ready to act in the full spectrum of fields, areas, and sectors of national security; strengthening the international security community; supporting and selectively participating in international operations.

Then, Poland has three options of preparatory strategy to support operational strategy. First, internationalization of the national security system, the autonomy of the national security system, and sustainable integration of the national security system. From the three options, the most reasonable option is sustainable integration of the national security system. This option consists in preparing the security system both for seizing the opportunities resulting from international cooperation and for the rational development of capabilities to oppose military and non-military threats jointly with allies or individually.
Strategy Implementation
In this step, the strategy that has been formulated will be implemented. The implementation strategy will be reviewed in two aspects, there are program and budget. Indonesia has a defense program to obtain strategic objectives. There are a lot of programs that Indonesia had, but this study will only discuss Indonesia’s two main programs, namely Minimum Essential Forces (MEF) and Strengthening international cooperation in the defense sector.

Minimum Essential Forces (MEF) is a program to develop and modernization military power to be more effective in military activity and peacekeeping missions (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2015). MEF consists of four main activities’, namely re-materialization, procurement, relocation, and revitalization. MEF is divided into three stages of improvement, the first stage is from 2010-2014, the second stage is from 2014-2019, and the last stage is from 2019-2024.

The next program of defense strategy in Indonesia is strengthening international cooperation in the defense sector. Indonesia adheres to free and active foreign policy in building cooperation internationally while adhering to principle as a non-aligned country that does not make alliances with any country. This program is part of the defense diplomacy strategy of Indonesia to defend the national interest in the international community. There are two kinds of defense international cooperation, bilateral and multilateral, an example of bilateral cooperation is Indonesia-Polandia cooperation.

During this time, Poland implemented the strategy that had been prepared by preparing the National Security Control System, the National Security Operational Subsystems, and the National Security Support Subsystem. In the aspect of the control system, Poland has developed a new control system in which the President and the Minister of the Council collaborate to take decisions related to national security issues. The president oversees the national security council while the council minister oversees the council of national security ministers which both have different areas of intervention. The president focuses on the defense of the state in the event of war while the council minister focuses on defense preparations and crisis management. Both have decisions on the executive subsystem (defense, protection, social, economic). In addition, Poland is preparing a new procedure for controlling infrastructure and national security.

Meanwhile, when it comes to operational national security subsystems, Poland divides them into two aspects, namely the defense subsystem and the protection subsystem. From the defense point of view, the Polish subsystem has carried out several programs such as foreign service (diplomacy) for security, a transformation of the Polish armed forces. Including technical modernization priorities for the Polish armed forces, the preparation of military intelligence agencies can increase the competitiveness of the defense industry.

Then, from the point of view of the protection subsystem, some of the programs implemented are computerization, the judicial system, the reform of the secret services, the creation of solid institutions to fight terrorism and political extremism. Organizational changes in institutions related to cybersecurity, the creation of institutions protecting secret information, the development of public order services, and guard organizations. Guards for the rescue and protection of populations, Protection services of supreme authorities and public administration bodies, Border services, other protection subsystems. In addition, Poland has prepared a societal subsystem to support the defense. This preparation was carried out in the form of a national heritage protection system, security education institutions, scientific research and development institutions in the field of security, a system for fighting against
demographic threats, health services in the security system, media in the security system. Then, from the point of view of the economic subsystem, Poland has made several efforts, such as the development and improvement of financial security institutions, energy security entities, critical infrastructure security institutions, strategic reserves, and environmental protection systems.

Defense cooperation between the Republic of Indonesia and Poland embodied in agreements signed by both countries in 2006. Cooperation includes the exchange of information on defense and military fields, help service activities, exchange of education officials at the institution internal and professional training, military education, and training for military personnel. Moreover, there are agreements which are facilitating military cooperation between agencies or special agencies through data exchange, cooperation in the field of technology defense, weapons and military equipment, technology information, and communication (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2015).

**Strategy Evaluation**

The last step of the strategic management process in defense planning is to evaluate the implemented strategy. To evaluate the strategy, this study uses the global military index and fragile state index as an indicator of the effectiveness of the strategy. Because, if there is a decrease in the global military index and if there is a decrease in the fragile state index, the strategy is effective enough.

Indonesia has a 0.2684 power index score in 2021 (Global Firepower, 2021). Poland is ranked 23 out of 140 countries considered for the annual Global Firepower (GFP) review. Even though Poland is ranked lower than Indonesia, if we look at the defense budget it has, Poland has a greater potential for the development of military defense equipment in the future. In the future, refers to the Revolution in the Military Affair, which focuses on the development of advanced technologies in the military, so the countries with larger defense budgets have a budget for research and development and support for better defense industry. Therefore, it is not impossible that in the future the score and the ranking of the power index between Indonesia and Poland will come closer.

Another thing to note is that Poland is a member of NATO. Poland's NATO membership, if taken into account, becomes a huge bargaining chip for the defense aspect of Poland itself. The support of NATO member countries has a deterrent and accelerated effect in the development of the Polish defense plan. This is what Indonesia does not have, due to Indonesia's free and active foreign policy direction. If we look at it from another point of view Fragile States Index, Indonesia’s score in 2019 is 70,4 (maximum 120). It makes Indonesia end up in 93rd rank out of 178 countries. The score is approximately a decrease of 1.9 points from 2018. From the score of the global military rank and fragile state index of Indonesia, it can be inferred that Indonesia's strategy is effective enough and can bring up a deterrence effect. Meanwhile, the Fragile States Index of Poland is 42,8 points (maximum), an increase of 1,3 points from last year. Poland is in position 144th out of 178 countries. The fragile index of Poland increases every year since 2015. It can be inferred that Poland needs to review the effectiveness of the strategy to protect national interest and security.
CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATION, AND LIMITATION

This comparative study concludes that Indonesia and Poland have similarities in the concept of threat assessment. Cyber threats and terrorism are a priority in the management of national defense. However, there are differences between Poland and Indonesia in assessing disasters as threats. Indonesia views disaster as a threat to be reckoned with, while Poland views disaster as a low priority threat.

This difference in threat assessment leads to different aspects of defense planning between Indonesia and Poland. Thus, even though they are considered from the perspective of the strategic management paradigm in the preparation of defense planning, they have similarities, however, they produce different aspects of defense planning. Return to the national identity for which both countries strive for, to the prospect of threats, and to the availability of resources to achieve defense objectives.

Recommendation for further research is analyzing more specific studies in every step of strategic management processes of defense planning. Supporting quantitative and statistical data to strengthen the result. This research is still limited to the analysis of management strategies for the two countries. In the future, it can expand the scope of strategy and analysis used.

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