

KONSEP STRATEGI DAN KEAMANAN INTERNASIONAL



ASUMSI REALISME

- NEGARA AKTOR UTAMA
- SISTEM ANARKI
- SELF HELP
- MILITER

REALISME: MORGENTHAU

[POLITICS AMONG NATIONS, 1948]

- Sistem internasional anarki
- Nature negara adalah *struggle for power*
- Negara berusaha memelihara *order*

Limitation of power:

1. BOP
2. *Morality*
3. *International law*

Masalah utama keamanan internasional : *pursue of power*

NEOREALISME: KENNETH WALTZ

[THEORY TALK #40 – KENNETH WALTZ: THE PHYSIOCRAT OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS]

[*THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS*, 1979]

- Fokus neorealisme: sistem (anarki)
- Struktur mempengaruhi negara (determinis)
- Great power penentu perubahan struktur
- 3 komponen struktur:
 1. *Ordering principles*
 2. *Character of unit*
 3. *Capability distribution*

KEMANAN INTERNASIONAL

Barry Buzan yang dalam bukunya *People, States, and Fear* mengatakan bahwa:

“security, in any objective sense, measures the absence of threat to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked” (Buzan, 1991: 4).

People State and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in Post Cold War Era, bahwa keamanan yang dimaksud di dalam pendekatan ini tidak sebatas pada keamanan saja, tetapi mencakup keamanan militer, politik, ekonomi, sosial dan lingkungan.

TREAT/ANCAMAN

- Menurut Stephen M. Waltz ada beberapa faktor yang bisa menimbulkan suatu negara bisa menjadi ancaman potensial bagi negara lainnya. Walaupun faktor power salah satu faktor yang penting, namun itu bukanlah faktor satu-satunya.

Faktor lain yang dapat membuat suatu negara berpotensi sebagai ancaman antara lain adalah kedekatan geografis, kekuatan agregat, kemampuan ofensif, dan niat ofensif.

Stephen M. Waltz (1985), *“Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power”*, The MIT Press, hal. 9.

LINGKUNGAN STRATEGIS & GEOPOLITIK



Lingkungan Strategis



LINGSTRA

Diskusi mengenai lingkungan strategis adalah sebuah **analisa** mengenai upaya **negara dan kawasan sekitarnya** untuk melakukan antisipasi terhadap perkembangan **ancaman**.

Pihak-pihak mana saja yang berkepentingan di wilayah tersebut,

Hal-hal apa saja yang bisa dieksploitasi dan keuntungan yang didapat.

Kompetitor utama.

Potensi ancaman maupun konflik-konflik potensial yang bertensi tinggi.

Kapabilitas yang harus dikembangkan

Friedrich Ratzel



“Negara seperti halnya organisme yang hidup, selalu harus tumbuh dan berkembang. Jika tidak tumbuh dan berkembang akan mati”. **Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904)**

Lebenstraum, Rudolf Hess – Ekspansionis Jerman pada perang dunia.

Sir Halford Mackinder

Barang siapa menguasai Eropa Timur dia akan memegang kendali *Heartland*, barang siapa menguasai *Heartland* dia akan menguasai *World Island* (Eurasia), dan barang siapa menguasai *World Island* dia akan menguasai dunia". Sir Halford Mackinders



GEOPOLITIK



“ Geopolitik merupakan metode analisis strategi politik luar negeri yang didasarkan kepada variabel geografi.”

Karl Haushofer, Geopolitics, 1928



US Pivot to Asia



String of Pearls Vs Iron Curtain



Definisi Keamanan Nasional

National Security is the **ability** to preserve the nation's physical integrity and territory: to **maintain** its economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms; to **protect** its nature, institutions and governance from disruptions from outside; and to control its borders (H. Brown: 1983).

Keamanan nasional adalah **kebijakan** pemerintah untuk **menjamin** kelangsungan hidup (*survival*) dan keamanan negara bangsa (*nation-state*), termasuk, tetapi tidak dibatasi pada pelaksanaan kekuatan diplomatik, ekonomi dan militer baik dalam situasi damai maupun perang (Bantarto Bandoro: 2005)

Keamanan Nasional

Kebutuhan
Kemampuan
Kebijakan
upaya

Negara

Melindungi
Menjaga
Memelihara
Mempertahankan
Menjamin

Core
Value
-Tangible
-Intangible

Instrumen:
-Politik
(diplomasi)
-Militer
-Ekonomi

Treat/ancaman

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Stephen M. Waltz (1985), *“Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power”*, The MIT Press, hal. 9.

Ancaman Tradisional

Ancaman bersifat?

-Politik

-Militer

Ancaman bersifat?

Ekonomi

Sosial

Budaya

lingkungan

Pangan Kesehata

Munculnya ancaman?

-wilayah eksternal suatu negara

THE USE OF FORCE



DETERRENCE

**STRATEGI NEGARA UNTUK MENINGKATKAN
KEMAMPUAN DAN KEKUATANNYA UNTUK **MENANGKAL**
SERANGAN DARI LAWAN, ATAU SETIDAKNYA MENEKAN
DAN MEMAKSA LAWAN UNTUK BERPIKIR KEMBALI
UNTUK MELAKUKAN SERANGAN.**

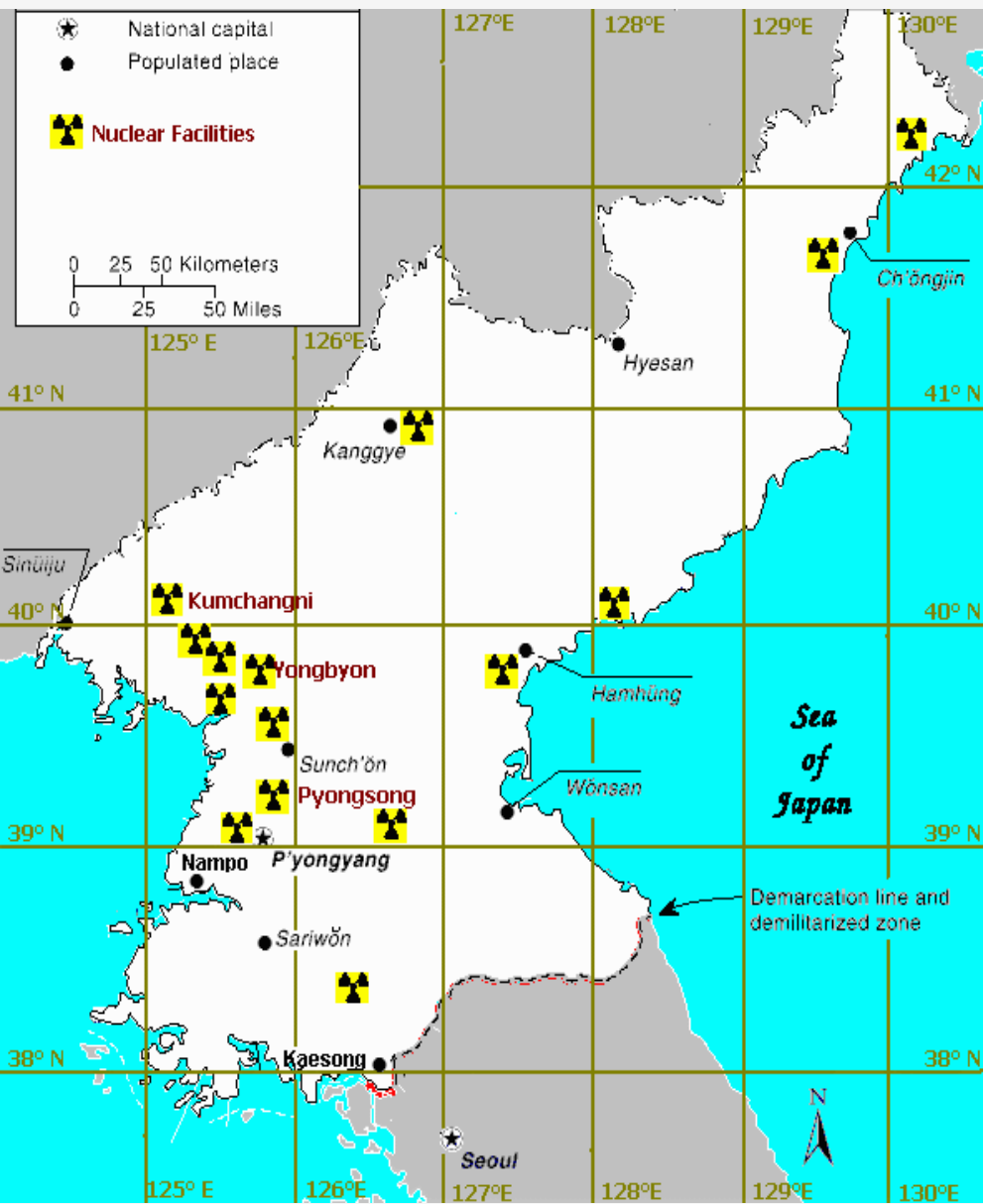


RATIONAL CHOICE THEORY

COST BENEFIT ANALYSIS

Options	Costs	Benefits
A	?	?
B	?	?
C	?	?

THREAT: INCREASES PERCEPTION OF COSTS



COMPELLENCE

**TINDAKAN PENGGUNAAN KEKUATAN SECARA BESAR-BESARAN
DENGAN MAKSUD UNTUK MEMAKSA LAWAN AGAR MELAKUKAN
SESUATU ATAU MENGHENTIKAN SUATU TINDAKAN YANG SUDAH
SEDANG DIJALANKAN.**



COMPELLENCE SUCCESS

- **CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS**



COMPELLENCE FAILURE

- **F-105S OVER VIETNAM**



DEFENSE

**ADALAH USAHA NEGARA/AKTOR UNTUK
MELINDUNGI DIRI MEREKA DARI SERANGAN
MUSUH**

**USAHA UNTUK MENGURANGI KEMAMPUAN
PIHAK MUSUH UNTUK MENGHANCURKAN
ATAU MENGUASAI SESUATU DARI PIHAK
DEFENDER**

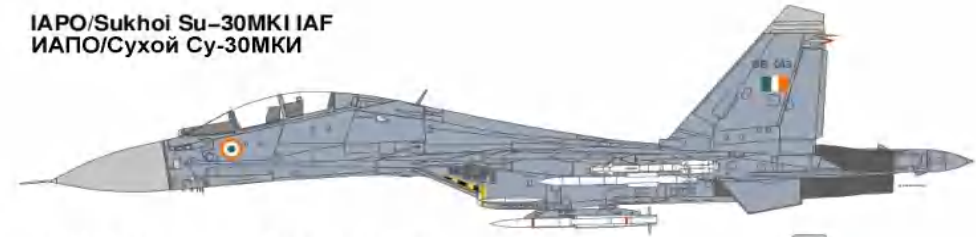


SWAGGERING

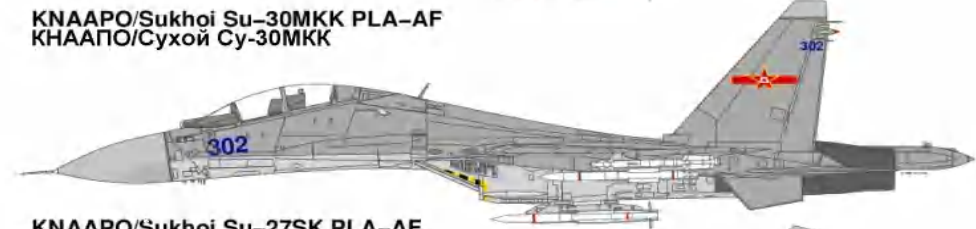
SWAGGERING ADALAH STRATEGI NEGARA UNTUK MEMAMERKAN KAPABILITAS PERTAHANANNYA DENGAN TUJUAN UNTUK MENINGKATKAN BARGAINING DALAM PERGAULAN INTERNASIONAL



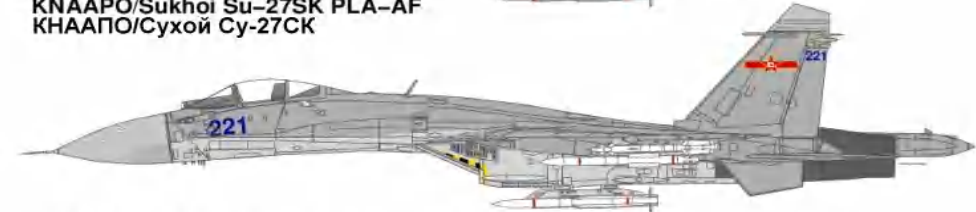
IAPO/Sukhoi Su-30MKI IAF
ИАПО/Сухой Су-30МКИ



KNAAPO/Sukhoi Su-30MKK PLA-AF
КНААПО/Сухой Су-30МКК



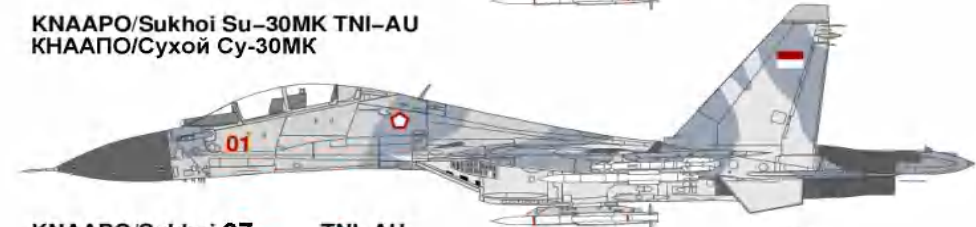
KNAAPO/Sukhoi Su-27SK PLA-AF
КНААПО/Сухой Су-27СК



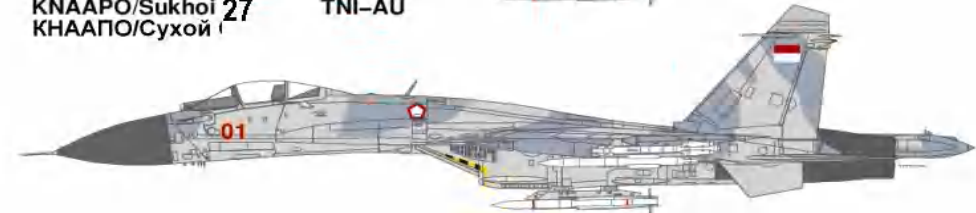
IAPO/Sukhoi Su-30MKM TUDM (RMAF)
ИАПО/Сухой Су-30МКМ



KNAAPO/Sukhoi Su-30MK TNI-AU
КНААПО/Сухой Су-30МК



KNAAPO/Sukhoi 27 TNI-AU
КНААПО/Сухой 27



SECURITY DILEMMA

China's aircraft carrier

Ski-jump runway

Aircraft launched off ramp angled at 12 degrees to provide lift needed, instead of using a steam catapult to accelerate planes as on flat-deck carriers

Active phased array radar (APAR)

Tracks over 200 targets in the air up to 150km away, and 150 surface targets out to 32km

Sea Eagle radar

Chinese-made radar for long-range surface searches up to 250km

Aircraft lifts

Move planes between hangar and flight deck

Deck

Zinc chromate primer covers main deck to provide non-skid surface for aircraft

Landing strip

Planes approach at up to 240km/h, and on touchdown aircraft's tail hook snags one of four steel wires connected to a hydraulic system, which stop it in about two seconds

1030

Automatic cannon

Facts about the ship*

Length: Approx 300 metres

Width: 70 metres

Speed: 30 knots

Crew: 2,500 (3,000 when fully loaded)

Flight deck: 14,700 square metres (80 per cent of size of US Nimitz-class carrier)

*Based on original Varyag specifications

Nimitz
US

Liaoning
China

Queen Elizabeth
Britain

Charles de Gaulle
France

Illustrious
Britain

FL-3000N

Anti-missile
missile launcher

Some of the aircraft expected on the ship

Vessel will reportedly carry Russian-made Su-33 fighters (Chinese version J-15 based on Su-33 said to be in development)



Length: 22 metres

Wingspan: 15 metres

Maximum speed: 2,300km/h

Range: 3,000km

Zhi-8 transport helicopter

Length: 20 metres

Rotor diameter: 19 metres



Maximum speed: 250km/h

Range: 700km (with 27 soldiers)

Weapons on the ship

FL-3000N missile (Red Flag-10)

• Range of over 10km

• Similar to American RAM anti-missile system

• Housed in an 18-missile launcher



2m



1030 automatic cannon

• Fires 30mm shells at incoming anti-ship missiles
• Efficient range of 2km approx

PRIVATE SECURITY COMPANY

PSC DIDEFINISIKAN SEBAGAI PERUSAHAAN-PERUSAHAAN YANG MENGKHUSUSKAN DIRINYA PADA MENYEDIAKAN JASA KEAMANAN DAN PERLINDUNGAN PERSONEL DAN HARTA BENDA, YANG MENCAKUP ASET KEMANUSIAAN DAN INDUSTRI.



PRIVATE MILITARY COMPANIES

PMC DIDEFINISIKAN SEBAGAI PERUSAHAAN-
PERUSAHAAN SWASTA YANG
MENGKHUSUSKAN DIRINYA PADA
KETERAMPILAN MILITER, YANG MENCAKUP
OPERASI TEMPUR, PERENCANAAN STRATEGIS,
PENGUMPULAN INTELIJEN, DUKUNGAN
OPERASIONAL, LOGISTIK, PELATIHAN,
PENGADAAN DAN PERAWATAN SENJATA DAN
PERALATAN.

THE FACT

- PELAYANAN JASA TIDAK HARUS BERSENJATA
- MELAYANI USER YANG BERUPA NEGARA, ORGANISASI INTERNASIONAL, LSM, INDIVIDU, ORGANISASI KOMERSIAL
- PMSC MEMBERIKAN PELAYANAN UNTUK MENGGANTIKAN, MEMBANTU, ATAU MENINGKATKAN EFEKTIVITAS MILITER ATAU KELOMPOK BERSENJATA.
- KARYAWAN PMSC BERLATAR BELAKANG MILITER ATAU PENEGAK HUKUM SERTA MEMILIKI PENGALAMAN SUBSTANSIAL DI LINGKUNGAN-LINGKUNGAN YANG UMUMNYA DISEBUT “LINGKUNGAN TIDAK BERSAHABAT” (*UNFRIENDLY NEIGHBOURHOOD*).

THE CHALLENGE

- KESULITAN PENGONTROLAN TERHADAP PELANGGARAN HUKUM HUMANITER INTERNASIONAL
- MEMPERBURUK KETEGANGAN SOSIAL KARENA HANYA DAPAT DIAKSES OLEH GOLONGAN TERTENTU
- PERAN NEGARA DAN MILITERNYA TELAH DISUBKONTRAKAN KEPADA PMSC

THE CONVENTION

- KONVENSI INTERNASIONAL ANTI PEREKRUTAN, PENGGUNAAN, PEMBIAYAAN DAN PELATIHAN TENTARA BAYARAN (*INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION AGAINST THE RECRUITMENT, USE, FINANCING AND TRAINING OF MERCENARIES*),
- KONVENSI ORGANISASI AFRIKA BERSATU UNTUK PENGHAPUSAN SEGALA BENTUK TENTARA BAYARAN DI AFRIKA (*ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY CONVENTION FOR THE ELIMINATION OF MERCENARISM IN AFRICA*).
- *MONTREUX DOCUMENT* (PMSC HARUS MEMATUHI HUKUM HUMANITER INTERNASIONAL YANG BERLAKU)

THE CASE

Blackwater Use of Force Data

Year	Total incident with Shot Fired by Blackwater	Incident in which Blackwater Fired First	Confirmed Iraqi Casualty	Insiden with Property Damage
2005	77	71	7	71
2006	61	53	3	52
2007	57	39	6	39
Total	195	163	16	162

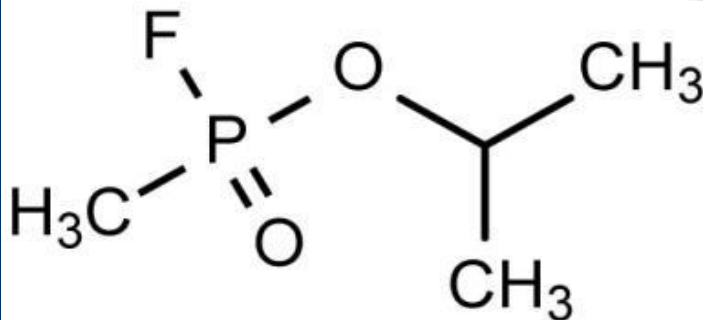
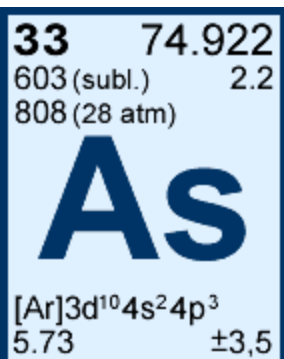
Sumber: Blackwater USA, Hearing Before the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, House of Representatives One Hundred Tenth Congress, First Session. October 2, 2007, 182.

The Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction



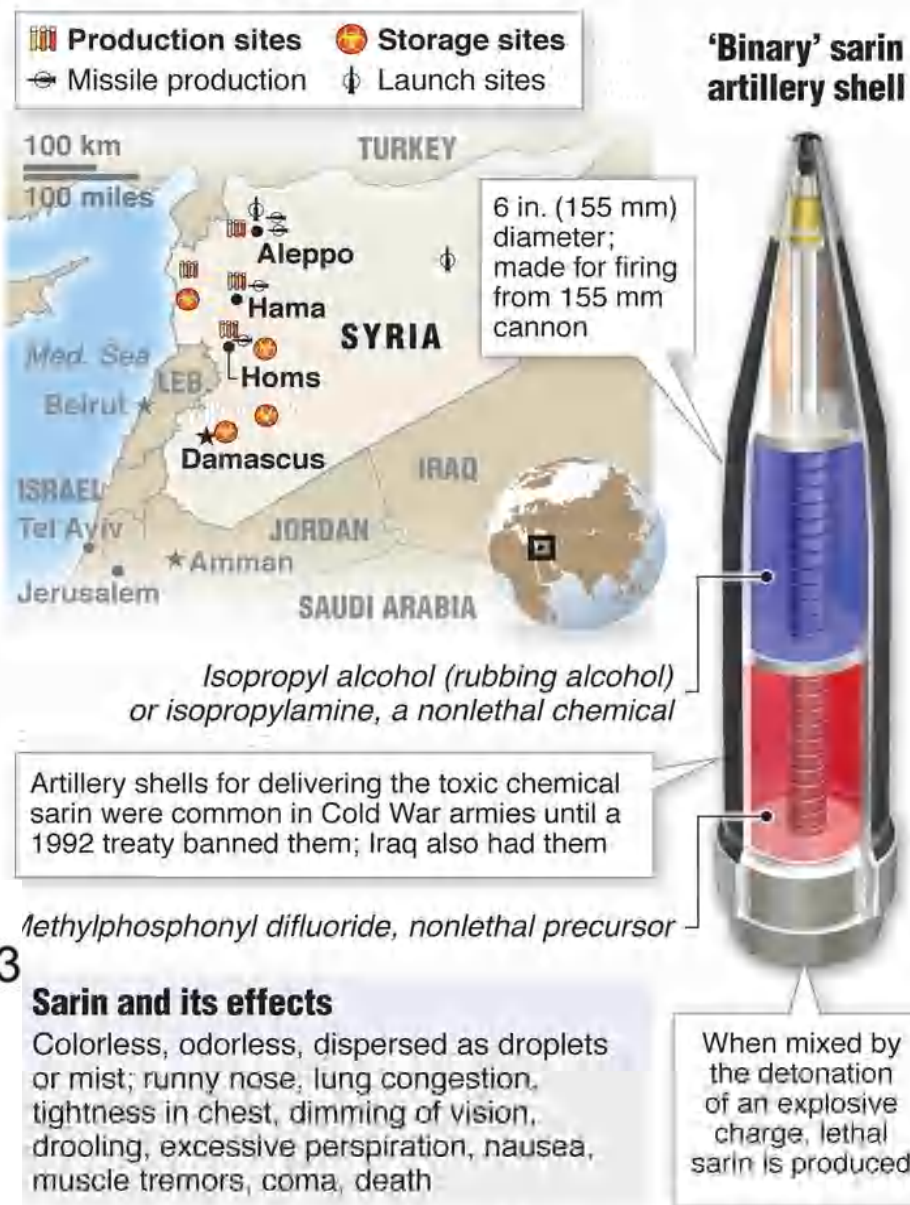
Chemical

- Non-living
- Chemical substance
 - Sarin
 - Sianide
 - Arsenic, etc.



Syria's chemical weapons

The White House said for the first time that it has some evidence that Syria has used chemical weapons in its civil war. A look at Syria's chemical weapons facilities:



The Chemical Threat

Aum Shinrikyo



Shoko Assahara

- Responsible for the 1995 sarin gas attack on the Tokyo subway, killing 12 and wounding 1000
- Also stockpiling anthrax and botulin toxins
- Actively recruited:
 - Biochemists
 - Nuclear Physicists
 - Biologists
 - Police officers
 - Influential Politicians

International Treaties

- 1899 Hague Conference
 - Navy Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan - "the inventiveness of Americans should not be restricted in the development of new weapons."
- 1925 Geneva Protocol
 - Bans chemical & biological weapons
 - Nothing on production, storage, or transfer
- 1993 Chemical Weapons Convention

Chemical Weapons Convention

Bans:

- * Developing, producing, acquiring, stockpiling, or retaining chemical weapons.
- * The direct or indirect transfer of chemical weapons.
- * Chemical weapons use or military preparation for use.
- * Assisting, encouraging, or inducing other states to engage in CWC-prohibited activity.
- * The use of riot control agents “as a method of warfare.”

–Didn’t ratify/sign: **Bahamas, Congo, Dominican Republic, Guinea-Bissau, Israel, Myanmar, Angola, North Korea, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Somalia, Syria**

Biological

- Living organisms
 - Anthrax
- A Poor Nation's WMD
- Nearly impossible to detect



H5N1/Bird Flu

Nuclear Weapons

- First known nuclear test was done in New Mexico on July 16th 1945
- US bombs Hiroshima & Nagasaki
- USSR tests weapon in 1949
- Only countries to test weapons: US, Russia, UK, France, India, China, Pakistan, and North Korea (possibly South Africa).
- Deterrence?



How to Build “the Bomb”

Gun - Triggered Fission Bomb

Length:	10 feet 6 inches
Diameter:	29 inches
Weight:	9,700 lbs
Yield:	4.5 kilotons

The function of the triggering mechanism is to combine two sub-critical masses of fissionable material into one piece of critical mass, which is suitable for chain reaction.



a.k.a. -
"Little Boy"

Explosive Charge

U-235 Bullet

Barrel

U-235 Sphere

Tamper



Implosion-Triggered Fat Man

NPT

- 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty
 - Prohibits all above ground testing
- 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty
 - Except: India, Israel, Pakistan, North Korea
 - Non-profleration, Disarmament, Peaceful Use
 - IAEA

Is Proliferation of WMD Good?

- Deterrence works – threat of horrible wars will produce stability in order to avoid escalation.
- Balance of Terror equalizes power discrepancies between countries – even major military powers now cannot push around any country at will.

Is proliferation WMD bad?

- Worse wars if deterrence fails
- Accidents, especially in poor countries
- Great powers like USA weakened
- Sub-national proliferation – such as terrorists
- Arms races

Stopping Proliferation of WMD

- Export Controls of technology
- Bargaining – N. Korea for example
- Sanctions – Iraq, Pakistan, etc.
- Military intervention (Iraq, N. Korea??)
- Global Disarmament
- Solve underlying security problems so there is less world tension.
- International Treaties: NPT (1968); Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (1996); 1972 Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) in 1975.

**Are you optimistic that any of these
measures can work?**

None has shown to be very successful yet.

**However, combination of export controls
with international law may be best bet.**

**Flaws: International law is in the end
voluntary and export controls require
states to be responsible and carefully
watch the companies working inside their
boundaries.**

Balance of Power

A stylized illustration of a solar system. On the left, a large, bright yellow sun with a textured surface is partially visible. Several planets are shown in elliptical orbits around the sun. From left to right, the planets are: a small blue planet, Jupiter with its characteristic bands, Saturn with its prominent rings, and a reddish-brown planet with rings. The orbits are represented by thin white lines. The background is a dark, starry space.

Anggun Puspitasari, S.IP, M.Si

Realisme

The only way to achieve **security** in the international system, according to political realism, is by creating a **balance of power** among the most powerful states of the system.

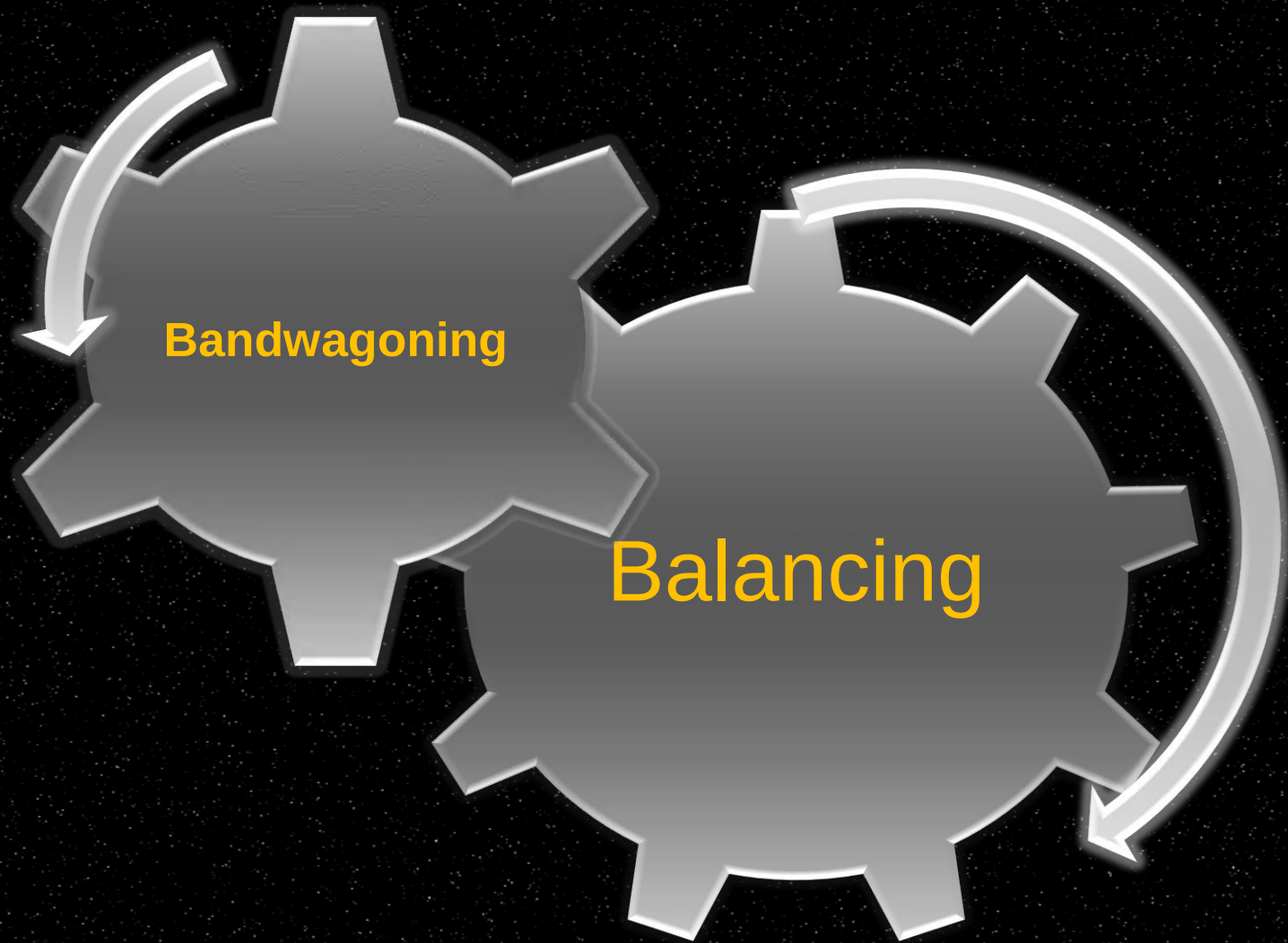


So, what is that?

Balance of Power
adalah perimbangan
kekuatan/ power yang
dilakukan oleh suatu
negara untuk bisa
mengimbangi
kekuatan/ power
negara lain.

The balance of power was
then regard as a system in
which state power was so
distributed that **no single
state could acquire
hegemony** without calling
into existence an alliance of
all other states, an alliance
strong enough to defeat
the hegemony seeker
(Haas, 1953).

How to obtain that?



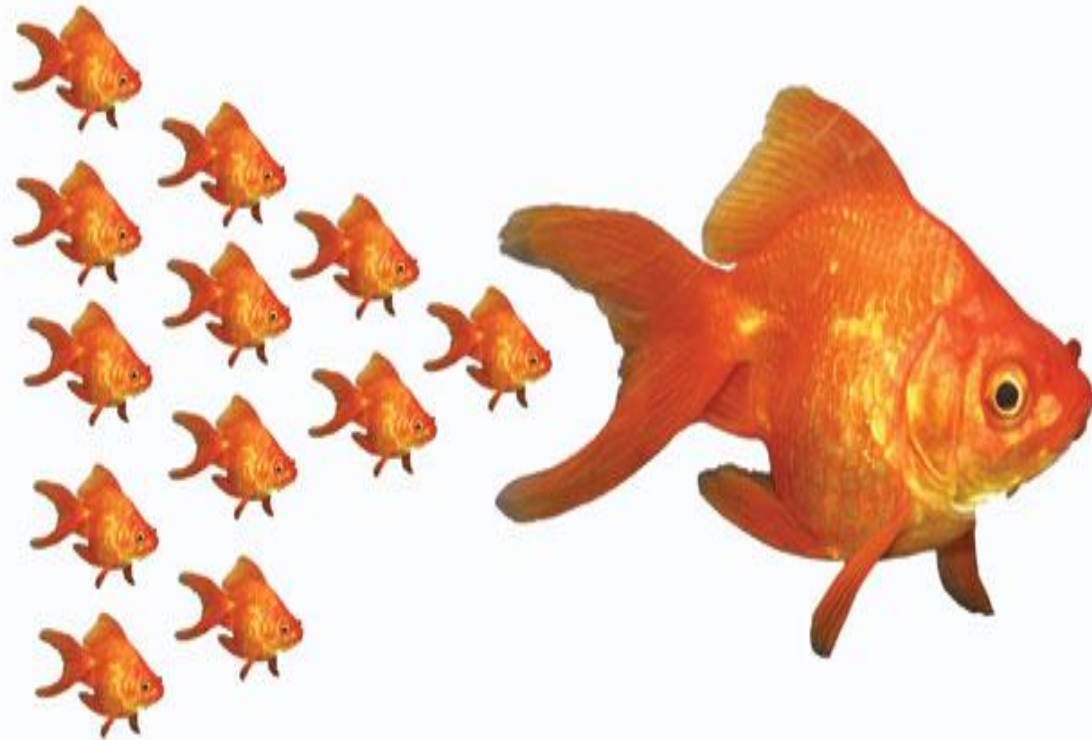
Balancing

Perilaku negara yang berusaha untuk beroposisi dengan sumber ancaman (Evelyn Goh, 2005).



Bandwagoning

Bandwagoning occurs when weaker states decide that the cost of opposing a stronger power exceeds the benefits (Waltz, 1979).



Simulasinya kira-kira seperti ini

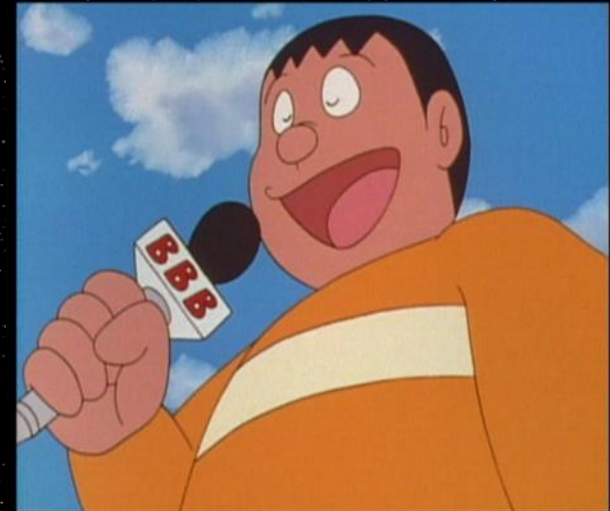


Alliance



DOMINATION

Balancing



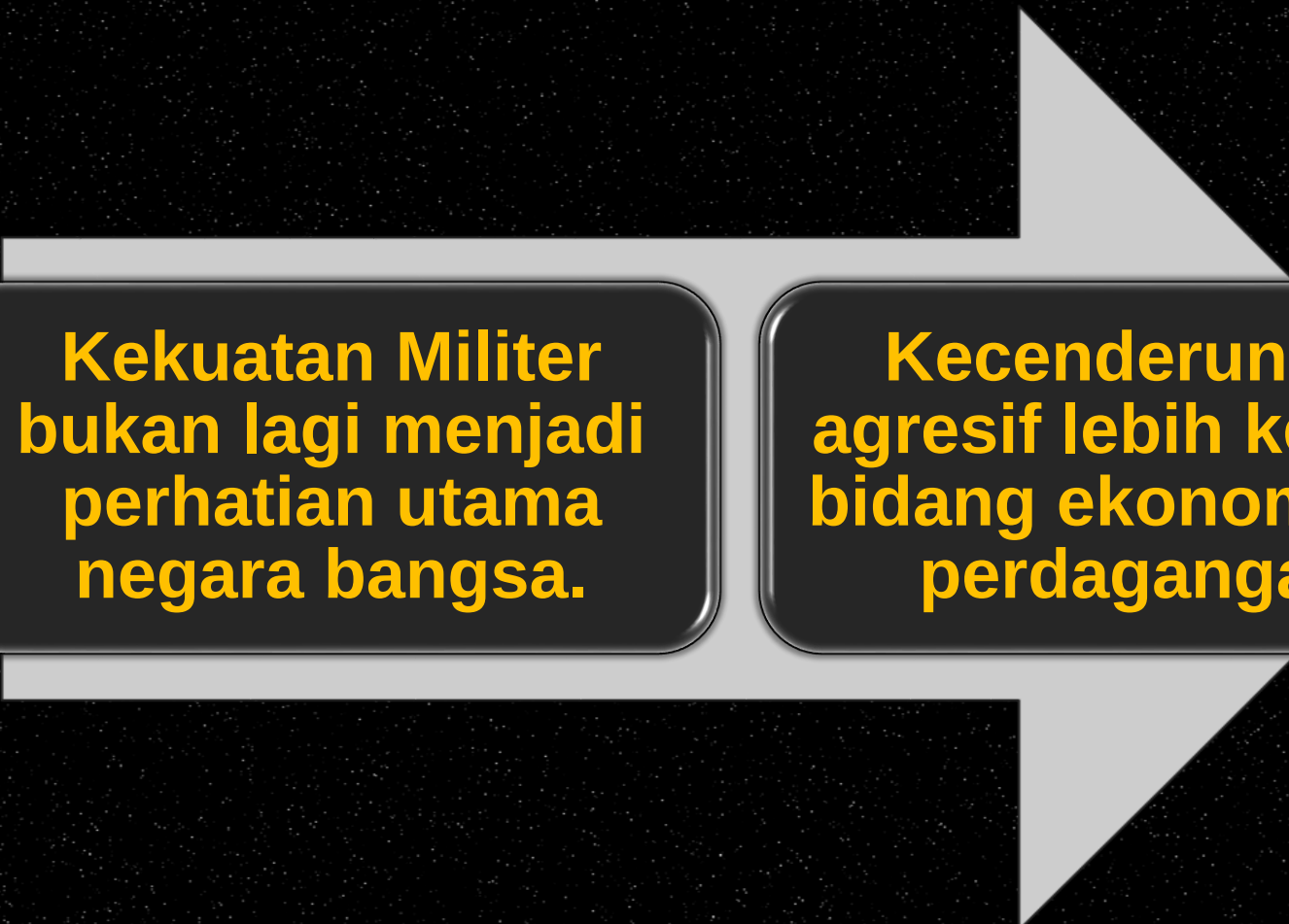
Hedging



Bandwagoning



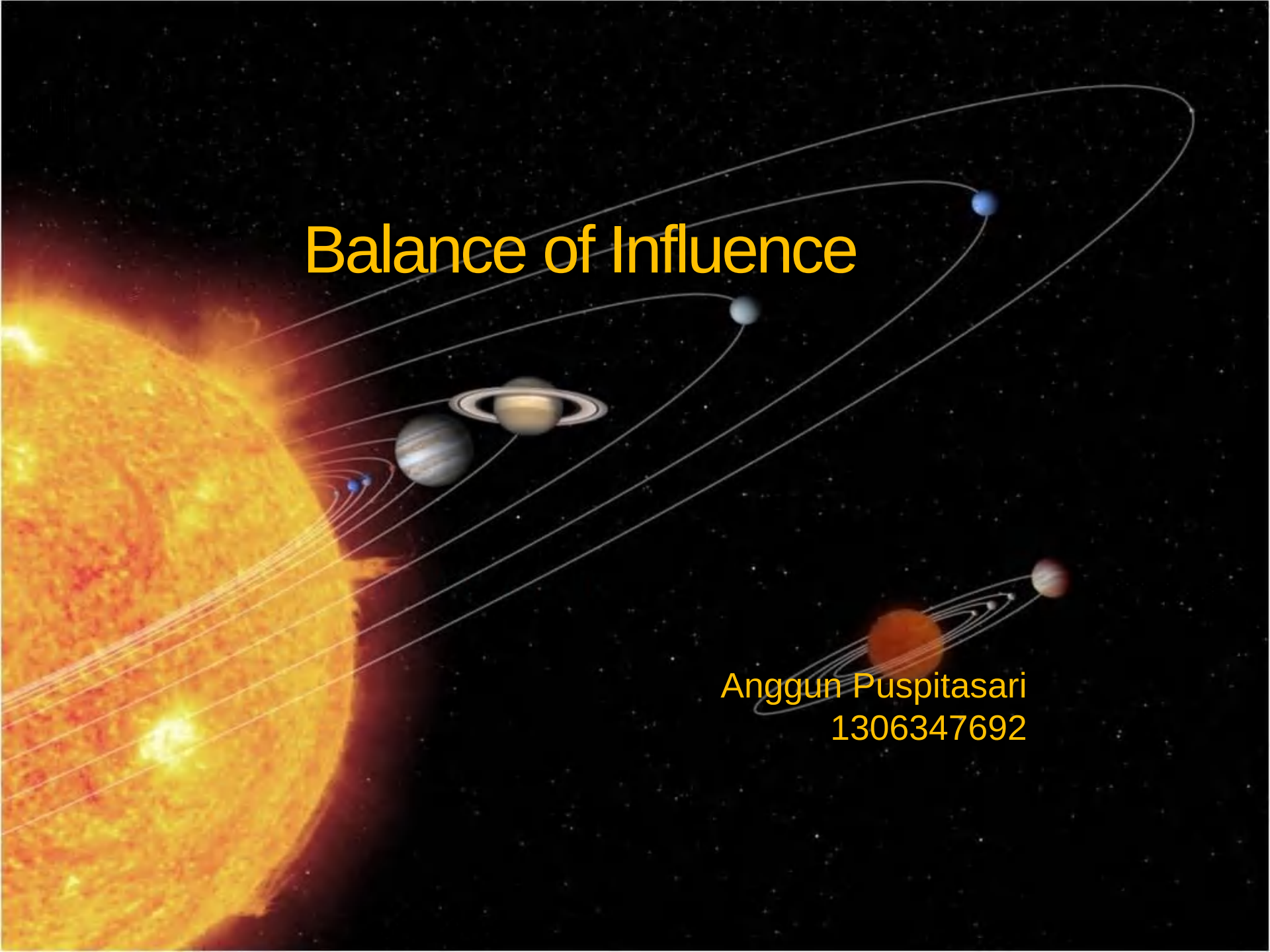
Kritik terhadap Balance of Power



**Kekuatan Militer
bukan lagi menjadi
perhatian utama
negara bangsa.**

**Kecenderungan
agresif lebih kepada
bidang ekonomi dan
perdagangan.**

Balance of Influence



Anggun Puspitasari
1306347692

Balance of Influence

Balance of Power (Morgenthau/ 1920)



Balance of Threat (Stephen M. Walt/1987).



Balance of Influence

Balance of Influence

“... Balance of influence implies that great powers will compete for influence through institutional and ideational media instead of conflictual power politics. By playing central roles in organizations the regional powers will retain significant leverage in regional affairs. At the same time, great powers will become invested in the region’s peace and development due to their economic and institutional links.”

(John David Ciorciari: 2009)

Balance of Influence

Perimbangan Pengaruh

- kekuatan-kekuatan besar akan saling bersaing untuk menyebarkan pengaruhnya melalui institusi yang berisi ide-ide dibandingkan terlibat dalam situasi politik yang konfliktual.

Institusi

- institusi dan organisasi berperan penting sebagai wadah untuk menyebarkan pengaruh tersebut. Melalui organisasi dan institusi tersebut, aktor-aktor yang berperan di dalamnya dapat saling terlibat dalam hubungan yang konstruktif demi mencapai kepentingannya masing-masing.

Common Interest

- Negara-negara besar tidak akan mau mengganggu *status quo* negara lain - yang biayanya bisa lebih mahal daripada melakukan keterlibatan secara konstruktif.

Hedging Strategy

"a set of strategies aimed at avoiding (or planning for contingencies in) a situation in which states cannot decide upon more straightforward alternatives such as balancing, bandwagoning, or neutrality. Instead they cultivate a middle position that forestalls or avoids having to choose one side [or one straightforward policy stance] at the obvious expense of another"

(Evelyn Goh: 2006)

Hedging

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graph LR; A[Hedging] --- B[Complex Engagement]; A --- C[Enmeshment Strategy]; A --- D[Indirect Balancing];
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Complex Engagement

Enmeshment Strategy

Indirect Balancing