

CHAPTER 2

LITERATUR REVIEW

2.1 Theoretical Framework

2.1.1 Conflict

According to Robbins in Sopiah (2008: 57), conflict is a process that begins when one party feels that the other party has negatively influenced or will soon affect negatively the other party. Meanwhile, according to Nimran, conflict is defined as a condition that is perceived to exist between parties or more feel a mismatch between goals and opportunities to interfere with efforts to achieve the goals of the other party.

According to the language conflict can be interpreted by differences; opposition and disagreement (Veithzal R & Deddy M., 2003: 274). In essence, conflict is a form of relationship or interaction between humans, both individuals and groups, which marks contradictory or opposite (antagonistic) traits in achieving a goal arising from differences in interests, emotions / psychology and values.

Every human being is a unique individual. This means that everyone has different attitudes and feelings from one another. This difference in feelings and attitudes is a factor in causing social conflicts. There is no society that has never experienced conflict between its members or with other community groups.

2.1.1.1 Conflict Components

According to Veithzal R & Deddy M (2003: 283), in general the conflict consists of three (3) components, namely:

1. Interest, which is something that motivates people to do or not do something. This motivation is not only from the chart of personal desires of a person, but also his role and status.

2. Emotion, which is often manifested through feelings that accompany most human interactions such as anger, hatred, fear, rejection.
3. Values, which are the most difficult components of conflict to solve because they are things that cannot be touched and expressed tangibly, values lie at the root of thoughts and feelings about right and wrong, good and bad that direct and maintain human behavior.

2.1.1.2 Causes of Conflict

According to Yadiman & Rycko Amelza (2013: 3-4) the causes of social conflict include:

1. Differences in interests between groups between social groups, such as differences in political, economic, social, buudaya, religious and the like are factors causing conflicts.
2. Differences in cultural patterns such as differences in customs, ethnicity, religion, political understanding, outlook on life, and blood culture thus encourage competition and opposition, even clashes among members of these social groups.
3. There are differences between social groups, both physically and mentally, or differences in abilities, stances, and feelings that cause disputes or clashes between them.
4. Individual differences Personality differences between individuals can be a factor causing conflict, usually individual differences that are the source of conflict are differences in attitudes and feelings.
5. Rapid and sudden changes in value change in society are common and natural, but if the change is rapid or even sudden, the change can trigger social conflict.

2.1.1.3 Border Conflict

Disputes over territorial boundaries or border areas can occur in the event of disagreement over the boundaries of the results of the

determination in the Regional Formation Law or in the process of affirmation, namely the installation of boundary marks in the field. In practice in the field, the process of affirming regional boundaries cannot always be carried out smoothly, there is even a tendency for the number of boundary disputes between regions to increase (Rere in Rofiandika, 2016: 17). Regional boundaries are the separation of the area of authority of one region from other regions. Regional boundary affirmation is an activity to determine definite boundaries in the field.

2.1.1.4 Deterrence

Deterrence in terminology is an antidote or prevention. Deterrence is one of the efforts made by the state to secure itself with military force as one of the national forces to prevent threats from outside and cause fear and bluff to other countries. Deterrence developed during the cold war and the approach was used in the use of nuclear weapons and was related in the War on Terrorism and it was contained in Robert Jervis, in the theory that actors especially states seek to increase their military strength and excess to ward off the opponent's attack, or at least suppress and force the opponent to think again to carry out an attack. The purpose of deterrence is for other countries that are perceived as threats and know and refrain from attacking and producing bluffs (Baylis, 2002, pp. 161–170). In addition, as John Herz also said in a journal entitled "Deterrence and International Conflict: Empirical Findings and Theoretical Debates", that Deterrence is an act of a threat carried out by a country as compliance in an attempt to bluff to prevent from threats from other countries. It can be said that Deterrence is an attempt to use military force as a means of beating so that other countries do not mess with a country's national security (Huth, 1999, p. 26).

Although Deterrence is essentially part of the Arm race effort, one of which is the competition of military power on nukes, the author emphasizes the variable, namely "military power". Deterrence is also part of a sub-concept of the concept of coercive diplomacy that emphasizes the

power of coercion with the use of carrot and stick policy as a threat posed by the state to the enemy (Williams, 2008, pp. 216–217). Thomas Schelling defined deterrence as part of coercive diplomacy and classified between deterrence and compellence. The difference, according to Schelling, is that deterrence is an effort to secure its national security and force the enemy not to do something. While Compellence deters and forces the enemy to do something so as not to threaten the national security of the state (Constantinou et al., 2016, p. 478; Schelling, 1967, p. 69–71; Williams, 2008, p. 218). Therefore, deterrence and compellence are part of the sub-concepts of coercive diplomacy.

2.1.1.5 Conflict Resolution

According to Veithzhal R. and Deddy M (2003: 300-301) stated that the method to overcome intergroup conflict is the negotiation process. Negotiations bring together two parties with different interests or conflicts together to reach an agreement.

According to Yadiman & Rycko Amelza (2013: 15-16), there are also several ways to solve conflicts that occur, namely:

1. Problem solving by means of face-to-face meetings from the parties to the conflict with the intention of identifying problems and solving them in an open way.
2. Creating a common goal that is not achieved without the cooperation of each party to the conflict.
3. By way of avoidance or attempting to withdraw conflict.
4. Seek to diminish the meaning of differences while emphasizing the common interests between the parties to the conflict.
5. Committing a compromise act in the way that each conflicting party releases or sacrifices something valuable.
6. Changing variables or using techniques to change human behavior

2.1.2 Realism

The theory of realism is one approach in the science of international relations that considers states as the main actors in the international system. This theory emphasizes national security interests, military strength, and competition between states as major factors affecting international relations.

Hans J. Morgenthau, through his work "Politics Among Nations," outlined six basic principles of realism. According to Morgenthau, the state acts on its national interests, with security and power maintenance as the main focus. He asserted that international politics is driven by power competition.

In Hans J. Morgenthau's book, international politics clearly gets a very dominant portion and this problem can be found in his book entitled: Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. Here Hans J. Morgenthau talks a lot about the theory of international political realism within the framework of international political analysis including its nature and tendencies.

In "Theory of International Politics," Kenneth N. Waltz introduces the concept of structuralism. He classified the international system into three forms: bipolar, multipolar, and unipolar. Waltz argues that anarchy in the international system encourages states to behave rationally in order to defend themselves.

In neorealism, the behavior of states can be the product of competition among them as a result of calculating the actions that can bring them the best advantage, or because of the system they live in. State behavior can also be a product of socialization, whereby the state may decide to follow norms because they count them as their own benefit, or because norms become part of it (C. Elman in Paul D. W.Ed., 2008). In the neorealist perspective, international structures are also seen as anarchy so that each state must orient its movements to the achievement of its national

interests (Kenneth N. Waltz, 1979). Based on this explanation, both realists and neorealists are closely related to the national interests of a country.

Mearsheimer developed neorealistic realism and wrote "The Tragedy of Great Power Politics." Mearsheimer's views highlight the natural desire of states to seek maximum power as a measure to ensure their survival. The concept of security dilemmas is also highlighted in his work. Realism theory can be used to analyze how the United States' foreign policy towards the China-Taiwan conflict is reflected in the perspective of national security and power struggles at the international level. This theory posits that states act based on national interests and relative power, which may explain why the United States engages in these conflicts to maintain stability and influence in the region (Mearsheimer, 2001).

2.1.3 National Security

Previously, the concept of power was always defined in terms of hard power, but political scientist Joseph Nye has introduced the concept of soft power and made a clear distinction between these two forms of power. Hard power is the ability to achieve one's goals through coercive actions or threats, while soft power is the ability to influence others to obtain desired results through consent rather than coercion (Nye, 2008). According to Joseph Nye, the source of soft power lies in the country's culture, political ideals, and domestic and foreign policies in international politics. Therefore, soft power can ultimately be seen as an instrument of foreign policy to conduct international relations.

National Security and Soft Power Theory can be used as an analytical framework to evaluate Indonesia's defense readiness. National security refers to the integration of military, political, economic, and social aspects to maintain the sovereignty and stability of a country. Now, the concept of soft power explains how non-military influences, such as economic power and diplomacy, can help states deal with regional threats (Nye, 2004; Buzan, 1991).

Based on its understanding and benefits in supporting the world peace process, diplomacy can be understood as one form of using soft power owned by a country. Soft power itself means the ability to fulfill the interests of one party by inviting or attracting the attention (persuasive) of other parties rather than using coercion or payment. It can be said that soft power is an alternative to the use of hard state power or also called hard power, such as economic embargoes and military threats.

2.1.4 Change and Adaptation

Change and Adaptation Theory can provide valuable insights into responses to conflict dynamics and their implications for national defense. This theory, introduced by Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye in the book "Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition" (1977), emphasizes the importance of interstate dependence and how states seek to adapt to changes in the global environment in order to maintain their national security.

2.1.5 Defense Science

Defense science encompasses the concept of "strategy" or "military science" which is generally defined as "the study of the means, means, means and reasons for which military affairs occur." Defense science does not only study the use of military force to counter or protect the political interests of a country. Furthermore, defense science is not simply "the science and art of war" or "a scientific approach to military action that assumes that the right skills and knowledge can solve all military problems" (Supriyatno, 2014). State Defense Science is a science that provides research related to all aspects directly related to security on a national scale, very closely related to the objectives of state administration.

From an axiomatic point of view, defense science essentially aims to help countries prepare and develop good and appropriate defense

strategies or policies. Developing regulations or strategies that are not based on sound science will negatively impact their effectiveness and, worse, can pose security vulnerabilities to the defense system itself. Therefore, defense science must be used to organize, compile, manage and control various defense and security systems of a country (Pangestu & AlmuBaroq, 2022). Because the existence of an entity called the state and the need to maintain its existence in the face of various threats are fundamental reasons for understanding defense issues from a philosophical point of view. Defense science examines the behavior of states in the face of such threats. If the threat we face is military in nature then the state response will also tend to be military in nature. However, if the threat is not military in nature, then the response will be non-military. Non-military threats have a very broad and diverse dimension. For example, in border areas, threats often take many forms such as drug trafficking, timber smuggling, human trafficking, illegal immigration, terrorism, illegal fishing, and foreign ideological indoctrination. This type of threat requires a more complex and diverse approach to dealing with it. Understanding and addressing non-military threats requires strategies and cooperation spanning multiple sectors, including economic, social, and political spheres (Matthews et al., 2022).

Basically, defense science is not only fighting for the unity or unity of a nation or the state of Indonesia, but its main purpose is to protect all values contained in Pancasila, the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, especially the 1945 Constitution. Republic of Indonesia. 1945. Indonesia and Indonesian against various foreign ideological and cultural threats in order to maintain these values in Indonesia. Thus, looking at the explanation above, we can see and understand that defense science is a science that examines and regulates all aspects of state defense and security to maintain the welfare of all citizens. In this study, defense science is used as an overall theory or can be called a general theory of all theories, with the

aim of knowing whether the application of defense science is research or research.

2.1.5.1 National Defense and Resilience

The word Defense starts from the word hold. In Indonesian large dictionary, the word hold means a condition where it remains in its state despite experiencing various things. From this reasoning, in a narrow sense, defense is an effort that can be made to create special conditions or conditions that are stable.

The definition of state defense in a broad sense in general has been widely incarnated by every country or experts. In Indonesia itself, the explanation of defense is contained in Law Number 3 of 2003 concerning State Defense, especially in article 1 paragraph 1 reads:

"State Defense is all efforts to defend state sovereignty, the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the entire nation from threats and disturbances to the integrity of the nation and state" (Citizenship et al., 2022)

The definition of defense is also contained in Law Number 34 of 2004 concerning the National Army, precisely in article 1 paragraph 5 reads:

"All efforts to uphold state sovereignty, maintain the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), and protect the entire nation from threats and disturbances to the integrity of the nation and state, are prepared by taking into account the geographical conditions of Indonesia as an archipelagic state".

While some experts explain defense such as Harjomataram argues that national defense is the endurance of a nation to strengthen national strength with the aim of facing all challenges both from outside and from within, directly or indirectly, which can endanger national life (Huljanah et al., 2020). State defense is a combination of civil and military power organized by a country to ensure its territory remains intact, its citizens are protected, and its interests are safeguarded. The concept of national

defense involves two main aspects, namely Military Defense and Non-Military Defense. Military Defense includes military operations in war as well as outside of war.

On the other hand, Non-military Defense includes the optimization of national resources, both in the form of non-military forces and civil protection efforts. This aspect involves handling natural disasters, humanitarian operations, the development of socio-cultural, economic, defense psychology related to the spirit of defending the country, as well as technological advances. As Arnord Wolfers points out, the fundamental challenge facing every country is to build capabilities to deter or defeat attacks from others (Susilo, 2002). From some of the explanations above, it can be concluded that Defense is all forms of efforts such as protecting, developing or strengthening national strength to face national threats. While National Resilience is a dynamic condition of the nation, containing persistence and resilience which contains the ability to develop national strength to face and overcome all forms of challenges, threats, disturbances and obstacles that come from outside or from within. National Resilience as described earlier can be seen from its elements as follows:

2.1.5.2 Dynamic Conditions of the Nation

Conditions illustrate the view that this nation continues to develop and change with the times. This nation strives to achieve the goals and ideals stated in the Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945, namely creating a just and prosperous society, and resilient in facing challenges. This view is based on the history of the struggle of the Indonesian nation starting from the period of struggle to independence until now.

Although the Indonesian nation has become independent, the awareness that the desired goals have not been fully achieved remains. Therefore, the spirit of struggle to achieve the ideal goal must not stop. The tenacity and resilience of all components of the nation need to be

maintained and passed on. This view also emphasizes the importance of developing and utilizing national capabilities and strengths in various aspects of national life such as: (Suryatni, 2019): Astra Gatra aspects (eight aspects) which have been divided into two major parts, namely PANCAGTRA (five aspects) and TRIGTRA (three aspects) as for the explanation as follows:

A. PANCAGTRA

1. Inspired by ideology

Factors that can directly influence ideological resilience in the form of the plurality of an Indonesian society, the development of world ideology and national development.

2. Gatra Economy

The economy is an integral part of national life related to efforts to meet the needs and interests of the people. It involves three important stages, namely the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services.

3. Gatra Politik

Politics is an important aspect of national life related to the mastery of the implementation of government and the process of expression of people's opinion. It involves the concept of power and involves the process by which the opinion of the people is expressed as part of the sovereignty held by the people themselves.

4. Gatra Socio-Cultural

Refers to the ability of a society, in this case Indonesia, to maintain and protect its cultural values and identity from foreign cultural influences that may not be in accordance with the character of the nation's identity. The goal is to maintain the integrity of the cultures, traditions, and norms that have shaped national identity.

This can involve efforts such as promoting local culture, regulating the flow of information and entertainment from outside, and ensuring that incoming foreign cultures do not undermine existing cultural values.

5. Gatra Defense and Security

Refers to the ability of a country to maintain the stability of its defense and security. It involves actions to ensure territorial integrity, sovereignty, and national integrity. One important aspect of this resilience is the ability to overcome various Threats, Challenges, Obstacles, and Disruptions (ATGH) that can come from within the country and abroad.

Efforts to maintain and enhance defense and security resilience may involve investment in armed forces, increased international cooperation to mitigate shared threats, development of defense infrastructure, and other efforts aimed at ensuring that countries have adequate capabilities to maintain their stability and security.

B. TRIGATRA

1. Geographed geographies

Indonesia's geographical position or location is in a cross position that is very very very strategic contribution in the global situation.

2. Gatra Demographics

This is directly related to the population both in terms of quantity, quality and population growth as well as the distribution or welfare of the population.

3. Gatra Source of Natural Wealth

Indonesia has various sources of natural resources from land, sea, and air under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Indonesia. Natural resources are divided into three groups: renewable ones (such as forests), non-renewable ones (such as petroleum), and fixed ones such as minerals (Mardhani et al., 2020).

From the explanation above, National Defense and Defense are two important concepts in the security of a country. The main difference regarding defense and national resilience lies in their scope and focus. Defense itself focuses on military aspects as well as physical security, on the one hand resilience involves all aspects of life that contribute directly to long-term strength and stability (Resilience Nasional_ understanding, functions, features, and examples - BAMS, N.D.; Understanding National Resilience Adalah_ Functions, Examples, and How to Strengthen It, n.d.).

2.1.5.3 Indonesia's Defense and Resilience System

An effective state defense and security system has the ability to create a safe and peaceful atmosphere in which people's lives can proceed normally. In addition, relations with other countries, both within the region and outside the region, take place with harmony and mutual respect. The defense system adopted by Indonesia itself is SISHANKAMRATA (Universal People's Defense and Security System) which is an effort to mobilize all national strength in total and integral, by focusing national strength in maintaining the independence and sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia in ensuring the integrity of the nation and making all forms of efforts in achieving national goals (Mukti Setiyawan et al., 2020). The application of SISHANKAMRATA to the defense and resilience system in Indonesia is carried out based on the mandate of several rules, namely:

Article 27 paragraph 3 of the 1945 Constitution states that:

"Every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in the defense of the state"

Article 30 paragraphs 1 and 2 of the 1945 Constitution states that:

"(1) Every citizen has the right and obligation to participate in the defense and security of the state."

"(2) State defense and security efforts shall be carried out through a universal system of defense and security of the people by the National Army and the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia, as the main force, and the people as the supporting force"

It is also stated in Law Number 3 of 2003 concerning State Defense also states that:

"The State Defense System is a universal defense system that involves all citizens, territories, and other national resources, and is prepared early by the government and is held in a total, integrated, directed, and continuous manner to uphold state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of the entire nation from all threats"

Regulations regarding SISHANKAMRATA are also regulated in Law Number 34 of 2004 concerning the Indonesian National Army in article 1 paragraph 6 which reads:

"The State Defense System is a universal defense system that involves all citizens, regions, and other national resources, and is prepared early by the government and held in a total, integrated, directed, sustainable, and sustainable manner to uphold state sovereignty, maintain the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and protect the safety of the entire nation from any threat"

And the last one about the defense system is also explained in the 2015 Indonesian defense white paper explained that:

"The form of defense developed involves all citizens, regions, all national resources and infrastructure, which is prepared early by the

Government, and is carried out in a total, integrated, directed and continuous manner. The universal defense system integrates military defense and non-military defense, through efforts to build strong and respected national defense forces and capabilities that have high deterrence "

Suwito (2017) also explained that the country's defense and security system has universal characteristics and is based on peoplehood. The concept of populist refers to the implementation of state defense and security by the people, with the aim of safeguarding the interests of all citizens. Meanwhile, the universe describes an approach in which all national resources are used for the country's defense efforts. The territorial aspect is reflected in a defense strategy that is in accordance with Indonesia's geographical conditions as an archipelagic country covering a large area. This distribution of forces in the context of defense and security was developed in response to the dynamic global strategic environment and changing threat patterns. It is important to remember that threats to defense and security are not just limited to the military aspect. These threats can include various other aspects involving economic, political, social, and other stability. Therefore, an effective defense and security system must be able to address diverse types of threats with a comprehensive and adaptive approach (Aprilianto et al., 2023).

Based on the explanation above, it can be seen that there are so many rules governing that Indonesia's defense system is SISKANHAMRATA. This concept is still very suitable and valid for use in war situations both military and non-military wars because Indonesia itself in terms of alusista is still somewhat defeated by several other countries, so it is still fairly difficult if Indonesia can win against other superpowers if at any time an invasion / aggression into the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, but our history has recorded when the war of independence occurred, where all Indonesians fought together to regain independence with very limited weapons to fight the invaders using guerrilla tactics. However, thanks to the fighting spirit of Indonesian fighters who were willing

to die for the Republic of Indonesia, the colonizers were able to leave Indonesian territory (Updated 2021). This indicates that the SISHANKEMRATA defense system existed at the time of colonialism in Indonesia, therefore from all the explanations above, it can be understood that the Indonesian state defense system is made based on conditions or situations in Indonesia both in the past and present, and also the application of this defense and security system has also been regulated in Indonesian positive law which has been codified for its implementation.

2.1.6 Defense Management

Defense management is a very interesting discipline when compared to other management sciences, because defense management is always juxtaposed with failure or success in a country for the management of potential national resources owned by a country with the intention of making it a national power. This effort is carried out by involving the application of managerial methods starting from planning or management to winning the war (Supriyatno, 2014).

Defense management has become an important focus of attention within the framework of the defense sector in recent times. This concern has arisen since the introduction of the concept of defense sector management by Western countries. This discussion involves consideration of budget and human resource allocation, solutions to operational and strategic problems, both through a holistic approach and by applying tools commonly used in the business world to manage the defense sector. Discussions on these central issues in defense management date back about five decades. As an organization, defense management requires management functions that include planning, organizing, directing, and supervising or controlling. The concept of defense management is still relatively new, and to date there is no firm agreement on the exact definition (Supriyatno, 2014). But the essence of defense management is a policy that can lead the government

to increase the strength or capability of the country's defense to be better, advanced, and stronger.

In Indonesia itself, the understanding related to defense management emphasizes more on the main rules related to Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 3 of 2002 concerning State Defense and Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 3 of 2002 concerning State Defense and Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 34 of 2004 concerning the TNI, it is stated that every state defense management is any activity at the strategic and policy level in the form of defense control, implementation, supervision, planning and implementation process based on resource allocation (Saputro et al., 2021).

Defense policy itself has an important impact on every stakeholders Especially in the field of defense, be it military or civilian. This important impact has three scopes, which are broad-term, long-term and involve all people. Related to these three scopes that go into a policy made by defense management science. When a defense policy has been prepared and formulated through the concept of good management, it can be believed that the policy can provide maximum results by using only very effective resources. In general, every country wants to have defense capabilities that are more advanced and better than surrounding countries, but the country is faced with the problem of insufficient natural or artificial resources. To solve these problems, this is where the role of management is needed because defense management is the process of managing national resources into potential resources, fostering strength or capabilities to the process of using them effectively and efficiently aimed at national defense (Praditya, 2022). Before discussing how the role at the organizational level, we first need to know how the theory of management itself, as for the explanation as follows.

2.1.6.1 Management Theory

Management Theory, according to Luther Gulick explains that management understanding is knowledge that as a whole describes how people can cooperate with others. Mary Parker Follet argued that management is the art of carrying out work through people.

- a) Planning: the first management function is planning, which is done by determining the steps needed to achieve these goals. Generally at a high level, these goals already cover the organization as a whole, but top management needs to define goals / targets for each organization concerned.
- b) Organizing: This includes the division of work for each mission that could be handled by a single human being and provides a way of coordinating. The basic functions that must be carried out if plans must occur, must be elaborated and every regulation must be made in order to work effectively.
- c) Implementation: In the mobilization function, managers have the following job duties: to inform and explain the aims and objectives to their subordinates to do the maximum possible work in order to achieve implementation standards, besides that this also aims to develop subordinate workers to carry out the full possibilities, give the right to listen, give appreciation and sanction fairly to members who commit errors.
- d) Supervision: Generally, the control function often gives rise to the understanding of orders or directions and others. Even though this is one of the meanings of control. In the context of control management means checking progress whether the thing being done is in accordance with the procedure or not, if it is not appropriate then the manager who checks it is obliged to reprimand it (Kurnia, 2019).

Defense Management itself has brought enlightenment to all activities that are not full of certainty. Compared to two important things

contained in organizational activities, namely planning and policy formulation. There is also defense management at the strategic level, whose coverage area is a strategic problem that must be analyzed and identified to provide strategic solutions to be decided and implemented. In terms of good and successful defense management, it is very important to be socialized to the procedures of the decision-making process and supervise mechanisms. Quality Control System It is necessary to measure performance at a strategic level where policy goals and objectives match with outcomes concrete ones such as capabilities and structure (Susdarwono, 2022).

2.1.7 State Defense Threats

There is a Latin language derived from the Roman military, named Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus which reads "Si Vis Pacem para bellum". This means that if you want to make peace, then prepare for war, from the above remarks it can be concluded that the threat to a country must exist, then every country in the world is obliged to prepare everything both in terms of military and resources to deal with it. Over time war shifts always occur following changes in the strategic and technological environment, therefore the possibility of a conventional war involving two countries is predicted to be very small. However, the existence of national and international interests has led to the emergence of many new types of warfare such as asymmetric warfare, hybrid warfare and proxy warfare as well as cyber warfare (Updated 2021).

In general, the definition related to threats has been listed in Law number 3 of 2002 concerning state defense, contained in article four which basically states that state threats are any business or activity that occurs both within the country and abroad where it is considered to endanger a sovereignty, territorial integrity and state security. Meanwhile, related types of threats have also been mentioned in Law number 23 of 2019 concerning the Management of National Resources for State Interests, precisely in

article four paragraph two divides into three forms of threats, namely military threats, non-military threats and hybrid threats. Next related to this threat will be explained by the author as follows.

2.1.7.1 Military Threats

In the context of military threats, it will always be associated with conventional warfare, because military threats are threats that use organized weapons and have the potential to be dangerous for the state because it can disrupt territorial integrity, national security and state sovereignty. Related forms of military threats consist of territorial violations, armed rebellion, sabotage, espionage, and some acts of terror with military elements. Military threats themselves can occur from within or outside the country so defense efforts and strategies are carried out to overcome this threat. Not only that, military threats always require a country to always carry out readiness and coordination in order to maintain the sovereignty and security of a country. The conduct of war occurs in response to military threats involving complex strategies and policies to protect national interests (Teniwut, 2023).

2.1.7.2 Non-Military Threats

In addition to military threats that focus on organized armed forces, there are other threats, namely non-military threats. In essence, non-military threats are threats that are assessed using non-military factors that can endanger state sovereignty, the territorial integrity of the state and the welfare of the entire nation. Non-military threats can have political, ideological, economic, socio-cultural, technological, information and public health dimensions, not only that non-military threats are very social with socio-cultural dimensions because of their internal nature, or emergence from within the state (Indrawan, 2017). The Ministry of Defense in the 2015 Defense White Paper explained that in facing non-military threats, its implementation is carried out by developing capacity, synergism, and the role of ministries or institutions outside the defense agency supported from

other ministries or institutions in accordance with their duties and functions as other elements of the nation's strength (Pratiwi & Nugroho, 2020).

2.1.7.3 Hybrid Threats

The term "hybrid" comes from Latin, as used in the Roman Empire. The term was originally used to describe a child born to parents of different social statuses, for example, a Roman citizen and a slave. Over time, the term evolved to denote phenomena, entities, or combined actions that are not mechanically "mixed," but organically integrated, cohesive, and coordinated (Sarjito, 2022). Hybrid threats are mixed and are a mix of military threats and non-military threats.

The goal of hybrid methods is to blur the line between war and peace, create confusion among target populations, and try to shake confidence and stability within a country or region. The use of hybrid methods in modern conflicts has made security challenges even more complex, as they utilize a variety of tools and techniques to achieve their objectives. Related to hybrid threats, the concept was first introduced when Hezbollah achieved some noticeable military successes against the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) that were in Lebanon in 2006 during the second Lebanon war. Unfortunately, the word for "hybrid" then is that non-state actors exhibit military capabilities attributed only to state actors. The threat of hybrid warfare can be faced using military defense patterns that are poured into supporting components according to the nature and escalation of hybrid threats that arise (Amran, 2022).

2.2 Previous Research Results

In this study, the authors evaluate the Impact of United States Foreign Policy on Indonesia's Defense in the China-Taiwan Conflict Era and how the policy implications affect Indonesia's defense. Using content analysis, in-depth interviews with defense strategists, and literature review,

the study highlights that the US, as Taiwan's traditional ally and China's strategic competitor, plays an important role in regional security dynamics.

The results show that U.S. foreign policy, which traditionally supports "One China" but at the same time maintains defense commitments with Taiwan, creates strategic uncertainty in the region. In the Indonesian context, this uncertainty increases the need to enhance defense capabilities, particularly in border areas and strategic waters adjacent to key navigation routes.

The researcher also noted that US policy has affected Indonesia's military cooperation with other countries in the region, including with the US itself, to address potential threats and ensure regional stability.

In this section, researchers will review and conclude the results of previous studies, namely:

- a. China-Taiwan Conflict and the United States' Response by Sita Hidriyah (2021)
- b. The Impact of United States Policy in the Indo-Pacific Confronting China on Indonesia's Security by Mariane Olivia Delanova and Yanyan Mochamad Yani (2022)
- c. The Sino-US Relationship: A Case Study of United States Policy Towards One China Policy by Yosias Marion Arthur Wabiser (2015)
- d. Taiwan-United States Defense Alliance in Facing One China Policy Period 2011-2014 by Alvia Syafiq (2016)
- e. China Versus the United States: Interpretation of Superpower Security Rivalry in the Asia-Pacific Region by M Najeri Al Syahrin (2018)
- f. Foreign Policy of the Republic of Indonesia in Responding to the South China Sea Conflict According to UNCLOS 1982 by Mustika Sukma Utari (2023)
- g. Taiwan Government Alliance Strategy Against People's Republic of China's Security Threats in 2018 by Salsabila Putri (2021)

- h. Indonesia's Strategy in Dealing with South China Sea Conflict by Hendra Maujana Saragih (2018).
- i. The Role of the Indonesian Government in Maintaining the Integrity of the Maritime Area of the Republic of Indonesia in the South China Sea Conflict by Ari Sura Gunawan and Isrina Siregar (2021).
- j. The United States-China Rivalry in the South China Sea and Its Influence on Indonesia by Adrianus Revi Dwiguna, Muhammad Syaroni (2019)

Table 2.1 Previous Research

No	Researcher Name	Heading	Equation	Difference
1	Sita Hidriyah	China-Taiwan conflict and the United States' response	Taking the point of view of the United States' response, which shows that the US has an important role to play in the regional issue. Highlights the political and strategic dynamics in East Asia.	From Sita Hidriyah's research, the main focus is on two aspects, namely the conflict between China and Taiwan and the US response to the conflict. It likely emphasizes America's role as a counterweight to power and influence in the region. Further research covers the impact of US policy on the China and Taiwan conflict on Indonesia's Defense conditions and efforts to overcome these impacts.
2	Mariane Olivia Delanova and Yanyan ⁴	Impact of U.S. Indo-Pacific policy on China's China on Indonesia's security	Examine the role and policy of the United States in the regional context, especially dealing with China.	Previous research has focused more on how U.S. policy affects the security and stability of Indonesia, a maritime nation strategically positioned in ASEAN and the Indo-Pacific. Future research could explore Indonesia's defense strategy and how Indonesia navigates the impact of these issues.

			Take into account the changing security dynamics in the context of US-China relations.	
3	Yosias Marion Arthur Wabiser	The Sino-US Relationship: A Case Study of U.S. Policy Toward One China Policy	Discussing US policy towards China by focusing on US policy towards China by involving the concept of One China Policy which is the basis of US-China relations.	Wabiser's research takes a historical approach, examining how U.S. policy has evolved toward One China Policy and how those changes have affected bilateral relations and stability in the region. Subsequent studies directly evaluated the impact on Indonesia's defense conditions.
4	Alvia Syafiq	Taiwan-United States Defense Alliance in the Face of One China Policy	Analyze Taiwan's relationship with the United States, especially in the context of the One China Policy which is a crucial issue by	Subsequent research focused on military and defense aspects of the U.S.-Taiwan relationship, including potential military cooperation, the condition of Indonesia's defense area and its defense implications. Syafiq put more emphasis on military and defense cooperation between Taiwan and the U.S., as well as how the

			examining the strategic relationship between the United States and Taiwan.	alliance is coping with pressure from Beijing's One China policy. The research may delve deeper into Taiwan's role as a key pawn in U.S. East Asia strategy.
5	M Najeri Al Syahrin	China versus the United States: Interpretations of Superpower Security Rivalry in the Asia-Pacific Region	Discussing the rivalry between the US and China in the context of regional security. Focus on the rivalry between the two world powers and how that rivalry affects security in the Asia-Pacific region.	Al Syahrin considers geopolitical aspects more in his analysis to understand how these two countries compete in seeking dominance in the region, as well as the response and adaptation of ASEAN countries in facing these dynamics by evaluating how other countries in the Asia Pacific, including ASEAN countries, respond and adapt to these power dynamics. Future research will only include the dynamics of security rivalry in the United States policy in the China and Taiwan conflict that can affect Indonesia's defense policy and conditions.

6	Mustika Sukma Utari	Foreign Policy of the Republic of Indonesia in Responding to the South China Sea Conflict According to Unclos 1982	Discusses UNCLOS law and South China Sea conflict	<p>Previous research has focused more on Indonesia's foreign policy and strategy in dealing with conflicts in the South China Sea.</p> <p>Further research focuses on the Impact of US Foreign Policy on Indonesian Defense in the Era of China-Taiwan Conflict and Efforts in dealing with US policy in the China-Taiwan Conflict</p>
7	Salsabila Putri	Taiwan Government Alliance Strategy Against People's Republic of China's Security Threats Year	The importance of International Law by considering the impact of Taiwan's security policy in the context of the international legal framework, especially in the face of threats from the People's Republic of China.	<p>Previous research studied Taiwan's alliance strategy in the face of security threats from the People's Republic of China in 2018. By using a security assessment approach to analyze regional security strategies and dynamics.</p> <p>Subsequent research examines the impact of US foreign policy on Indonesia's defense policy, especially in the context of the China-Taiwan conflict. Using a case study approach, policy analysis, and stakeholder interviews. Understand the extent to which U.S. foreign policy influences Indonesia's defense policy, whether any changes in strategy or</p>

				collaboration have emerged, and their impact on regional stability.
8	Hendra Maujana is pregnant.	Indonesia's Strategy in Dealing with South China Sea Conflict	Using a qualitative approach to understand Indonesia's strategy and political dynamics in dealing with the South China Sea conflict.	<p>Previous research highlights Indonesia's strategy in managing the South China Sea conflict, perhaps covering aspects of diplomacy, defense, or foreign policy using qualitative approaches to understand the political dynamics and strategies implemented by Indonesia.</p> <p>Subsequent research examines the impact of US foreign policy on Indonesia's defense policy, especially in the context of the China-Taiwan conflict. Using a case study approach, policy analysis, and stakeholder interviews. Understand the extent to which U.S. foreign policy influences Indonesia's defense policy, whether any changes in strategy or collaboration have emerged, and their impact on regional stability.</p>
9	Ari Sura Gunawan	The Role of the Indonesian Government in	Focus on Impact and Implications by considering the impact	Previous research Studying the role of the Indonesian government in maintaining the integrity of the maritime territory of the Republic of Indonesia in the context of the South China

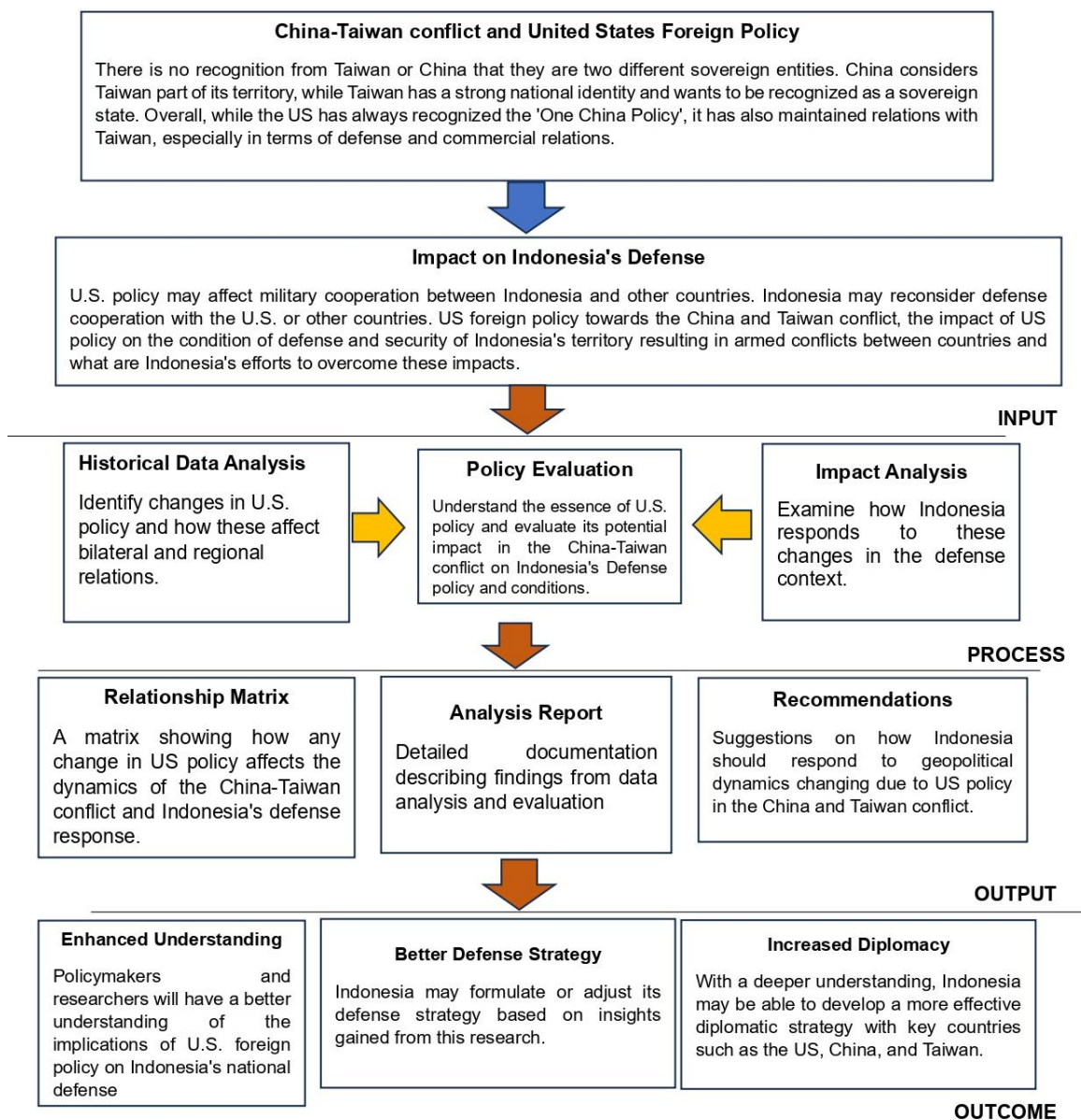
	and Isrina Siregar	Maintaining the Integrity of the Maritime Area of the Republic of Indonesia in the South China Sea Conflict	of the Indonesian government's role on the integrity of maritime areas and its implications in the context of the South China Sea conflict.	Sea conflict by using case studies or policy analysis to explore the role of the Indonesian government in managing tensions in the maritime area. This study aims to evaluate how U.S. foreign policy influences Indonesia's defense policy related to the China-Taiwan conflict, using case studies, policy analysis, and interviews, to understand possible changes in strategy, collaboration, and their impact on regional stability.
10	Adrianus Revi Dwiguna and Muhammad Syaroni	US-China Rivalry in the South China Sea and Its Influence on Indonesia	Discussing the impact of the rivalry between the United States and China in the South China Sea and its impact on Indonesia, highlighted the complex global relationship.	Previous research examines the rivalry between the United States and China in the South China Sea and its impact on Indonesia using foreign policy analysis and international relations to understand the impact of great rivalries in the region. The next study aims to evaluate how U.S. foreign policy influences Indonesia's defense policy related to the China-Taiwan conflict, using case studies, policy analysis, and

				interviews, to understand possible changes in strategy, collaboration, and their impact on regional stability.
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Source : Processed by the researcher (2023)

2.3 Research Framework

Figure 2.1 Framework of Thought



Source: Processed by the researcher (2023)