

The Comparative Analysis Of United States Defense Policy And The Influence On National Defense System Of Indonesia

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Abstract- The United States as a country with the greatest power in the world basically needs consistency in its foreign policy patrons as the major power in the world today. Whoever is the president who is elected will not change this substantive matter even though changes in strategy remain as is the case when facing the Covid-19 pandemic which demands Joe Biden to remain aligned with US political goals as a global power with influence at the international level. Through descriptive analysis with qualitative methods, the discussion rests on references to selected theories and contemporary tools related to defense studies. The concept of strategy in defense science is also a writing reference so that the analysis presented can be systematic in assessing the defense policy of the United States in the era of President Joe Biden, especially its impact on the existence of Indonesia's strategic environment. Gap analysis is the focus of discussion so that it is expected to be proportional and objective in reviewing Indonesia's position with the defense policy of the United States. This is in line with Joe Biden's liberal-internationalism thinking to restore and strengthen the US's status as a world hegemonic power. Although it is expansionist in nature, the approach will be made more towards diplomatic means rather than military, as well as multilateral rather than unilateral channels. The US will also distribute its power to democratic alliance countries in preventing threats that come directly to the US and its allies.

Keywords: Global Power, Defense Policy, Defense White Paper, World Hegemony, Diplomacy.

1. Introduction

The results of the 2020 United States election put Joe Biden as the winner over his opponent Donald Trump. An election that will be remembered as one of the historic events in the life of democracy in the US. Although Trump expressed concern over the attack on one of the symbols of democracy in the United States, the mass action of Trump supporters who occupied The Capitol on November 3, 2020 still gave a 'bad' score at the end of Trump's tenure. This incident has killed at least four people, including one of the Air Force (CNBC Indonesia) (Slogan, 2021).

As the Elected President, Joe Biden is likely to be serious about the challenges of the domestic crisis in the form of the Covid-19 pandemic, high social tensions, the ongoing recession, and also the swelling national debt. Joe Biden is predicted to get much higher opposition from radical conservative groups than during the era of Barack Obama's leadership. This condition seems to be putting the brakes on the implementation of its ambitious policies (Blockman, 2020).

Biden said that the US was facing global conditions, namely strengthening nationalism, receding democracy, rivalry with China, Russia, and what he called authoritarian countries. Likewise, the competition for high-tech developments continues to heat up (Biden, 2021). Biden remains committed to the democracy that not only the US needs but also to meet the challenges of the times.

Biden received overwhelming support from the Atlantic peninsula. While Europe is much more

eager to receive Biden elected than China. Transatlantic policy can be used as one of the policy changes after the transfer of leadership in Washington (Zhongpin & Jin, 2020). Biden is very likely to hear that his European partners on the nuclear deal with Iran, as well as his European partners who feel relations with the US were damaged during the Trump period, will seek to approach him. However, if faced with a certain situation, Biden will be able to look for attractive payoffs so that European partners are prepared to accept the old situation or may be disappointed (Rossen, 2020),

From the Kremlin's point of view, Biden has received little acclaim and has been reluctant to congratulate him. Democrats have long been known to have a negative perception of Russia. The US does not seem to have anything to offer President Putin so that Putin can turn his attention to China's Xi Jinping, both in terms of economics, politics, and strategic matters (Kurtunov, 2020). In addition, if the US were to increase sanctions against Russia, it would pose a risk to the global economy, including the US itself. This does not appear to be an option for the Biden administration.

In terms of arms control, the Biden Administration might revive the New START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) by extending it to a maximum of five years instead of just one year if Trump is re-elected. However, Russia and the US will look for political reasons to resolve the issue of conventional arms control in Europe where Russia and NATO are facing each other.

There are many unanswered questions and it will take time for those who will provide the answers. Is it true that the Biden Administration will join the Paris climate agreement The Conference of Parties (COP-21), the nuclear deal with Iran, and the WHO, for example Also its relations with China, Russia, and Europe (Gromyko, 2020). Likewise, the question of what if Biden did not reach the end of his presidential term and was replaced by Vice President Kamala Harris (Biscop, 2020).

The US will renew its commitment to global development and international cooperation. In addition, President Biden will make smart and disciplined investments in national defense. The US will overcome the current crisis and in parallel promote resilience, innovation, competitiveness, and shared prosperity to meet the challenges of the future. The United States will recommit to realizing these ideals and will modernize national security institutions and processes, which are necessary to address today's highly complex challenges. In everything it does, the US under the leadership of Joe Biden aims to make life better, safer and easier for working families in the US.

The US as a country with a great power in the world basically will not change its foreign policy patron as the strongest country on earth. Whoever the president is elected will not change this substantive matter even though changes in strategy remain.

Joe Biden, in his speech at the White House, said that in his national security policy he will defend and maintain the resources of the US in terms of economy, defense and democracy. The US will also distribute its power to democratic alliance countries to prevent direct threats to the US and its allies. These threats are barriers to global access in key areas of the world. The United States will continue to lead and maintain a stable and open international system with the support of democratic alliances, partnerships, multilateral institutions, and strong rules.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Strategy Theory.

Strategy is theoretically a strategic framework through goals, means, and means. Strategy is a coherent expression of a process that identifies three things, namely goals, means, and means designed to achieve certain goals. Mathematically, the notion of strategy as "Strategy = Ends + Ways + Means." (Lykke, 1998). Ends are the goals or desired outcomes of a strategy. The term End-State is

synonymous with goals. So Ends is a strategic goal to be achieved. Ways is action. Both Ends and Ways mean methods or processes carried out to achieve goals. More simply, both Ends and Ways answer the question how will the strategy arrive at the end goal? While Means are Means, namely the resources needed to carry out Ways.

Lykke adds that it is important to strike a balance between ends, means and means, which is likened to three legs of a bench. The bench itself represents strategy. A strategy is said to be balanced and contains minimal risk if the chosen WAYS (method) contains the capability and has adequate means (resources) to achieve the desired goals (objectives). However, if one of the ways or the legs is also short (due to a shortage), or the end leg is too long (the goal is unrealistic), the strategy is certainly not balanced, and can result in high risks as well. To bring the strategy back into balance, the legs must be adjusted; for example, the desired goal can be scaled back to fit the available means, or the means can be increased to fully support the chosen means. When means are inadequate, planners must consider alternative means. So in general it shows that balance is a strategic action because the balance between Ways, Means, and Ends is at the heart of strategic art.

2.2. United States Defense Policy Preparation Mechanism.

Under applicable law, or since the 1986 Defense Reorganization Act came into effect, the US produces two important documents each year. These two documents are called the Defense White Paper (Cope and Denny, 2020)

The first document is the National Security Strategy published by the White House, which contains the national interest, as well as the goals and objectives of US defense policy around the world. The document is very important for the security and strategic interests of the United States and for realizing the broad strategic framework for the United States from time to time. This document is a concept of national security that puts forward the use of political, economic, military and other elements of national power to protect or advance US national interests and the achievement of stated goals and objectives. The national security strategy report addresses both and focuses on internal and transnational issues.

The second document, which is also required annually by the United States in regulating the organization and operations of the Department of Defense, is the Annual Report to the President and Congress. This report is part of the US defense White Paper with two tasks to complete. First, report on the condition and readiness of the armed forces. Based on American laws and regulations. This activity is to be carried out by the Secretary of Defense assisted by the respective Secretary General of Defense, and units under the Secretary General of Defense and by the Chair of the Reserve Forces Policy Agency. Second, it provides a defense strategy derived from the White House strategy report, military requirements from defense strategy, medium to long-range defense planning, guidelines, and the Department's annual budget request. These documents are often subject to change according to the needs and developments of the ongoing situation.

Since 2002, the main focus of US Defense policy has been on the transformation of the Department of Defense and the Armed Forces as a form of adjustment to the realities and demands of the 21st century. In line with policy on Defense through the American Defense White Paper, the State Department also prepares an annual report by preparing annual reports on US foreign policy and operations around the world. Normatively, the processes as described above are carried out through both government institutions and this facilitates changes if needed based on developments in the strategic environment both domestically and globally.

At the heart of the American Defense White Paper is the government's concept of national

security. This concept tends to follow one of two approaches to national security affairs. The first is that many countries are known to have adopted their national security policies from a state perspective. In this case, national security is closely related to issues of power, collusion, and the obligation to counter threats to sovereignty. The US Defense White Paper focuses on external threats to the nation's physical integrity, which includes the Exclusive Economic Zone. Second, there is less emphasis on physical security, although it remains an important factor, focusing on domestic political, economic, social and environmental issues.

2.3. Diplomacy, Information, Military, and Economics (DIME) Perspectives

Currently, instruments of national power include diplomacy, information, military, and economics, which are collectively identified by the abbreviation DIME. Diplomacy at the international level is a form of soft power, which is defined as a way for a country to persuade other countries to do what they want to support their national interests. Information as an element of national power refers to the way a nation uses information to shape the global environment in the long term to support national interests. Information, often linked to intelligence, is a means by which states understand the complex nature of international and domestic relations. The ancient Chinese theorist Sun Tzu supported the importance of knowing and controlling information.

In *The Art of War*, Master Tzu states:

Know the enemy and know yourself; in a hundred battles you will never run into any danger. When you ignore the enemy but know yourself, your chances of winning or losing are the same. If you know nothing about your enemies and yourself, you are bound to be in every battle in danger.

The military element of national power represents the military strength of a country. It is referred to as 'hard strength' because of its kinetic properties. The military component of DIME may seem a measure of last resort. However, this is not always the case, as a credible threat from a dominant power in combination with other elements of a DIME (sometimes known as a 'smart power') can often allow a country to achieve its interests. The economic instrument of national power is not only related to the economic resilience of a country, but also how it tries to exert its economic influence on other countries (Farlyn, 2014).

3. Research Method

The research method is a literature review of secondary data on the US Defense White Paper using descriptive qualitative methods and a collection of current issues after the election of Joe Biden as US President for the 2020-2024 period. This writing combines data through triangulation, validating different sources, different times, places and people, in order to compensate for the subjective subject of the study. Then also triangulate theories that approach the data with various perspectives and hypotheses placed side by side to assess their usefulness and strength (Denzin 1978: 297).

Social reality can be understood as the result of meaning and context created together in social interaction. Both are interpreted by participants in concrete situations within the framework of their subjective horizon of relevance under study as phenomena (Schütz 1962). Therefore, the situation is the basis of the shared meaning they attribute to objects, events, situations and people (Blumer, 1969). This meaning is constantly modified and 'framed' in a frame of mind (Goffman 1974) according to context as a reaction to the meanings of others being studied (Goffman, 1974). In this sense, social reality emerges as a result of an ever-evolving process of social construction (Berger and Luckmann 1966).

The life-world phenomenological analysis developed by Alfred Schütz follows the ideas of Edmund Husserl. Here the foundations of the constitution of meaning for social science analysis are developed. In this theoretical perspective we see existing social realities, which we take for granted, as prerequisite 'social constructions' of the members of a particular society (Berger and Luckmann 1966)

Life-world analysis reconstructs actor-specific views in various strategic (social), 'meaning' and special worlds environments, in order to achieve a better overall understanding of participants and their life worlds which is the research phenomenon raised in the writing of this journal.

The postulation of subjective interpretation requires social scientific explanations to relate to the subjective meaning of an action and/or phenomenon. From this point of view, there are typical patterns of observed action sequences, how actors are constructed and interest motives across national borders are embedded and present in a phenomenon. Therefore, it is important to capture phenomena in detail about the description of existing phenomena, then the subjective perspective of the actors studied in writing this journal is actually an alternative perspective as written by (Schütz, 1978).

It is necessary to obtain a conception of understanding in the social sciences that takes into account the fact that phenomena are things to be understood and handled at various levels as something constructed and presented.

3. Analysis of US President Joe Biden's Defense Policy Landscape and Its Implications for Indonesia

At the international level, Biden will take more multilateral policies than the unilateral ones under Donald Trump. Alliances and partnerships from around the world are US power distribution strategies in expanding hegemony in the world, as well as stemming the threat and influence that comes from China. These alliances and partnerships aim at forging a common vision, forming a common front with high international standards and effective international rule-setting. The modernization of NATO, the joint strategic alliance of Australia, Japan and the Republic of Korea is the United States' greatest strategic asset in sharing responsibilities equitably. The US will also deepen partnerships with India, New Zealand, Singapore, Vietnam, ASEAN countries, Canada, Mexico, Central America, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa (Kurniadi, 2020).

In the Middle East region, the US will continue to maintain its commitment to Israel's security and its role as a promoter of the two-state solution, Israel and Palestine. Aggression and threats from Iran, the terrorist network Al-Qaeda and ISIS also remain a US focus. Interestingly, the US at this time will not prioritize military strength as the only one in responding to regional challenges. Withdrawal of support for military operations in Yemen is a form of US support in reducing tensions due to war. The involvement of the US international system in dealing with the existential threat from nuclear weapons control is carried out through dialogue with Russia and China. At the level of international organizations, the US will also re-position itself as an international leader in addressing climate, water, food security, and the threat of the current Covid-19 pandemic.

The US in the Joe Biden era explicitly indicated that the US national defense strategy was to use diplomacy as the first tool and the military as the last tool. US foreign policy instruments will focus on diplomacy, development and economic governance. The use of the military as a last resort is only used as an integration strategy as well as strength in line with resources. Decisions are made based on strong civilian-to-military control and healthy civilian-military relations.

At the domestic level, US policy focuses on public health and the economic crisis caused by Covid-19. Vaccination, preventing transmission, protecting from those most at risk, public health

guidelines, increasing health workers and better data are the focus in the health sector. In the economic field are ongoing assistance to workers, families and small businesses, as well as social contracts to trade unions. Research, development and technology remain the United States' top priority in maintaining long-term strength. The development of digital infrastructure, cybersecurity and the rule of law will also be part of the US goal of fundamental gain. During his administration, President Biden focused on prioritizing overcoming the Covid-19 pandemic based on an analysis of three rarities, namely (Gromyko, 2020):

- 1) The scarcity of military resources, for which US troops have worked hard in the last two decades. The defense budget of US\$ 700 billion per year is considered insufficient for the purchase of expensive equipment compared to the increasing influence of China and Russia.
- 2) Scarcity of money, where large loans are used not only to cope with the recovery from the Covid-19 pandemic, but also to tackle climate change, and reduce the income gap from Trump's failure to protect the US public.
- 3) The scarcity of political capital, where Biden only gets half of his political capital compared to Trump. The state parliament and senate votes only got half of his victory over Trump. Big political support will only be obtained if Biden can address the current domestic problems of the US, which are none other than Covid-19 and its economic impact.

So, how to overcome the influence of China? Neither Biden nor the previous US President will change the view that China is an existential threat to the US (Zhongping and Jing, 2020). The US will not change its strategic focus in dealing with China. However, in contrast to Trump who is frontal in dealing with China, Biden will be more moderate with US allies in dealing with China. Not in terms of the cut off economy like Trump, but in terms of technology, climate change and the regions of North Korea, Iran and Afghanistan. Therefore, the transatlantic policy with its allies in Europe will be a support strategy in dealing with China.

Prior to Obama's rebalancing strategy in which the US focuses on security in the Middle East, Joe Biden will now continue the idea by focusing on strength in the Indo-Pacific region which is also the only legacy of Donald Trump that deserves to be continued. The Indo-Pacific region strategy with active security cooperation, consisting of the US, Japan, India and Australia who are members of The Quadrilateral Security Dialogue or QUAD. The rebalancing policy is a form of affirmation of the US's insecurity towards China's military and economic development. This strategy is carried out with the strength of the US allied military alliance in narrowing China's space in its dominance in the Asia Pacific region (Planifolia, 2017). The US is no longer focusing its military on the Middle East region, but is moving to the Indo-Pacific region which is currently dominated by China.

US foreign policy in the Indo-Pacific region will embrace democratic countries including Indonesia so that the impact of this policy will affect Indonesia in responding to the rivalry between the US and China, especially in the South China Sea. Indonesia's foreign policy posture is required to be adaptive and dynamic by prioritizing free and active politics in maintaining the balance of these influences.

The approach to the direction of US foreign policy in the Biden era is seen to be more focused on a multilateralism approach and will open up many opportunities for cooperation, including with Indonesia. The US and Indonesia can work together to support and voice Palestine's independence in international forums (Kurniadi, 2020). On the other hand, the multilateralism approach is also in line with President Joko Widodo's desire to strengthen cooperation with the US in the economic sector, developing democratic values, and multilateralism. The change in US leadership is expected to have

important implications for the global political order, both in terms of security, economy, and trade as well as rebuilding harmonious relations and being able to build dynamics of closer cooperation based on mutual respect, paying attention to mutual benefits, upholding commitments, together for democracy, and remain obedient to the principles of applicable international law.

5. Closing

5.1 Conclusion

The 2020 US election places Joe Biden predicted to be more radically conservative than the Obama and Trump leaderships, because he is faced with a strategic environment of strengthening nationalism and receding democracy as well as rivalry with China and Russia, as well as Transatlantic policies marked by strengthening cooperation with European partners, arms control New START, and the resolution of conventional arms control issues in Europe.

The 2020 U.S. Defense White Paper includes a National Security Strategy that promotes the use of political, economic, military and other elements of national power to protect or advance U.S. national interests and an Annual Report to the President and Congress on the condition and readiness of the armed forces and provide for their needs. The military required defense strategy with the main focus of US Defense policy is the transformation of the Department of Defense and the Armed Forces with a threat approach to sovereignty and domestic political, economic, social, and environmental issues.

Viewed from diplomacy, information, military, and economics (DIME) Perspectives, the identification of national power collectively includes diplomacy, information, military, and economy. Diplomacy is carried out in the form of soft power, Information is used to shape the global environment in the long term, Military represents national strength and credibility, and Economy is functioned not only with regard to economic resilience but also to influence the economy of other countries.

Analysis of the landscape of US President Joe Biden's Defense Policy at the international level is predicted to prefer multilateral policies over unilateral policies. Alliances and partnerships from around the world are US power distribution strategies in expanding world hegemony and stemming threats and influence coming from China. At the domestic level, US policy focuses on public health and the economic crisis caused by Covid-19.

The US and Indonesia can work together through a multilateral approach that is in line with President Joko Widodo's wishes and to support and promote Palestinian independence in international forums by upholding a shared commitment to democracy and remaining compliant with applicable international legal principles.

5.2 Recommendation

Indonesia is expected to take advantage of the US policy which has the principle of 'don't put eggs in one basket'. These opportunities include military and economic cooperation. The US has opened a study visa facility for Indonesian military personnel. In the economic field, US investment in ASEAN countries is also an opportunity and the US is the fourth trading partner after China, Japan and Singapore.

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