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Examining the National Security Strategy in Cooperation between Indonesia and the United Arab Emirates in the Defense Sector

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Abstract. Indonesia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) have established close ties, including cooperation in the defense sector. The development of global trends has made national security issues the axis of interest in every country. National security is not only related to military threats, but includes various aspects such as economic, political, social and cultural. Indonesia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) are two countries that have close relations by collaborating in various fields, one of which is in the defense sector. Based on Buzan's securitization theory, identity conflict, regional hegemony, and the threat of terrorism are included as threats to the components of national security, namely the idea of the state, the physical basis of the state, and the institutional expression of the state. Researchers use systematic reviews as a method in research which is also used to determine research gaps. This study uses search engines such as Taylor & Francis Online, JSTOR, Tandfonline, ProQuest, and Google Scholar to search for various credible sources in the form of journals, articles, and empirical studies. The author finds that identity conflict, regional hegemony, and the threat of terrorism are threat factors that influence national security. So, the change in the status of defense industry cooperation from Business-to-Business (B2B) to Government-to-Government (G2G) appears as an interesting issue to analyze the factors and impacts.

Keywords: National Security; Defense Sector; Strategy

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INTRODUCTION

The development of global trends makes national security issues the axis of interest in every country (Buzan, 2009). National security is not only related to military threats, but includes various aspects such as economic, political, social and cultural (Paris, 2001). Indonesia and the United Arab Emirates (PEA) are two countries that have close relations by collaborating in various fields, one of which is in the defense sector (Jazeera, 2020). This collaboration has great potential to influence the national security strategies of the two countries (Prakoso, 2023). It is also noted in the draft memorandum between the two countries that this cooperation will contribute to a beneficial relationship for both national defenses Ministry of Defense, 2020). Previously, Indonesia and the PEA had signed a defense cooperation agreement on February 24 2020 in Abu Dhabi (Ministry of Defense, 2023). The absence of a scientific academic basis regarding this collaboration agreement is what later became the basis for the author to raise this research topic.

Geographically, the relationship between Indonesia and the PEA is brought together by the increasing importance of the Indian Ocean region for the Arabian Gulf countries (Maashi, 2018)

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and Southeast Asian countries. The geographical potential for the United Arab Emirates is from two strategic fringes in the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea in the Indian Ocean starting from the Port of Massawa in Eritrea which stretches along the western coast of Yemen facing the Red Sea and the eastern part of the Horn Coast, Africa to the Bab al-Mandab Strait towards The Gulf of Aden, which combines the South Coast of Yemen and the North Coast of Somalia. Meanwhile, Indonesia has a strategic location at the intersection of two oceans and two continents and has maritime borders with Southeast Asian countries, Australia and India.

Global trends, such as the Asia Pivot, also provide opportunities for bilateral relations between the PEA and Indonesia to advance mutual strategic interests. Richard C. Bush in his writing entitled The Response of China's Neighbors to the U.S. "Pivot" to Asia explains that United States foreign policy has experienced a shift in focus since the Obama administration. The implementation of the Pivot to East Asia regional strategy began in 2012 and is focused on areas that can strengthen bilateral security cooperation, improve working relations with developing economic powers, expand trade and investment, and expand the base of military power. Hilary Clinton even stated in the article America's Pacific Century that in the next decade the United States would focus on increasing diplomatic, economic and investment cooperation in the Asia Pacific region. In fact, Indonesia has received the nickname as one of the emerging powers countries in the Southeast Asia region within the scope of integrated strategic cooperation between the United States and Asia (Clinton, 2011). For cooperation between Indonesia and the PEA, these strategic interests include the rise of Asia as an engine of global growth (ADB, 2012), promoting moderate Islamic countries, building joint investment opportunities as a form of economic diversification (Jensen, 2017) and defense diplomacy (Mustofa, 2021).

Based on data from Table 1. Data on the comparison of the military strength of the United Arab Emirates with Indonesia. Table 1. Data on the comparison of the military strength of the United Arab Emirates with Indonesia. Indonesia has potential in terms of human resources. After previously explaining the potential strategic location of Indonesia's regions. Indonesia's population level is higher than other countries in Southeast Asia, meaning the number of Indonesian military personnel is greater. A large territory and a lot of human resources are things that the United Arab Emirates does not have. This means that Indonesia is superior in terms of the availability of Manpower. Global Fire data with indicators including geography, population, military personnel and military budget shows that Indonesia is superior to the United Arab Emirates in military strength, Indonesia is ranked 15th out of 142 countries with a Power Index of 0.2251 - with a perfect score of 0 ,0000 (GFP, 2022).

Table 1.

Comparative Data on Military Strength of The United Arab Emirates and Indonesia

	The United Arab Emirates	Indonesia
Power Index	0,5859 (Rangked 36 out of 142)	0,2251 (Ranked 15 out of 142)
	Manpower	
Total Population	9.856.612	275.122.131
Total *Available Manpower*	5.716.835 (Ranked 73 out of 142)	134.809.844 (Ranked 4 out of 142)
Active Personnel	65.000 (Ranked 60 out of 145)	476.000 (Ranked 12 out of 145)
Reserve Personnel	-	400.000
	Financial	
Defense Budget (USD)	$25.266.000.000 (Ranked 13 out of 142)	$9.300.000.000 (Ranked 25 out of 142)

Source: globalfire.com 2022 (processed)

On the other hand, this data shows that Indonesia is still far behind in the defense budget with the United Arab Emirates, the ratio is three times that of Indonesia's defense budget. Even though Indonesia's total defense budget is still low below that of the United Arab Emirates, Indonesia's defense budget has experienced an increasing trend since 2018, amounting to 106.8 trillion to 127.35 trillion (Zahara, 2022). Perhaps, because the Indonesian government has maturely made the growth of the defense industry a priority by increasing international cooperation in the defense industry sector (Presidential Decree, 2021). So, the opportunity for defense industry cooperation between Indonesia and the United Arab Emirates could be mutualistic. Indonesia's defense industry investment, which is still low, can be stimulated by using the United Arab Emirates as an investor. There is cooperation in the defense industry between the two, both PEA and Indonesia will take advantage of this mutualism with the national security interests of each country.

Thus, the existence of a Defense Industry cooperation agreement between Indonesia and the United Arab Emirates contained in the IUAE-CEPA (Indonesia-United Arab Emirates Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement) agreement has attracted public attention and is worthy of further research. Moreover, Indonesia is recognized as one of four democratic countries identified as Global Swing States (Daniel M Kliman, 2012). In the context of studying politics and international relations in the Middle East, this research focuses on the strategic interests of the United Arab Emirates by examining potential threats to their national security through the results of a systematic review. This national interest can then become a perspective from the foundation of defense industrial cooperation between the United Arab Emirates and

Indonesia. From an Indonesian perspective, IUAE CEPA is the first comprehensive agreement that covers aspects of defense industrial cooperation.

Policies related to efforts to create national security require in-depth analysis of the political, social, economic and even ideological order. This aspect also needs to be studied from the domestic, regional and international levels. This is because threats to national security can be one or even all of these aspects. Moreover, the era of globalization echoes patterns of cooperation and interaction between nations, which of course, will also make the spectrum of threats increasingly complex. Research on potential threats that affect national security will then provide conclusions on the impact of national security strategy policies that focus on defense industry agreements is the aim of this scientific work. The focus of this article is how defense cooperation between Indonesia and the United Arab Emirates emerged as a national security strategy, considering potential threats to both countries, and what impact of defense cooperation between Indonesia and the United Arab Emirates on the national security of both countries.

METHODS

Researchers use systematic reviews as a method in research which is also used to determine research gaps. This study uses search engines such as Taylor & Francis Online, JSTOR, Tandfonline, ProQuest, and Google Scholar to search for various credible sources in the form of journals, articles, and empirical studies. The inclusion and exclusion criteria used in article selection are as follows: Inclusion criteria: (1) Articles use national security theory to prove hypotheses; (2) The article discusses strategic cooperation in the security sector carried out by PEA and partner countries; and (3) Articles that focus on PEA and Indonesia cooperation in the defense sector. Exclusion criteria: (1) Articles that are not relevant to the research topic; (2) Articles that do not use national security theory; and (3) Articles that do not provide sufficient information to be used in systematic analysis. Methods used in solving problems include analysis methods.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The first results of this systematic review were strengthened through a journal written by Neil Quilliam and Maggie Kamel (Quilliam & Kamel, 2015) which discussed relations between the Arab Gulf countries and Asia. This journal focuses on analysis that argues that Gulf Arab states will rely more on Asia, rather than the West, in partnering for their state security strategies in the region. The emergence of the Arab Spring turmoil and United States policy regarding the Asia Pivot underscores this analysis. Moreover, relations between the Arab Gulf countries over the last five years since this journal was written in 2015, have increased in terms of trade cooperation,

bilateral cooperation, investment and energy relations. However, the authors argue that it is unlikely that relations between Gulf Arab states and Asia will become strategic in the near future. They argue that Asian leaders have shown no interest in ensuring Gulf security. On the other hand, the facts point to a decline in relations between Gulf Arab leaders and the West since the Arab Spring. This means that of course there is an opportunity for relations between the Arab Gulf countries and Asia to develop into strategic cooperation.

The opportunity for strategic cooperation based on a national security strategy due to potential threats is also strengthened by analysis which states that one of the strategies used by the United Arab Emirates (PEA) for national security which is based on a balancing strategy is through increasing its military strength (Jibril, 2021). The implementation of this PEA strategy has spent billions of dollars to order offensive and defensive weapons from several countries. PEA also established and developed a military industry. In 2014, PEA created the Emirates Defense Industries Company (EDIC), and since then due to its emphasis on local weapons production, PEA's dependence on foreign-procured weapons has reduced. Through a strategy of increasing the military and developing the defense industry, PEA believes that this force will be able to protect and promote national interests. In short, PEA has built a spectrum of capabilities to ensure prevention in the event of a crisis. In the Gulf region, the PEA defense industry dating from the first decade of the 2000s is the strongest. However, the defense industry has only begun to receive attention after the Arab Spring and the fall in crude oil prices on the world market. Through the data presented in Table 3 which contains the main countries supplying weapons to the PEA along with the size of the transactions, the PEA has shown that it is serious about increasing its military strength. Between 2001 and 2010, arms transfers from the US to the PEA amounted to $4.4 billion accounting for approximately 47.18% of the PEA's arms imports in that decade.

The security domain has become the most obvious area of increased foreign policy engagement by the PEA. As stated by Matthew Hedges, he explained that policies based on security were a direct result of the Arab Spring. The security-focused foreign policy of the GCC countries mainly develops on two fronts: first, through the armed forces and second, human resource personnel connections. Meanwhile, in the economic and commercial fields, PEA's informal foreign relations can generally be seen through the involvement of state-owned enterprises and state-owned holding companies in the security sector (Hedges, 2021). Finally, the instability of the GCC countries' traditionally strong foreign relations with Western countries has been accompanied by a proliferation of pragmatic relations with an increasing number of

states and non-state actors. Simultaneously, this will give rise to many new relationships emerging that will strategically increase the PEA's ability to replace assistance from Western parties whose traditional assistance has been rooted in the Gulf countries, with other parties.

Factors considered vulnerable to national security PEA. For example, the case of the border dispute with Iran over the occupation and militarization of three islands, Tunb Besar, Tunb Kecil and Abu Musa. In addition, Iran's behavior after the 1979 Revolution has increased the PEA's concerns for their efforts to export political Islamic ideology as a way to expand influence and disrupt the Sunni monarchical state (Matson, 2018).

The PEA's concerns in geopolitics have led it to traditionally adopt a pragmatic approach when it comes to managing security and defence. The British journal, the United Arab Emirates and the Defense of the Gulf revisited (Kelly, 2013) provides a series of facts that the PEA strategy is to build alliances and relationships with countries that are considered important and work to limit the capabilities of countries that might pose a threat to the PEA. PEA's leadership under the late Sheikh Zayed was aimed at preserving the conditions that enabled PEA's survival- such as being an oil-rich hydrocarbon exporting country. Implementation of this PEA vision quickly adopts a West-facing approach with strategies designed to consolidate security and integrity. For example, Britain's policy of withdrawing its forces from the Gulf in 1971, made the PEA policy lead to the need to embrace the United States as a strategic partner. This trend became more pronounced after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990, as concerns about Iran's influence in the region were thought to have increased. Thus, the PEA's strategic decision in determining partners in establishing a strategic balance in the Gulf region, was taken because of very realistic concerns about state security. The authors of this journal suggest in the journal's conclusion that in the future, when the international environment for the PEA may change, the PEA will need to develop security and defense with a diverse network, rather than having just one main external relationship. So, based on the explanation in this journal regarding geopolitical threats that are a concern for PEA and the suggestions given by the author, the decision taken by PEA in building defense industrial cooperation with Indonesia is a decision that is considered quite strategic and will be interesting to discuss.

The external factors that concern PEA regarding National Security were discussed by Sheikh Majid Abdulla Rashid Al Moalla (Al-Moalla, 2017) in his dissertation entitled Analysis of The United Arab Emirates National Security. Al Moalla analyzes existing and potential threats to PEA national security based on Buzan's theory from the Copenhagen School. According to him, the threat to PEA national security when analyzed from Buzan's perspective is multidimensional.

In the second decade of the 21st century, the Middle East experienced considerable upheaval and was followed by systemic changes. Apart from its unique cultural and topographical characteristics, this region is synonymous with complex political problems regionally and internationally. The Arab Spring has become a stimulus for fundamental change for many Arab countries (Hanieh, 2018). The necessity for changes in world strategic environmental conditions in accordance with political changes in national, regional and global systems. Finally, changes will affect the typology of threats, forms of conflict, and the expiration of conflict, thereby affecting political stability. Significant understanding in reading a country's strategic environment determines the analysis to determine foreign policy.

A similar change occurs when we look at the Gulf Cooperation Council or GCC, which generally appears calm compared to other Arab countries. In fact, behind the calm there remains a force that refers to changes that are almost taking place in all GCC countries. It cannot be denied that the turmoil of the Arab Spring also influenced the fate of security, economics and politics in the region of the Gulf countries (Hanieh, 2018). The Gulf Arab states, although still generally considered stable, are not immune from unrest. As a result, the national security capacity of countries in the Arabian Gulf Region, including the United Arab Emirates, has been tested.

Similar conditions were also experienced by Indonesia during the New Order era. The background of nepotism, corruption, authoritarianism and inequality triggered the turmoil in Indonesia in 2008. It was recorded that during the economic crisis, Indonesia was able to face the political transition well in producing a sustainable democratic government followed by an increase in the Indonesian economy during the recovery period by 5.3 percent per year from 2000 to 2011 (cia.gov, 2011). Considering that Middle Eastern countries are also facing a process of economic revival (Koch, 2005) after the Arab Spring. Not to mention the Asia Pivot policy which is a rebalance in changing the focus of United States foreign policy from a focus on the Middle East to a focus on Asia (Bush, 2012). This explains that the United States views Asia as a region that will become the center of world political and economic activity (Scobell, 2016). Through this policy, the PEA, which is part of the Gulf States, also sees bright potential in Asia in the form of cooperation for economic, political and security interests (Janardhan, 2020).

On the other hand, for Indonesia, military needs need to be updated with technological developments. However, this need requires military planning that is tailored to the country's capital and strategic needs. So, stakeholders from both countries can determine the portion of

military procurement followed by decisions on developing the defense industry in accordance with strategic policies through the IUAE CEPA cooperation agreement in the defense industry sector.

Both countries are trying to improve the quality of the defense industry in producing the main weapons system (Mustofa, 2021). This bilateral relationship is able to create strengthening relations which is an aspect of implementing foreign policy policy and at the same time a stimulus for creating weapons products to maintain the stability and security of the country. The economic aspect explains that this product can reduce production costs compared to buying directly from partner countries. So, with low production costs, you will certainly get maximum profits with marketing objectives in two regional areas, the Middle East and Southeast Asia. On the other hand, the tendency of geopolitical interests to be a strong driver in establishing economic ties, as shown by the Arab Gulf countries by approaching countries such as India, China and Indonesia to be involved in Arab Gulf security (Jensen, 2017). Moreover, the leaders of the two countries, Indonesia and the United Arab Emirates, have common interests in investing in infrastructure, promoting moderate Islam, and balancing regional relations between the United States, India and China.

So, the strongest reason for Indonesia and the PEA to become partners in this cooperative bond is also strengthened by the diplomatic strategy of the Joko Widodo era which was able to accommodate the main objects to be achieved, namely national interests and national resilience (Anugerah, 2017). This means that Indonesia and the PEA have the same priorities in terms of diplomacy that is very sensitive to the strategic environment. Apart from that, Indonesia also has domestic capacity in the field of defense and security which is at a level conducive to supporting its foreign policy. Moreover, Indonesia received a strong flow of support from its people in affirming Indonesia's existence on the international stage.

CONCLUSION

The description of the data, it can be understood that the defense industry is one of the instruments that supports national security. However, the trend of the global defense industry with its capabilities as a supplier of high defense technology is dominated by several multinational companies from several countries. This reflects the inequality in technological mastery which has an impact on difficulties in mastering technology and developing the defense industry. In the discourse of military power, anarchy stimulates the growing belief that national security is a vital issue and needs to be prepared independently. Resourcesence of humans as soldiers,

equipment, resources and technology was asked to prepare everything. This implies that the development of the country's industrial capacity to provide military equipment to support soldiers must be initiated by the state (Cahyasusila, 2022). So, the change in the status of defense industry cooperation from Business-to-Business (B2B) to Government-to-Government (G2G) appears as an interesting issue to analyze the factors and impacts. Moreover, when we look at data on the number of active military personnel of the United Arab Emirates, it shows that a country still has limited manpower. Even so, the United Emirates has a practical need to maintain its military capabilities.

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