

# PROXY WAR AND INDONESIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY: VICTORIA CONCORDIA CRESCIT

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**Abstract** – Proxy war have occurred since ancient times until now which is conducted by the major state powers by using state actors or non-state actors. The national interests of the big countries with objective of the struggle for power and the power of influence in affecting international relations. Proxy war has motives and hard power and soft power approaches to achieve their goals. Indonesia is safeguarding its national security in dealing with the proxy war strategy against disintegration attempts, thus it can be eliminated and the integration of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia will remains intact. To safeguard the integration of the nation, Indonesia must take a counter proxy measures. This article uses qualitative approach with data from reference sources and literature related to the proxy war. The validity and reliability of the data was tested by triangulation reference. The study shows that the counter proxy war conducted by maintaining Unity in Diversity which resemble the Opus Dei upon Indonesia, implementing policies and avoiding materialistic for the benefit of people (pro bono), and keeping the harmony of Indonesia.

**Keywords:** Proxy war, proxy war motives, national security, counter proxy war.

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## Background

War or conflict as a proxy war has been occurred since ancient times. The period before World War I and World War II has fewer in total compared to the Proxy War that occurred during the days of the Cold War and some of the proxy war is written in the book of history and politics, as summarized in Table 1 below. Based on table 1 above, we analyzed the

two important actors of proxy war. Proxy war conducted by a major country to a group of individuals who are not state actors (non-state actors) and state actors. All conflicts, insurgency, war, and civil war have a tendency to power (power). Politics is one of the means often used for achieving the goal for power.

**Table 1.** Proxy War before the First World War to Cold War

World War I	World War II	Cold War	Proxy War that have been done and are taking place (ongoing)
7 Events	5 Events	72 Events	28 vents
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Egypt War with Dynasty Ottoman</li> <li>• Civil War in Uruguay</li> <li>• War in Sudan (Mahdist)</li> <li>• Civil War I and II in Samoa</li> <li>• Crisis in Venezuela 1902-1903</li> <li>• Campaign in Somalia.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Civil War in Finland</li> <li>• Revolution and Intervention in Hungary</li> <li>• War Independence Turkey</li> <li>• Civil War China</li> <li>• Civil War Spain</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• China's Civil War</li> <li>• Greek Civil War</li> <li>• War of Vietnam</li> <li>• Crisis of Iran in 1946</li> <li>• War of Indochina I</li> <li>• Civil War Paraguay</li> <li>• War in Malaysia Peninsula</li> <li>• Internal Conflict in Myanmar</li> <li>• Conflict of Baluchistan</li> <li>• War of Korea</li> <li>• The Rise of Mau-mau</li> <li>• Revolution of Cuba</li> <li>• War of Indochina II</li> <li>• Crisis of Taiwan Strait I</li> <li>• War of Algeria</li> <li>• Civil War Sudan I</li> <li>• Crisis of Suez Canal</li> <li>• Crisis of Taiwan Strait II</li> <li>• Crisis of Lebanon 1958</li> <li>• Rising of Tibet 1959</li> <li>• Central America Crisis</li> <li>• Crisis of Congo War</li> <li>• Colonial of Portugal</li> <li>• Conflict Xinjiang</li> <li>• War of Iraq with Kurdish I</li> <li>• War Independence Eritrea</li> <li>• Civil War in North Yemen</li> <li>• Dhofar Rebellion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mao Insurgency</li> <li>• Angola Civil War</li> <li>• Occupation of Indonesia over Timor Leste</li> <li>• War of Cabinda</li> <li>• Chittagong Conflict in Bangladesh</li> <li>• Civil War of Mozambique</li> <li>• Conflict of Nagorno-Karabakh</li> <li>• Afghanistan Civil War</li> <li>• Insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir</li> <li>• Conflict of Georgia-Osetia</li> <li>• Conflict of Georgia-Abkhaz</li> <li>• Civil War of Georgia</li> <li>• War of Yugoslavia</li> <li>• Civil War in Tajikistan</li> <li>• Insurgency Afar II</li> <li>• Insurgency of ADF in Uganda</li> <li>• War of Congo I</li> <li>• Civil War of Nepal</li> <li>• Civil War of Guinea Bissau</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Insurgency Communist Sarawak</li> <li>• Sand War in Algeria</li> <li>• Crisis of Aden</li> <li>• Insurgency in the Northeast of India</li> <li>• War in Rhodesia</li> <li>• the Civil War in the Dominican Republic</li> <li>• the Civil War in Chadia</li> <li>• Communists insurgency in Thailand</li> <li>• Campaign of Bolivia</li> <li>• the Korean War II</li> <li>• the War of the South Africa Border</li> <li>• the Nigerian Civil War</li> <li>• Mao Insurgency</li> <li>• Communists insurgency in Malaysia</li> <li>• terrorist incidents</li> <li>• Operation Condor</li> <li>• War of A Wadiah</li> <li>• Civil Conflict in the Philippines</li> <li>• Yemen War 1972</li> <li>• the civil war in Angola</li> <li>• the Civil War in Ethiopia</li> <li>• the Lebanese Civil War</li> <li>• the War of Western Sahara</li> <li>• Indonesian Occupation in East Timor</li> <li>• the Cabinda War in Angola</li> <li>• Insurgency in Laos</li> <li>• Civil Conflict in Turkey</li> <li>• Shaba I in Angola</li> <li>• Ethiopia's Ogaden War</li> <li>• the Vietnam-Cambodia War</li> <li>• Mozambique Civil War</li> <li>• Conflict of Chittagong in Bangladesh</li> <li>• Shaba II in Congo</li> <li>• Uganda - Tanzania War</li> <li>• NDF Rebellion in Yemen</li> <li>• Chadia conflict with Libya</li> <li>• Yemen War 1979</li> <li>• War Soviet Union and Afghanistan</li> <li>• China - Vietnam War</li> <li>• Internal Conflict in Peru</li> <li>• Ethiopia-Somalia Border War</li> <li>• Sri Lankan Civil War</li> <li>• the Thai-Laos Border War</li> <li>• Afghan Civil War.</li> </ul>	
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Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_proxy\\_wars](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_proxy_wars), accessed on 23 of January 2017, (Processed by Writers)

The approach is beyond the territorial limits of the country with foreign policy and when it became the international dynamics it will be identified as international politics. Thus the political approach conducted by major countries is closely related to power as in the adagium of all politics tend to power. A state foreign politics alongside the implementation of foreign policy as an action as a form of behavior.<sup>3</sup>

The behavior is carried out through an approach or action of the big countries in the form of soft power or hard power. Soft power is carried out in a proxy war by using economic tools (Economy Power) and today taken form as technological devices and information of aid or donations from the countries or donors organizations (which was also supported by donor countries) to countries in need which are mostly developing countries or the third world countries. While hard power is carried out through an intervention by the countries that is relatively well-established in economy, politics, and military toward third world or developing countries. The intervention was carried

out with the military power or political power<sup>4</sup>.

A set of rules and standards of achievement are also determined to measure the progress made by the donor receiving countries in form of global policies such as MDG (Millennium Development Goals), Civil Society, Civil Supremacy, Human Rights, Climate Change, Transparency, Accountability, and so forth. These set of standards and regulations cannot be rejected because it is an important issue in international politics. Even today the issue being considered as low politics issue during the cold war (economic, technological, etc.) is now deemed as important as the high politics issue (military and political).

The above mentioned phenomenon are unavoidable by the countries in need for domestic development in their country (domestic politics). The nature of the state in providing a sense of security and well-being as specified by Socrates hundreds of years ago is domestic politics. The weakness of a country make cooperation as the key to perform the duties and functions of the state. If the needs are not met, it will potentially

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<sup>3</sup> Thomas G Hermann, "Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 24. 1 1980 002 7-46.

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<sup>4</sup> Mike Stillman, *Proxy Wars: The Business of War*, (Bloomington, Indiana: Trafford on Demand Pub, 2008), page. 78.

trigger a conflict or war for resources in order to meet the security and prosperity of its people.

Hard power use will likely facing resistance from various countries these days. The resistance will be higher if the country does not have a good (national image) in international politics as experienced by China and Russia. When hard power is carried out by the state with 'good' dominance, hegemony, and national image, then there is possibility of hard power action being legitimized by international community (law warfare) as that of the United States, NATO, and the like.

In the Indonesian perspective, the issue of proxy war has been increased after Gen. Gatot Nurmantyo disseminating it to a wide range of higher education, community and youth organizations and various circles in Indonesia regarding the threat of proxy war. Proxy War in Indonesian also defined as war of influence extension.

War conducted by one side against another by using a third party from within the country itself or other actors who operate by utilizing the local community or locals.

However, the definition of proxy war cannot be determined according to

the Indonesian perspective particularly on military perspective about proxy war. The definition of a proxy war by [www.reference.com](http://www.reference.com) (2017) is as follows:

“A proxy war is a conflict inflicted by a major power or powers that do not become involved in it directly. Often, proxy wars involve countries fighting their opponents' allies or helping their allies fight their opponents.”<sup>5</sup>

The Oxford online dictionary (2017) has similar definition about proxy war which in principle implicating indirect involvement “A war instigated by a major power which does not itself become involved.”<sup>6</sup> It is interesting to highlight the word major power behind proxy war.

The further question is what is the major power motives in Indonesia? Which one is more dangerous between hard power and soft power in the context of Indonesia? What is the history of proxy war that happened in Indonesia? How to promote plurality in Indonesia that is vulnerable to proxy war attempt? Through this short article the writers will elaborate on the motives in a proxy war, the use of soft power and hard power, national security, counter

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<sup>5</sup> Proxy War Reference, <https://www.reference.com/education/proxy-war-b728308de84469fd>, accessed on February 12, 2014.

<sup>6</sup> English Oxford Living Dictionaries, Proxy war, [https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/proxy\\_war](https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/proxy_war), accessed on 12 February 2014.

proxy, as well as integration and disintegration.

This article was prepared by using descriptive qualitative approach using study of literature and documentation as the source of research data. The validity and reliability of the data was tested by triangulation reference.

### **The Motives Framework of Proxy War**

At the time of the cold war which full of statist nuances, self-help, and the survival of the individual countries concerned about security issues.<sup>7</sup> The security interest as well as political interests made the proxy incurred in connection with these two issues (high politics). During the post-cold war when nuclear war is no longer a major issue, the issue of economic, technology, human rights (particularly in perspective of international relations known as human security), and environmental issues. Even today, the struggle for power and the power of influence goes beyond security and political issues although in the end it still affecting the security and international politics as well

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<sup>7</sup> Tim Dunne & Brian C. Schimdt, "Realism", in John Baylis & Steve Smith (Eds), *The Globalization of World Politics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), page. 141-60.

domestic politics interests of a state.<sup>8</sup>

As stated by Lord Acton that all politics tend to power. Therefore, in principle any form of proxy conducted by a great power against a country through the political elites and Non-Governmental Official (NGO) is the struggle for power or power of influence.<sup>9</sup>

This motive is not necessarily seek for occupation, because it will be dealing with international institutions and other countries. However, in some cases intervention has been conducted to replace the regime (such as in the Arab Spring), influencing political leaders (Latin America and Africa), and eventually to preserve the power of the big countries at the international politics stage both in terms of power and the effect.

### **Hard Power and Soft Power**

The concept of difference between hard power and soft power was introduced by

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<sup>8</sup> Dick Simpson, James Nowlan, Elizabeth O'Shaughnessy, *The Struggle for Power and Influence in Cities and States* 1st Edition, (London: Pearson, 2010), page. 233. Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Alastair Smith, *Domestic Explanations of International Relations*, (New York: Department of Politics New York University, 2012), page.161-81.

<sup>9</sup> Michael A Innes, *Making Sense of Proxy Wars: States, Surrogates & the Use of Force*, (Dulles Virginia: Potomac Books, 2012) and Mike Stillman, *Proxy Wars: The Business of War*. Bloomington, (Indiana: Trafford on Demand Pub, 2008).

Joseph Nye more than two decades ago (1990). Nye defines power as the ability to affect others to get the desired results<sup>10</sup> and hard power as the use of coercive force by persuasion or threats<sup>11</sup>. Hard power is based on the use of coercive force by military intervention, diplomacy and economic sanctions economic<sup>12</sup> and rely on actual resources such as the army or economic powers<sup>13</sup>. Example of use of hard power was in the German invasion of Poland (1939), and the United Nations economic sanctions against Iraq (1991) in post-Gulf War I.

Soft power is the ability to persuade others to performed what they desire.<sup>14</sup> Nye said that the persuasion as persuasive power of by attraction and emulation of cultural resources, ideology, and organizations.<sup>15</sup> Dispersion of American culture in the Eastern Block during the Cold War indicates the soft power of America, and the process of EU

expansion is another example of soft power.<sup>16</sup>

The effectiveness of the hard power and soft power approaches depends on the accessibility of resources.<sup>17</sup> Major state powers such as the United States or Russia with higher national income are financially able to maintain large armed forces, and deploy them in other countries with suppressed economy. Smaller countries, with the lack of hard power ability, but has the soft power capability that can be a form of power to affect other countries like Norwegia.<sup>18</sup>

However, there are differences when compared with Japan or China. Heng said that the history of Japanese war resulting a limitation in soft power.<sup>19</sup> China's authoritarian leadership impede the full utilization of their soft power potential.<sup>20</sup> Thus the strength of a country's soft power is related to its history and social system to determine

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<sup>10</sup> Joseph S. Nye, *Understanding International Conflicts*. 7th ed, (New York: Pearson, 2009), page. 61.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, page. 63.

<sup>12</sup> E.J. Wilson, "Hard Power, Soft Power, Smart Power", *ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, Issue 616, 2008, hlm. 114.

<sup>13</sup> G. Gallarotti, "Soft Power: what it is, its importance, and the conditions for its effective use", *Journal of Political Power*, vol. No.1, 2011, pp. 29.

<sup>14</sup> E.J. Wilson, *op.cit*, page.114.

<sup>15</sup> Joseph Nye, *op.cit*, page.63

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, page. 63-64.

<sup>17</sup> Heywood, *Global Politics*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Foundation, 2011), Picture. 9.1, page. 72.

<sup>18</sup> Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), page.111-112.

<sup>19</sup> Y.K. Heng, "Mirror, mirror on the wall, who is the softest of them all? Evaluating Japanese and Chinese strategies in the 'soft' power competitions era", *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Vol.10, 2010, hlm. 299.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, page.300.



the effectiveness of the soft power.

Smith-Windsor stated that the boundary between soft power and hard power is unclear<sup>21</sup>. Smith-Windsor said that the armed forces can also be used in peacekeeping operations, humanitarian, and the handover of power (interposition).<sup>22</sup> The use of the armed forces indicating no firm boundaries between hard power and soft power.

A country's foreign policy strategy can be an effective combination of both types of power. This is identified by Nossel and Nye as "smart power".<sup>23</sup> Armitage and Nye conveyed smart power as combination of hard power and soft power.<sup>24</sup> Armitage and Nye are both agree that smart power is an approach that underlining the needs of strong military power, while also heavily investing in alliance, partnership and organizations. According to Wilson smart power is ability (...) to combine elements of hard power and mutually strengthening soft power<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> B.A. Smith-Windsor, "Hard Power, Soft Power reconsidered", *Canadian Military Journal*, Vol. No.3, 2000, pp. 51-56.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, page.53.

<sup>23</sup> Nye, *op.cit.*, dan S. Nossel, "Smart Power", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. No.2, 2004, pp. 131-142.

<sup>24</sup> R. L. Armitage & Joseph S. Nye, *CSIS Commission on Smart Power: A smarter, more secure America*. (Washington: CSIS Press, 2007), page.7.

<sup>25</sup> E.J. Wilson, *op.cit.*, page. 115.

We already know the point of weakness on the use of hard power. After the Cold War, the use of soft power has been strongly implemented by the major powers. Thus the focus of the analysis is the use of soft power to determine its weaknesses. Cooper said that there are at least three weak points of soft power. **First**, questioning the power of culture as a source of soft power in which cultural influence and political power are not the same; **Second**, the desired results using a strategy of soft power depends on the specific circumstances that cannot always be influenced by the state; **Third**, Cooper criticizing the actual benefits of setting the agenda as a positive result of the practices that have lasted a long time by using soft power.<sup>26</sup>

Proxy war tend to begin with soft power through diplomacy, donations, until developing an insurgency groups (dissident) in a country. The adagium of enemy's enemy is a friend is often implemented in performing the soft power. At a certain scale when soft power is no longer effective, hard power

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<sup>26</sup> R. Cooper, *Hard Power, Soft Power and the Goals of Diplomacy*, in D. Held & M. Koenig-Archibugi (Eds), *American Power in the 21st Century*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004), page. 170-171.



will be implemented in form of embargo, political interference and military intervention with series of resistance attempts by local leaders through their organization according to the pretension that have been transmitted by the major powers in accordance with its national interests.

### **Counter Proxy War**

The nationalism spirits of European countries has encouraged the spirit of regionalism which later bring forth the EU. The expansion of EU membership demonstrates the successful use of soft power effectively.<sup>27</sup> According to Cooper, the integration of other countries by joining with the EU shows how soft power is being used with a readiness to offer a choice at the table of decision makers.<sup>28</sup> The formation of the European Union to guarantee peace and security between the Europe countries and the EU expansion process has further strengthening its position at the global level. Thus, soft power is beneficial for the EU member states and the EU itself.

### **National Security**

The concept of Homeland security

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.180. 179-180.

of Indonesia is clearly stated in the fourth paragraph of the preamble in the 1945 Constitution. Therefore, the government, with all the potential and resources is mandated to maintain the national Security by: (a) Protecting all citizens and the homeland of Indonesia; (b) Promoting the general welfare and intellectuality the nation; and (c) Participating in keeping the world order based on everlasting peace and social justice.

The constitutional mandate particularly rests within the executive in order to carry out the tasks of national defense as a means to uphold the country's external sovereignty as the manifestation against external threat by using military force (external sovereignty by force). Furthermore, the government is in charge of carrying out public diplomacy in the world to maintain the external sovereignty, especially in its efforts to develop the external sovereignty by diplomacy. Meanwhile, inside (internal sovereignty), the government (executive) shall promote the general welfare and the intellectuality of the nation.

Communitarian concept (reciprocity between the individual and

the community) is mandated by the preamble of National Constitution 1945, shows that the concept of nation means the Indonesian citizens (human). Thus people centered security (human security) within the Indonesian context is not identified as simply individual security or human security, but inseparable interrelationships between the citizens security as part of the national security.

The concept of human security is the assurance that the state will exercise its obligation to protect the Indonesian citizens from all forms of threats, freeing the citizens from fear (freedom from fear) and the freedom to wish (freedom of want). The freedom given to Indonesian citizens is obviously not the individualistic liberal freedom, but freedom within the framework of communitarian society, nation and state of Indonesia. That means, there is a balance between national security and the security of citizens. Citizen Security also hinted that the state is obliged to protect all Indonesian citizens everywhere they reside, including abroad (principle of nationality)<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Secretary General of National Defense Council, *National Security: A Concept and Security System for Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Secretariat General National Defense Council, 2010), page. 53.

In relation with national security and proxy war, the government policy should be able to anticipate the determined to sow terror engendered by the proxy war (the terror sown by the proxy war). In that sense, national security policy is the government's perception of threats that is allegedly able to disrupt the national security and its citizens as well as the prevention. Policies could guide the most possible actions to be carried out by the government, so that the policy is a plan of action were considered to guide the predetermined decisions. The national security policy shall consider internal and external threats, and must be in line with global policies that has been ratified accordingly.<sup>30</sup>

In democratic countries, the parliament has the authority to take the final decision on the budget as well as monitoring and evaluating the implementation of policies including security policies.<sup>31</sup> In national security decision-making, the government not

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<sup>30</sup> IPU and DCAF, *Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector: Principles, Mechanisms and Practices (Pengawasan Parlemen atas Sektor Keamanan: Prinsip, Mekanisme dan Praktik)*, (Geneva: IPU and DCAF, 2003), page. 27.

<sup>31</sup> Peter Albrecht and Karen Barnes, *Developing National Security and Gender Policy*, (Geneva: Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces/DCAF, 2008), page. 1.

only regulating itself, but also regulate other countries. If a country feels threatened, it could improve its ability to threaten other countries (balance of power). The action of each country closely associated with the future and the fate of every other political entity<sup>32</sup>.

In International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences security is "the ability of a nation to protect its internal values from external threats". Its traditional definitions has following characteristics: *first*, identifying "national" as "state"; *second*, threats from outside the state; and, *third*, the use of military force to deal with the threats. Therefore it makes sense when Arnold Wolfers reaching the conclusion that the main problem faced by every country is in developing the power to deter or to defeat an attack. In addition, military threats are not the only type of threat faced by a country. Perhaps the traditional definition as known in the West for decades can only be understood by considering the history of the formation in most Western countries that has been set forth by the Wesphalian conception of "nation-

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<sup>32</sup> see David Hell, *Democracy and Global Order*, (Jogjakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2004), page. 141.

states" (nation-state).<sup>33</sup>

In the process, the domain of a state internal security becoming increasingly complex because it touch wider issues such as poverty, social conflicts, radicalism, corruption, narcotics, demagogu (the speech of hatred), natural disasters, interracial conflicts, crime, and armed rebellion. Thus the effort to preserve and maintain the state security is not only determined by the military capabilities, but also takes the willingness of others element of national power. One is the capacity of government and the awareness of civil society.

### **Integration and Disintegration of a Nation**

Integration is a close and intact interdependent within element of living organisms or between members of the community therefore leading to a consolidation of considerably harmonious relationship. The word integration comes from the word

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<sup>33</sup> Kusnanto Anggoro, "National Security, National Defense, and Public Order", Comparative Paper for National Law Development Seminar VIII. Organized by the National Law Development Agency (Ministry of Justice and Human Rights RI at Kartika Plaza Hotel, Denpasar, on 14 July 2003), [http://www.lfip.org/Bahasa Inggris/pdf/back-seminar/National Security% 20% 20Pertahanan% 20Negara% 20-% 20% 20anggoro.pdf](http://www.lfip.org/Bahasa%20Inggris/pdf/back-seminar/National%20Security%20Pertahanan%20Negara%20-%2020anggoro.pdf) koesnanto, downloaded on 23 February 2017.

integer, which means as a whole, not cracked, round, solid (*E Pluribus Unum*).

The driving factor of integration are the high level of awareness on integration and participation, the intensive and effective supervision, the realization of the social justice principle and the principles of solidarity/power sharing effectively, threats and pressure from the outside, and the symbol of unity. On the contrary, the inhibiting factor are the growing of chauvinism, the development of social stratification or group conception, the growing belief only its religion and faith as the absolute truth, the development of specific cultural assumption is higher than other cultures, and so on. The key word is harmony or balance.

According to the Indonesian Dictionary, disintegration is a not united situation or a state of being disunited<sup>34</sup>; loss of the integrity or association; disunity. Disintegration is literally understood as a disunity of a nation that split into different elements<sup>35</sup>. This definition refers to the verb of disintegrate, “to lose unity or integrity by or as if by breaking into parts”. According to empirical data, Indonesia

has a relatively high potential for disintegration. One of the indication for this potential is the low ethnic and linguistic homogeneity.

The disintegration or disorganization is a condition in which there is incompatibility in every element as the whole. Compatibility between every elements shall exist in order for the community to function properly as part of the organization. In theory, social theory stated that the factors which affect the social integration is the homogeneity of the group, the size of the community, physical movement, and efficiency and communication.

The disintegration or disorganization is a state where there is no harmony in the elements of a single entity or a process of fading norms and values in society as a result of changes that occurred in the institutions of society. When a society is in a state of disintegration, the harmony in social relations becomes impaired. Thus, the individuals in society are no longer live in peace and order, but facing conflicts or contradictions caused by different perceptions of values and social norms that have changed.

The early symptoms of social

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<sup>34</sup> Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia, 2008.

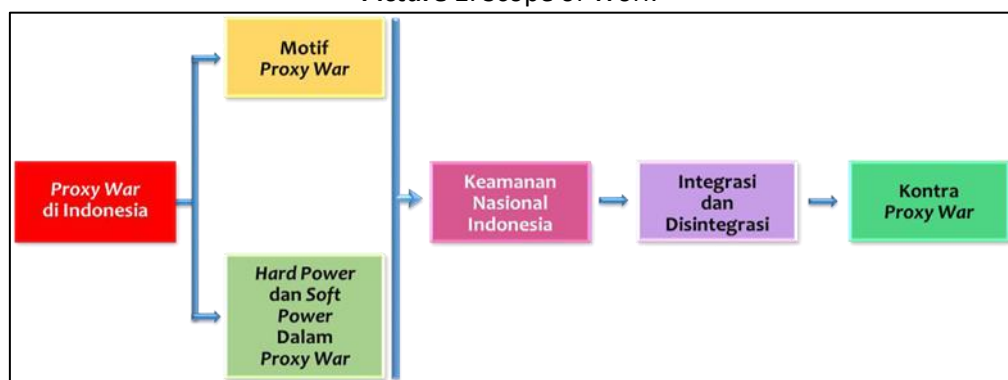
<sup>35</sup> Webster's New Encyclopedic Dictionary 1994.

disintegration or disorganization is no shared vision (perception) between members of the public about the initial purpose that was originally used as a guidance by every member of the community. In addition, the norms of society can no longer function properly as a means of social control to achieve the objectives of the community thus leading to disagreement over the norms that exist in society. Besides, the

sanctions imposed to those who violate the norms are not implemented consistently. This resulted in a dissociative social process such as competition, conflict or controversy (instigation, defamatory, interrupting the process, and nerves battle) or demagoguery.

Based on the above theoretical framework, the writers determine the framework as stated in Picture 1.

**Picture 1.** Scope of Work



Source: Processed by Writers, 2017

## Proxy War and Indonesia's National Security

### Understanding the Big Power Motives in Indonesia

We realize that Indonesia has been blessed with abundant natural resources and plural human resources given by God (*Opus Dei*) to Indonesia. This could have either positive or negative impact. The positive impact is that as citizens of Indonesia we could take advantage of the natural resources wisely or manage

our cultural heritage for the welfare of the people. The differences can also be a threat to the integrity of Indonesia. So as historically the predecessor of the nation stating the motto of "Unity in Diversity", which means different, but one (*E Pluribus Unum*).

The Proxy war motive conducted by the major powers in some cases is the political power and economy both by using hard power and soft power. Proxy

war is conducted by exerting local groups of a country coming from state and non-state actors. The political and military domination is inseparable from the interests of the big countries (major powers) either within the framework of struggle for power or the power of influence.<sup>36</sup>

Our history as a nation has experienced conditions of disintegration because there was no growing sense of nationalism. Various kingdoms with different religions such as Kingdom of Majapahit, Kingdom of Sriwijaya, Kingdom of Samudra Pasai, Kingdom of Bugis, Kingdom of Makassar, the kingdom of Ternate, Kingdom of Kutai, and others has been played off for the economic dominance (the lucrative spices trading in Europe). Today's condition is not much different with more than 300 different languages and

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<sup>36</sup> Andrew Mumford, *Proxy Warfare. War and Conflict in the Modern World*, (Cambridge U.K: Polity Press, 2013); Innes, *op.cit*; Shane Harris, *@ War: The Rise of the Military-Internet Complex*, (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 2012), E. L. Speed, *Proxy War, Volume One: Phantom War Trilogy*, (Triburon, California, U.S: Metaterra Publications, 2012), Stillman, *op.cit*; Peter Hopkirk, *The Great Game: On Secret Service in High Asia (Reprint Edition)*, (New York: Oxford University Press. 2006); Bean, Richard et al, *The Great Game: Afghanistan (Oberon Modern Plays)*, (First Edition. U.K: Oberon Books Limited, 2010); Ariel I. Ahram, *Proxy Warriors: The Rise and fall of State-Sponsored Militias*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2011).

religions that is vulnerable to be divided and ruled by foreign powers not only for controlling the natural resources but could be turn into market segments (market) for foreign products.

The approach also varied ranging from mutually beneficial trade interaction, which later turned into a profitable part for special elite group that eventually lead to internal dispute. Therefore, in an effort to build awareness is by returning to *tabula rasa* as an Indonesian citizen and *pro bono* for the public benefit.

### **Safeguarding the Indonesian National Security**

The National Security policy including Law No. 6 of 1946 on the State of Emergency, Law No. 74 of 1957 concerning Revocation of “*Regelling op de Staat Van Oorlog en Beleg*” and the designation of "State of Emergency", GR 23/1959 on the State of Emergency, Regulation No. 16 of 1960 on the Request and Deployment of Military assistance. While the Technical Act stipulated Post-Reformation including Law No. 39 of 1999 on Human Rights, Law No. 2 of 2002 on the Police, Law No. 3 of 2002 on National Defense, Law Number 15 of 2003 on Combating Terrorism, Law



Number 32 of 2004 on Regional Government, Law No. 34 of 2004 on the National Army, Law Number 24 of 2007 on Disaster Management, Law No. 14 of 2008 on Public Information, Law No. 35 of 2009 on Narcotics, Law No. 36 of 2009 on Health, Law No. 17 of 2011 on the Intelligence and Law No. 7 of 2012 on Social Conflict Management and others. In principle, the policies and other legislation is to maintain national security of Indonesia formulated with sentences and orientation according to their respective sectors.

Rules and regulations made by the ruling elite are still overlapping and being implemented separately (sectoral) in accordance with the interests of each institution. This situation led to the ineffectiveness in the handling of various problems or threats against national security.<sup>37</sup> Thus the threat of disintegration that haunt this country could emerge from different sources of both government and non-government. The diversity which is considered as the wealth of the nation, both in terms of hundreds of existing ethnics, cultures,

languages, customs, religions and beliefs, apparently have a vulnerable side of a potential disintegration with a very broad and deep implication that might occur. Corresponding with a quote of Sun Tzu's; "strength is weakness."

Disharmony in the political, economic, social, and culture si potential threat for disintegration amidst the demographic diversity of Indonesia. The unbalanced condition or otherwise unstable might be escalated to crisis which later lead to disagreement as a form of protest against the injustice felt by a group of people so that it can be easily used as an extension tool (proxy) of the major powers countries to divide and rule Indonesia. As with the politics of *divide et impera* during the the Dutch colonial era (VOC) in 1596- 1942.

The tendency of the major powers in using soft power needs to be analyzed from the Indonesian context. The Indonesia's national security must be defended in dealing with the soft power. As Cooper said that there are at least three weak points of soft power, therefore the Indonesian national security need to strengthen the culture as cultural and political influence are not the same. The National Constitution 1945 has described about Indonesian culture

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<sup>37</sup> Army Marshal Bambang Eko S, SH, M.H, "The urgency of the National Security Act in Indonesian constitutional system", Wira Magazine, Jakarta, the Indonesian Ministry of Defense Special Edition, 2015, p. 6-13



so that it is necessary to strengthen the local culture as local wisdom.

The use of soft power strategy depends on the specific circumstances that cannot always be influenced by the State. With so many actors who serve as third party it will be difficult for a country to force its interest directly. Thus an appropriate strategy to be exercised by Indonesia is by disseminating the perspectives to the NGOs community and youth organizations beside the socialization among educational institutions.

The actual benefits of setting the agenda as a positive result of long existing practices of using soft power by big countries do not necessarily respond to local needs. As a consequence, the writers think that it will takes a relatively long time, and will be longer if nationally a country is more independent in adopting an international policy in accordance with its culture.

### **Sparking the Integration Spirit: *Tabula rasa, pro bono publico, and Opus Dei* Indonesia as Effort to Counter Proxy War**

*Tabula rasa* has the sense of “something existing in its original pristine state”<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Merriam Webster Online Dictionary, 2017.

John Locke (1697) “the human mind at birth is a complete, but receptive, blank slate, upon which experience imprints knowledge”. Locke said that the man has a hollow nature which later influenced by the environment. As Ralph Waldo Emerson said “...man is a bundle of relations, a knot of roots, whose flower and fruitage is the world...”. We should return to our consciousness as citizen of Indonesia which has its own values that have been formulated by our predecessors in the philosophy of Pancasila and Unity in Diversity.

The journey of independence that has entered its 70 years, still leaves a wide range of issues in the diversity of with its growing intensity. The conflict that is expected to be resolved by the spirit of Pancasila and Unity in Diversity have not been fully achieved. Violence become preferable option in some communities to resolve differences. Horizontal conflict triggered by political, economic, religious, civil society organizations arrogance, even football games are often ended with violence. Referring to the conflict and war, as described in Table 1 above, the most important to be influenced are the elite. The elites is representing state and non-state actors. The economy and political

justice in its relation to power is often the cause of rising local resistance movement. When the people power naturally emerged against the injustice there will be a social revolution. The social revolution has never happened in Indonesia because of its diverse culture rich with different perspectives that make it difficult to be united as social and political forces. This is a weakness as well as strength because it will be difficult to get influenced by the outside influence within a short time.

Of course we shall not forget how the "balkanization" has been tested over Indonesia with the Sanggau Ledo, Sambas and Sampit incidents (conflict between the ethnic of Dayak/Malay and Madurese), the riots in Ambon and Poso (religious conflict) and Military Operation in Aceh that led to the desire to separate themselves from the Homeland, and other goals. This is such an unfortunate condition for a nation that was born from the union of diversity. In running a state it requires a balance of each component / sub-system of the country as stated by Plato:

"...Are all our actions alike performed by the one predominant faculty, or are there three faculties operating severally in our different actions? Do we learn with one

internal faculty, and become angry with another, and with a third feel desire for all the pleasures connected with eating and drinking, and the propagation of the species; or upon every impulse to action, do we perform these several actions with the whole soul?"<sup>39</sup>

Avoiding the sectoral ego is a key word in maintaining integration. Returning to the nature of Indonesia with the pristine values in maintaining its diversity, Pancasila as the ideal foundation, the 1945 Constitution as the constitutional foundation, Archipelagic Knowledge as visional foundation, and National Defense as the Conception Foundation, and the Senates Decree Number: V/MPR/2000 on the Enhancement of National Unity and Integrity.

Facing the motives and the approach taken by major states (major powers) will required actions undertaken by the government for the domestic politics that will be reflected in its foreign relations. Nationalism is the key word to impart counter proxy. Nationalism is not only associated with military power (hard power) but rather to the values that can integrate the diversity into a unity (*E Pluribus Unum*).

When nationalism is stronger than

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<sup>39</sup> Plato-The Republic: Book 4.

the integration will be strengthened as well. In the end, the political objective of using hard power and soft power as described above is to create disintegration in a country conducted by major powers through third parties (originating from within the target country). The Dutch colonials used to exert the *divide et impera* politic (bring the kingdoms into conflict) with their motive of gold, gospel, and glory that eventually means to control the natural resources of the archipelago which at that time was fascinating the international economy. The writers think that in addition to the control of natural resources, nowadays it is also competition of large countries in seizing the market. Major countries use the term divide and rule (pitting to govern).

National security today is not just a military dimension but has other dimensions, especially the economy. The perception of national security that only oriented on military force should also be balanced against the other dimensions threat such as economic, social, cultural, and even now touching religious issues. It is very dangerous for Indonesia with its *Opus Dei* being created by God with a complex diversity. It needs awareness of each community not to be easily

influenced to deal with the threat of nonmilitary dimension.

On the other hand the government policy should be able to anticipate the determined to sow terror engendered by the proxy war. National security policy is not just the domain of the government or the ruling elite. National security is the domain of all the elite including outside of government (non-governmental). National security policy should be given to the elite outside the government to create a balance between the role of the governing elite and the elite of non-governmental organizations (NGOs, community leaders, etc.). As the keyword said that the country belongs every one of us then who else will stand up and defend it except its people.

In addition, one of the social integration factors in Indonesia is the Indonesian language as a symbol of unity and pride as a citizen of Indonesia. The use of Indonesian language will revive the spirit of integrity and unity so that no single ethnic group would wanting to separate themselves from the Homeland as may have been agreed by the nation founding fathers through the Youth Pledge in 1928. Likewise for Pancasila as the personality and life guidance of every citizen of Indonesia. The spirit of

teamwork and a strong sense of solidarity and religious tolerance is the values stated in Pancasila with other enriching values to create harmony. The historical factors of camaraderie as the result from long suffering from occupation that commonly shared by all ethnic groups in Indonesia should be remembered to understand how being independent is better than scattered and oppressed.

### **Conclusion**

The motives of major countries are not so much different from the actual condition. Today, soft power has been used more than hard power and at a certain scale has been carried out as a combination by the major power countries. The historical journey of Indonesia has experienced different periods in which the elites are competing for power as the arms of the big countries, thus resulting in the scattered unity of Indonesia.

To maintain the integrity of Indonesia with its diversity, an effort for national integration shall be one of the main agenda in the context of national leadership by promoting *pro bono publico*. *Pro bono publico* according to Webster Dictionary is “being, involving,

or doing professional and especially legal work donated especially for the public good.” In a more Indonesian definition it means selfless. Selfless in managing the diversity, the ability to integrate all different groups, races, and religions, and to unify the differences in harmony. Especially among the elite which according to the historical aspect of Indonesia are often became the actors being used by both the major powers, both elites from state actors or non-state actors.

*Opus Dei* has a meaning of “God’s work”. God creation means we acknowledge the God and His creation. Indonesia is created by the plurality. With the plurality hence the characteristic of Unity in Diversity. Accompanied by the love of the nation, sacrifice, tolerance (sense of togetherness, tolerance), patriotic spirit (*pro bono*), and so on have to be kept in balance or harmony so that we can achieve victory (*Victoria Concordia Crescit*).

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