

# *Indonesian And Türkiye Defense Strategies For Maintaining International Collective Security In 2022*

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**Abstract** – The war that took place between Russia and Ukraine presents a new chapter for the stability of international collective security. It seems that the UN has not been able to present a common ground for the two conflicting countries. Türkiye and Indonesia have an important role in maintaining the desired international collective security. The defense strategies of Indonesia and Türkiye have received international attention in their efforts to reconcile Russia and Ukraine. This study aims to discuss the strength of the defense strategy between Indonesia and Türkiye. The contribution of the two countries in maintaining collective international security was also discussed. The research method used is qualitative. The data were collected from online interviews with defense management students' overseas study, non-participant observations, and documentation. Data were taken from interviews, journals, books, previous research, scientific articles, literature, and news from official websites. Furthermore, the research data will be processed and analyzed further based on the theories studied and used as material for discussion so that it can produce a conclusion. The results of this study describe Indonesia's defense strategy, namely active defense with a universal people's defense system. Türkiye's defense strategy is formulated in several important pillars, namely increasing military operational readiness, pre-emptive intervention, and deterrence capabilities. There are significant differences between the defense strategies of Indonesia and Türkiye in two respects, namely the development of the defense industry and defense diplomacy. The contribution of the two countries in their efforts to reconcile countries in conflict can be said to be an effort to maintain international collective security.

**Keywords** – Defense strategy, Defensive, Indonesia, International Collective Security, Türkiye

## I. INTRODUCTION

The current condition has brought the world no longer to VUCA which is characterized by its complexity but to BANI which brings disorientation, unpredictability and chaos. BANI as an acronym for Brittle, Anxious, Nonlinear, and Incomprehensible was proposed in early 2020 by Jamais Cascio (2020) Furthermore, according to Cascio that in articulating increasingly common situations with simple volatility or complexity, it is not enough to understand the situation that occurs. The existing conditions are not only unstable but also chaotic. Foreshadowing the future is not only difficult to predict but utterly unpredictable. The latter that what happened was not only ambiguous but also completely incomprehensible. This is also the case in today's world conditions.

In theory, many people believe that peace follows war, and nations that identify as civilized have also made a commitment to achieving world peace. The conventions that emerged and the incorporation of these agreements into many nations' national

legislation serve as evidence of this manifestation (read: ratification). All nations should be prepared to work together and dedicated to continuing to demand and achieve global peace.

A common belief must be cultivated that one-day world peace will be truly realized. Confidence will never change the state of affairs, there must be a real effort made jointly by all the countries of the world. In order to bring about global peace, there have been several diplomatic attempts and gatherings amongst nations. Points of agreement or a type of collective agreement are ultimately produced. The agreement so far has not changed much of the situation. Even today there are still conflicts that continue in wars such as those between Ukraine and Russia. The war had an impact on the destruction of the social order of society.

In international relations, the subject of conflict and war has gained a lot of attention. This is similar to the mind of realists that, the international world is conflictual, and the way to survive and struggle for power is with the beginning of the war [2]. Therefore, the issue of this conflict is an inseparable part of the constellation of international politics.

The constellation of international politics is focused on the unending war between Russia and Ukraine. The conflict that occurred gave rise to many scenario predictions. There are at least five scenarios, namely short-term war, long-term war, war with Europe and NATO, the war finished diplomatically, and war finished with Putin stepped down [3]. The prediction presents a war scenario that will certainly have an impact on the stability of international collective security.

In addition to the war scenario, diplomatic solutions are still being implemented. One of them is Türkiye, which is willing to be a mediator. As has been rumored it is clear that Türkiye is being neutral in the war that is taking place between Russia and Ukraine. Which has been going on since February 24. Good relations continue to be carried out by Türkiye both to Russia and Ukraine. This is also supported by Türkiye's initiative to be a mediator in the conflict [4].

Another way is taken by Indonesia. Indonesia and Türkiye hope that the war can be resolved. However, the Indonesian government chose to come directly to the two countries in conflict. The visit of Indonesian President Joko Widodo to Russia and Ukraine was a form of implementing the constitutional mandate in contributing to the creation of world peace [5]. This is because peace and humanitarian issues have always been a priority for Indonesia's foreign policy.

Indonesia and Türkiye hope that the Russian and Ukrainian wars can soon present a common ground. The method between Indonesia and Türkiye is part of the defense strategy by pursuing diplomacy as the best way from the existing conflict. The defense strategy implemented by Indonesia and Türkiye is expected to maintain international collective security.

## **II. LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **A. State Defense Strategy**

To date, the issue of the defense of the State has been recognized as vital to this country. The dissent in both civilian and military areas is already very real. These differences have been seen in the determination of strategy and in the development of military forces to support it. The determination of the defense strategy is a strategic step in the achievement of a country's national interests. The defense strategy implemented must be adapted to the character of the nation and the strategic culture of the country.

Clausewitz [6, p. 95] in his book entitled *On War*, says that "The whole of military activity must relate directly or indirectly to the engagement. The end for which a soldier is recruited, clothed, armed, and trained; the whole object of his sleeping, eating, drinking, and marching is simply that he should fight at the right place and the right time". Based on the statement, the defense strategy is in line with the construction of military strength.

The defense strategy that exists in the world is divided into two actions, namely defensive and offensive [7, p. 665]. Military operations in conflict and other smaller-scale crises are often dominated by offensive and defensive techniques. The objective of offensive operations is to eliminate or subdue the enemy and impose our will on him for a resounding triumph. Offensive strategy uses conquest to attempt to expand a state's resources and potential military capabilities. Conversely, defensive operations stop enemy attacks, buy time, conserve energy, or create favorable circumstances for counterattacks that seize the initiative and overpower the opposition. The goal of the defensive strategy is to protect the resources and area under their control.

### **B. International Collective Security**

The international collective security system is translated as political agreements and international law outlined in the legal provisions of the UN Charter. This concept of collective international security is accepted by the international community by

combining international legal and political factors in parallel so that a global public order system is expected to be formed by taking into account relevant institutions, actors, components, and instruments.

One of the reasons for the formation of the United Nations is the acceptance of the concept of International Collective Security in this universal organizational system. With the enactment of the UN Charter as the basic organizational instrument, which regulates the normative and institutional foundation of the International Collective Security system, the international community accepts and institutionalizes the concept of international collective security that is centered and or stacked on the agreed international organization, namely the United Nations.

This system entrusts delegations of power from member states to a major UN organ, the Security Council. Member states have agreed on a normative foundation that affirms the authority of this organ to carry out the necessary measures to maintain and maintain international peace and security (International Peace and Security). The Security Council as one of the main organs of the UN is given the mandate and primary responsibility in terms of maintaining international peace and security.

The concept of International Collective Security is an international security architecture within the framework of the UN as formulated in the Charter. This concept of collective security is accepted by the international community primarily in efforts to maintain international peace and security. The UNSC is envisioned as a buffer power to prevent aggression by one country against another country that triggers international wars and even wars on a wider scale and leads to world wars.

The concept of International collective security is in line with the philosophy on which the UN was founded as stated in the preamble to the Charter, "We the peoples of the United Nations are determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". Further in Article 1 of the Charter it is even stated that the UN formulates the objective "To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression and other breaches of the peace".

The normative framework of International Collective Security as stipulated in the UN Charter includes the obligation to peacefully resolve international disputes (peaceful means of international disputes settlement) contained in Article 2 paragraph (3) and Chapters VI and VIII; a ban on the use of force in international relations (... refrain from the use of forces and threat to use of forces ) in Article 2 paragraph (4); international cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security in Article 11; regulation of Arms and Disarmaments in Article 26; and the responsibility of the UN Security Council in determining the existence of threats to international peace and security (Article 39).

### **III. RESEARCH METHOD**

This study applied a descriptive methodology and qualitative research techniques. According to Sugiyono [8, p. 18], qualitative research, which is a research method based on the philosophy of post-positivism, is used to study the condition of natural things. The researcher serves as a fundamental instrument in qualitative research, which also emphasizes meaning over generalization.

The data collection techniques used are the online interview method of Overseas Study, non-participant observations, and documentation. Data is taken from interviews, journals, books, past research, scientific articles, literature, and news from official websites. Furthermore, the research data will be processed and further analyzed based on the theories studied and used as discussion material so that it can produce a conclusion. This conclusion is expected to be an input and reference for the government to make strategic and policy steps for the creation of An Indonesian defense strategy that can maintain world security stability.

### **IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

#### **A. Indonesia's Defense Strategy**

In order to accomplish national objectives, Indonesia's defense is guided by a universal defense system. In essence, a universal defense incorporates all citizens in accordance with their respective responsibilities. Every citizen's participation is motivated by a love of their country and a desire to realize shared goals in advancing national interests. This includes government policies relating to the PMD (World Maritime Axis) concept, which includes maritime defense. The nature of state defense, which encompasses national objectives, national interests, the essence of state defense, the state defense system, state defense functions, and the fundamental principles of state defense execution, becomes a guideline for every citizen to comprehend [9].

Article 1 of Law No. 3 of 2002 defines state defense as any actions taken to uphold state sovereignty, the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the entire country from threats and interferences with the integrity of the state and nation. The state defense system is described in article 2 as a universal defense system that involves all citizens, territories, and other national resources. It is organized in a complete, integrated, directed, and continuous manner by the government to uphold state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of the entire nation from all threats.

State defense is organized to maintain and protect the sovereignty of the state, the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the entire nation from all forms of threats. This is realized by the implementation of defense through efforts to build and build capabilities, deterrence of the state and nation, and overcoming every threat.

The universal system of people's security and defense serves as the foundation of Indonesia's defense policy. All facets of the nation are involved in the state's defense according to the universe's inhabitants' plan. In accordance with Law No. 23 of 2019 Concerning National Resource Management for State Defense, Indonesia has developed regulations for the use of national resources. This law's adoption is anticipated to serve as the cornerstone for future military improvements in Indonesia.

The concept of Indonesia's active defensive defense strategy is also a turning point in Indonesia's struggle to strengthen Indonesia's deterrence from aggression or invasion of other countries. Indonesia's defense posture that can overcome actual and potential threats is a goal that must be achieved. Therefore, Indonesia's Minimum Essential Force (MEF) has been launched for the next 25 years. This strategy forces Indonesia with all its correctness to meet the MEF achievement target by 2045.

## **B. Türkiye's Defense Strategy**

Türkiye shares borders with countries that are key to the future and security position of the Middle East today. Türkiye also has a population of 84.6 million as of 2022 which makes it a regional power worth paying attention to. The Turkish army stands as the second-largest military in NATO and the ninth-largest in the world. Therefore, Türkiye can determine whether to close the capability/expectation gap (such as strategic airlift and sea freight) affecting Europe's security and defense policies.

Türkiye has made a strong contribution and reliable maintenance of forces to the collective international security guards supported by the UN. Türkiye changed the role of the military from 1980 to 2002. This is also done by separating Türkiye's military industrial complex and civilian government. Another thing Türkiye did was the difference in new foreign policy and the post-2002 Türkiye political era.

The military was the sole actor in the first phase of the AK Party era (2002–2008) who could secure foreign policy concerns in the name of its strategic view. This is stated by making reference to the TAF's function as the state's guardian. Republicans in power. In favor of civilization and the democratization of civil-military ties, the AK Party tipped the scales. Military takeover on July 15, 2016, and reform of the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF organizational structure). Following the 2018 constitutional referendum, Türkiye's political system underwent a significant shift from a parliamentary to a presidential one. In both civil-military ties and Türkiye's defense system, the president rose to prominence.

Based on the statement of Nazmul Islam [10], it is clear that Türkiye adheres to a defensive strategy. Türkiye with its power seeks to protect the territory it has from the threat of other countries. In addition, there are several important pillars in the formulation of Türkiye's defense strategy.

- 1) Improving its military readiness-Operations, Combat, and structural readiness, particularly on the Kurdistan Parti Karkerani, Syria, and Iraq.
- 2) Pre-emptive status. Pre-emptive interventions are carried out against terrorism and real military missions. Pre-emptive is used to prevent diplomatic losses for example in the highlights of Libya and the Eastern Mediterranean.
- 3) Deterrence tools that were first used in the context of collective defense within the NATO strategic framework in the post-cold war era.

Turkish defense policy has been primarily driven by military considerations for TAF's cross-border operations in northern Iraq and Syria. This is due to the fact that terrorist activity in the Middle East has been quickly escalating throughout the post-Arab movement era. Additionally, Nazmul Islam [10] disclosed in a presentation at the 2022 Defense Management Foreign Work Lecture that security professionals separate the practical application of Türkiye's new military and defense strategy into two

contexts:

- 1) Rapid Decisive Operations (RDO). The case of RDO Türkiye can contain five cases, of which four are unusual cases. First, the al-Bab region's Operation Efrat Shield to combat ISIS (OES: August 2016–March 2017). Second, the Afrin region's Operation Olive Branch (OOB: January–March 2018), which aims to deterritorialize the PKK. Third, the PKK-YPG is to be defeated by Operation Spring of Peace Between Ras al-Ayn and Tel Abyad (OPS: October–November 2019). Fourth, the Idlib region's Operation Spring Shield for the avoidance of punishment (OSS: February–March 2020). Fifth, Türkiye's numerous military operations against the PKK in northern Iraq are great illustrations of the RDO, in which the TAF serves as the primary combat force. The RDO relies on carrying out a succession of continuous strikes on numerous targets while coordinating air, land, sea, and space forces in order to influence enemy perception and, if required, physically conquer territory.
- 2) Power Projection (PP). Together with the presence of its military installations up front, Türkiye's military involvement in Somalia serves as an example of its use of soft power to highlight its strategic significance in the Horn of Africa, particularly with regard to its sea power capabilities. Qatar and Libya serve as examples of Türkiye's readiness to assert itself as a regional power. After the Arab Spring, there was strategic rivalry with the UAE, Saudi Arabia, and Iran. The capacity of a nation to use all or some of the components of its national power to mobilize and maintain force swiftly and effectively in response to crises, aid in deterrence, and enhance regional stability.

### C. Differences in the Defense Strategy of Indonesia and Türkiye

In defense strength, Indonesia and Türkiye have ranked only two levels apart. Indonesia is in the 15th position and Türkiye is in the 13th position [11]. In terms of defense strategy, the differences between Indonesia and Türkiye can be divided into two, namely the defense industry and defense diplomacy.

#### 1) Defense Industry

The development of the defense sector was intended to increase Türkiye's military's flexibility in its ability to respond to regional security threats [12]. A forceful posture in the defense and military sectors finally reshaped Türkiye's military and defense policy. This was made possible by the defense industry's growth and the military's increased activism in the security crises.

Turkish assertiveness in the tactical and operational use of its home-made drones, including against Syrian regime forces and the Libyan National Army in addition to non-state armed groups and terrorist organizations [12]. This was done in an effort to solidify the relationship between military and foreign policy and support Türkiye's defense sector development toward independence.

Unlike Indonesia, the defense industry is still in the development stage. Indonesia, with its resources, has not provided a commensurate conception of independence, especially in the construction of military power. The fulfillment of the Minimum Essential Force is carried out almost mostly by foreign procurement [13].

#### 2) Defense Diplomacy

The definition of diplomacy according to Winston S. Churchill is "the art of saying "Go to hell" quietly so that they ask for its direction." The art and practice of discussions between representatives of a country is another definition of diplomacy. It typically refers to how international relations behave when trained diplomats intervene on a variety of themes or problems.

Since the end of the cold war, the growth of defense diplomacy has had significant ramifications for the idea of defense and security. Defense diplomacy is a calculated attempt on the part of a nation to preserve its existence and advance its interests. According to Jessica Tuchman Mathews [14], recent events on the international stage have expanded the definition of defense diplomacy in the context of the national security system beyond a focus solely on addressing military threats. However, it also considers the elements of population, natural resource, environmental, political, and economic challenges.

Despite being in a position as a member of NATO, Türkiye's diplomacy was able to maintain good relations with Russia. This is certainly an effort to achieve Türkiye's national interests. In addition, Türkiye's attitude of being willing to be a mediator in the conflict that occurred between Russia and Ukraine. This willingness became a measure that Türkiye had played its defensive



diplomacy role well. Good defense diplomacy also results from Türkiye's very high bargaining position with the defensive power it has.

Indonesia's defense diplomacy refers to a freely active foreign policy. In other words, Indonesia is in a position that does not have any alliances in the country's defense. This should be interpreted as Indonesia's freedom to cooperate with any country in the world for the achievement of Indonesia's interests. Active free politics has also been used by the Government of Indonesia by visiting Russia and Ukraine as conflicting countries. Another agenda was also conveyed that Indonesia has an interest in the food supply from Ukraine so this defense diplomacy is the key.

#### **D. Türkiye and Indonesia's Contribution to Maintaining International Collective Security**

Indonesia and Türkiye are faced with problems in carrying out international collective security. That is the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. In its position as a country in the Indo-Pacific Region, Indonesia takes a role in providing a fair stance for Russia and Ukraine. Indonesia had close ties with Russia during the days of maintaining Indonesian independence. At the time, the Soviet Union was among those nations to congratulate Indonesia on becoming an independent nation and to denounce all forms of colonialism [15]. On the other hand, Ukraine is one of Indonesia's largest importers in the food supply, especially wheat commodities [16].

The President of Indonesia's trips to Moscow and Kiev legitimized the value of maintaining world peace and establishing global collective security. The G20 Cooperation Forum, which will soon take place in Indonesia, is a key move for Indonesia in establishing global collective security. The G20 Theme, Recover Together, Recover Stronger, supports this [17].

Türkiye is doing the same thing by trying to reconcile Russia and Ukraine. Türkiye is willing to be a mediator between the two countries in seeking the best solution. Türkiye with its position as part of NATO since 1952 is one of the countries that have contributed the most to the alliance [18]. One of the cornerstones of the alliance under article 5 of the NATO Charter guarantees collective defense, that is, an attack on one member is an attack on all. However, Türkiye also has close ties with Russia in improving its country's defenses. Several cooperations have been carried out by Türkiye and Russia both in the fulfillment of defense equipment and gas supply needs [19].

In this condition, Türkiye seems to be able to stand in two different places. The power of bargaining position is the advantage possessed by Türkiye in the threat to world peace. NATO, with its consistent support for Ukraine, still needs Türkiye as one of the major powers in the alliance. The relationship between Türkiye and Russia is considered as a connecting bridge in maintaining the stability of food supply and natural gas as well as the balance of power in the region.

Based on this, Indonesia and Türkiye have a contributed to maintaining international collective security. Türkiye and Indonesia continue to strive to maintain security and regenerate the world economy. The relevant concept is that good defense will ultimately result in prosperity [20].

#### **V. CONCLUSION**

The defense tactics used by Indonesia and Türkiye to uphold global collective security are discussed in this paper. The findings of the research and the discussion lead to the following conclusion:

- 1) Indonesia's defense strategy refers to the general policy of national defense which is called the universal people's defense system. Indonesia adheres to an active defensive strategy by maximizing the country's defense deterrence. The MEF concept is an important point in Indonesia's defense strategy that is strong and capable of countering any actual and potential threats.
- 2) Türkiye's defense strategy has something in common with Indonesia, namely a defensive strategy. In addition, Türkiye's defense strategy can also be identified by its two important pillars, namely Rapid Resolute Operations (RDO) and Power Projection (PP).

The management of the military industry and defense diplomacy of Indonesia and Türkiye's defense strategy differ significantly from one another. With its reputation as one of the major regional powers, Türkiye has a strategic advantage while negotiating in order to strengthen its defense and advance national objectives. The independence of Turkish defense technology has recently bolstered the country's defense industry. Indonesia, which will host the G20 summit in 2022, has made direct diplomatic efforts to mediate peace between warring nations under the leadership of President Joko Widodo. Indonesia continues

to focus on achieving the MEF in the military industry by looking for defense independence as a solution.

- 3) The contribution of Indonesia and Türkiye in maintaining international collective security is by using each country's defense strategy. In the case of Ukraine and Russia, Türkiye is willing to be a mediator, while Indonesia through President Joko Widodo visited the two heads of state in conflict directly. This is done to maintain international collective security to achieve economic growth. This is also in line with the G20 theme, namely recover together, recover stronger

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