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#### Kogabwilhan's Determination Strategy in Keeping the Security of the Border Areas In South China Sea Defense Management Perspective

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Abstract: This study discussed Kogabwilhan's deterrence strategy in maintaining the security of the border area in South China Sea from a defense management perspective. To anticipate the emergence of threats that can interfere with national interests, the establishment of the Kogabwilhan is primarily aimed at preparing for handling crises in the territory of Indonesia. This study belongs to library research. The results showed that management function, there are five main functions which are further elaborated as follows. First, the leader or manager does the planning, and what will be done. Then, organize to implement the plan, and then assemble the organization's personnel with the necessary resources to implement the plan. Indonesia needs to strengthen its military strength in the Natuna area. To overcome potential conflicts in the South China Sea, it needs conducting a series of exercises in the Natuna Sea.

Keyword: Kogabwilhan, Defense Management, South China Sea

#### 1. Introduction

For anticipating the emergence of threats that can affect national interests, the establishment of the Kogabwilhan especially to prepare for crisis management in the territory of Indonesia by dividing the territory of Indonesia into 3 (three) Joint Regional Defense Commands (Kogabwilhan). Kogabwilhan is a unit directly under the command of the President. The Indonesian National Army (TNI) Kogabwilhan is a representation of the TNI Interoperability concept which is currently a priority policy for the TNI Commander. Kogabwilhan was established

as part of the TNI's efforts to build resilience and prevent various potential threats both from outside and within the country. The presence of the Kogabwilhan is a form of preparation for the TNI to face a crisis. The development of defense areas aims to maintain the natural potential and social conditions that exist in the territory of Indonesia.

Kogabwilhan here is to work with various parties to safeguard all aspects, including disaster mitigation, regional development, welfare, and regional defense. The appointment must take into account several aspects, namely command, control, strategy, and existing infrastructure. Therefore, the establishment of the Kogabwilhan has a strategic role in maintaining the sovereignty of the Indonesian state. The formation of the Kogabwilhan was carried out as one of the steps taken by the TNI to strengthen prevention against various potential threats from outside and within the country. The increase in the management capacity of the TNI must be based on good planning, organization, implementation, and supervision arrangements to be able to control it optimally. Second, is the role of legal policy. Kogabwilhan must be able to obey the law, whether on land, at sea, or in the air. Third, diplomatic role. Kogabwilhan training can reduce existing conflicts, so it is very important to have diplomacy skills. Therefore, the construction of the Kogabwilhan settlement can reduce existing conflicts, so it is very important to have diplomatic skills. Therefore, Kogabwilhan's deterrence strategy to maintain the security of border areas in the South China Sea from a defense management perspective can reduce existing conflicts (Wahyudi, 2022).

As stated in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 3 of 2002, this state defense aims to protect the sovereignty of the nation, the territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, and the security of the entire nation and state against all forms of threats and disturbances to the integrity of the nation and state. Therefore, the Indonesian state should maintain the territorial integrity of the country in the face of threats that come from outside the country's territory. For this reason, the State urges all sectors of the nation to play an active role in efforts and processes to realize a strong and resilient national defense. In addition, the state can place the TNI as the main element with the help of reserve elements and supporting elements. This condition is very urgent considering the importance of protecting the national defense system from all threats.

These efforts are very important in maintaining defense zones in Indonesia, where the state has broad territorial power and multicultural socio-cultural culture.

The Kogabwilhan were trained as part of the TNI's efforts to build resilience and accommodate various potential threats, both external and domestic. The presence of the Kogabwilhan is a form of preparation for the TNI to face a crisis. Of course, the TNI is aware of and considers the development of an increasingly complex strategic environment around the world. Furthermore, this increasingly dvnamic condition can threaten the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, both militarily and militarily. But overall, defense is identical to certain identifying attributes. However, the current TNI must have crisis management capabilities, and problem-solving abilities, both under normal and suboptimal conditions (Farick, 2019). This is important, especially considering the importance of establishing the Kogabwilhan to answer the challenges of the fragile defense of the Republic of Indonesia. By Presidential Decree No. 27 of 2019 concerning the Establishment of a Military Command, the Kogabwilhan is a unit that is directly responsible to the President. The command functions as a forum for managing the readiness of the TNI to defend Indonesia's defense areas from existing threats. Therefore, it must be optimized in the implementation process, to support the development strategy and control of the sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

The concept of Defense Governance and Management today, all organizations, both public and private, need management to effectively carry out their organizational goals, effectively and efficiently, including in the field of defense and security which in fact has developed in the international world. In a democratic system, the implementation of the management process in a public body is carried out with integrity and the principle of transparency so that the organization can carry out its functions in the public interest of the country. (Laura and McConville, 2006). In general, the concept of defense management follows the same principles like the concept of management, which states that in management there are five very important functions, are:

Planning is An important purpose of planning or planning is to define goals or objectives so that they can focus the activities of all members of the organization and to determine standards and implementation timelines. Organizing, where there is good planning, the organizing stage will be easier. At this stage, managing the allocation of resources within the organization can provide an indication of the functional importance of the sub-organization. Resource allocation includes finance, people, and equipment. These three resources determine the performance of defense organizations. In terms of funding, there is an obligation attached to public sector managers that any funds spent must be able to create excellence in defense capabilities. On the other hand, humans are an equally important asset, so to carry out an activity it is necessary to recruit the right number of workers. Finally, in terms of equipment, it is an important aspect to support the operational efficiency of human resources. Including in making decisions about purchasing equipment.

Commanding, a leader in defense-related organizations must be able to invite people in the organization to be motivated to work better, faster, and more efficiently. Money is a problem and a motivator for workers to do their jobs. In this case, ideally, a leader can implement a reward and punishment system which refers to private companies that have implemented the system so that organizational members can work harder because there are appropriate rewards.

Coordinating The function of coordination is basically how a leader can communicate with all other members of the organization to integrate all the efforts of members of the organization to achieve the goals that have been set. In the defense industry, there are important principles, namely: the need to know principle where an individual can find out why he does a job and what role he plays in achieving organizational goals. A person who is forced to perform a task without knowing what it is for will feel distrusted by the leadership and will be fired.

Controlling, good control starts with good planning. If clear goals have been set, everyone in the organization will be able to do the work according to clear goals and standards should be set. Control is the best way to measure production or performance. In the field of defense and security, measurement becomes a dilemma because it is difficult to set organizational standards for defense and security performance. After all, it is very subjective and there is no universal standard regarding the definition of defense and security.

#### **Defense Territory Empowerment**

The defense area in the strategic defense target is divided into three areas at sea, land, and air. Regarding the sea area, Indonesia has ALKI I, II, and III. In ALKI I it passes through the South China Sea, Karimata Strait, Java Sea, and the Sunda Strait, while in ALKI II it passes through the Sulawesi Sea, Makassar Strait, Flores Sea, Lombok Strait, and ALKI III through the Pacific Ocean, Maluku Sea, Seram Sea, Banda Sea, Ombai Strait, and Sawu Sea. ALKI is a route in Indonesian waters that can be used by domestic and foreign ships. With the

ALKI road, Indonesia opens the door to foreigners, so the security of the ALKI road itself must be maintained as optimally as possible. One of the legal instruments that covers the security factor of ALKI in Indonesia is through Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 37 of 2002, which states the following points; (1) Foreign ships and aircraft exercising the right of archipelagic sea lane passage must pass as soon as possible through or fly over the archipelagic sea lanes in the normal way, solely for continuous, direct, fast and unobstructed transit; (2) Foreign ships or aircraft carrying out archipelagic sea lane crossings, during their passage, may not deviate more than 25 (twenty five) nautical miles to both sides of the axis line of archipelagic sea lanes, provided that the ships and aircraft are not allowed to sailing or flying close to the coast less than 10% (ten percent) of the distance between the closest points on the islands bordering the archipelagic sea lanes; (3) Foreign ships and aircraft while exercising the right of archipelagic sea lane passage may not threaten or use violence against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of the Republic of Indonesia, or in any other way that violates the principles of international law contained in the United Nations Charter; (4) Foreign military warships and aircraft, while exercising the right of archipelagic sea lane passage, may not conduct war games or exercises using any kind of weapon using ammunition. The Indonesian ALKI route can be seen in the image below: or in any other way that violates the principles of international law contained in the United Nations Charter; (4) Foreign military warships and aircraft, while exercising the right of archipelagic sea lane passage, may not conduct war games or exercises using any kind of weapon using ammunition. The Indonesian ALKI route can be seen in the image below: or in any other way that violates the principles of international law contained in the United Nations Charter; (4) Foreign military warships and aircraft, while exercising the right of archipelagic sea lane passage, may not conduct war games or exercises using any kind of weapon using ammunition. The Indonesian ALKI route can be seen in the image below:

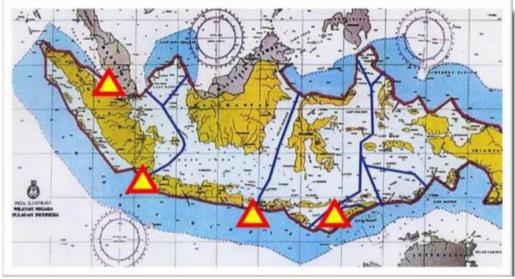


Figure 1. ALKI MAP

To protect Indonesian ALKI, strengthening the capability of Sea Power is a strategic and tactical step, in dealing with threats, especially transnational crimes that often originate from the sea. In fact, the dynamics of maritime threats have shifted from military aggression to non-military and transnational threats.

Even though Indonesia is an archipelagic country, the management of landbased defense area resources must be a priority because the geography of defense greatly affects OMP and OMSP. There is even a saying that "in the future, knowledge may be a more important aspect than the geographical aspect, but the geographical aspect still has a great influence on the military activities and wars of the country "every history of war exists" (Praditya, 2016). From this, we can understand why the government is so busy with developing the Kodam areas in each province. Kodam (Military Regional Command) in each province. The Kodam's strength consists of the Military Resort Command (Korem), which oversees the Military District Command (Kodim), which oversees the Military District Command (Koramil), which oversees the Village Development Officer (Babinsa).

The Kodam is also responsible for ensuring the training and development of non-commissioned officers and enlisted men carried out by the Regional Military Parent Regiment. Until now there are 13 Regional Commands including; (1)

Iskandar Muda Aceh Military Command; (2) Kodam I/Bukit Barisan (North Sumatra, West Sumatra, Riau and Riau Islands); (3) Kodam II/Sriwijaya (South Sumatra, Jambi Bengkulu, Bangka Belitung Islands, Lampung; (4) Kodam Jaya (Capital City Jakarta, Bekasi and Tangerang); (5) Kodam III/Siliwangi (West Java and Banten do not have Bekasi and Tangerang); (6) Kodam IV/Diponegoro (Central Java and DIY); (7) Kodam V/Brawijava (East Java); (8) Kodam VI/Mulawarman (North Kalimantan, East Kalimantan and South Kalimantan); (9) Kodam VII/Wirabuana (South Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, Southeast Sulawesi and West Sulawesi) (10) Kodam IX/Udayana (Bali, NTB and NTT); (11) Kodam XII/Tanjung Pura (Kalimantan Barat dan Kalimantan Tengah), (12) Kodam XVI/Patiimura (Maluku and Maluku Utara) dan (13) Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih (Papua and Papua Barat). In addition to increasing military strength in the mainland, the addition of more Kodams is also intended to strengthen the career path of each TNI AD officer, which provides energy for a career that is very beneficial in the future for every TNI officer. With Kodam, optimization of land defense area can be considered namely geographic development and demographic development.

The implementation of regional development in the geographical domain must carried out as follows: 1. Identification of the target object for regional development in the field must be clear, planned, and coordinated with agencies, stakeholders, both local governments and vertical agencies. including aspects of regional welfare and stability. 2. The implementation of the coordinated preparation of the RUTR between the regional government and the regional command units can support each other and be synergistic even though it is carried out with different interests and perspectives where the preparation of the regional development RUTR tends to be a profitable approach, while the regional command RUTR tends to be development related. 3. Determination of the resistance base area and zone classification can be done in practice, both in terms of quality, territorial boundaries, and supporting facilities:1. Availability of real data on the potential of the community in the area based on other skills and capacities needed at any time and mobilization as needed. 2. There is a sense of protecting the State in the population to form strength, militia strength, and patriotism as a force of mass resistance 3. Increasing the capacity of the workforce and properly maintaining, the optimal availability of electricity supply in each area and the existence of this area is supported by all levels of society to support the creation of regional preparedness and resilience.

## **Air Territory**

Real threats to our current air defense systems include violations of airspace under national jurisdiction by foreign military and civilian aircraft, violations of their archipelagic sea lanes, violations of national airspace under the control of other countries, and illegal flights in favor of smuggling or secession, violations air flights. survey activities and aircraft violations of neighboring countries involved in border or island disputes with us. Almost all violations are caused by the lack of defense equipment that can be mobilized directly by the Koopsudnas in large enough quantities. A strong national air defense system will not only protect Indonesia's airspace but also strengthen its deterrence against military forces which are the main instrument of our nation's strength. Various illegal activities in the airspace or violations of aviation rules will certainly be reduced if the national airspace is fully monitored and maintained throughout the year (Praditya, 2016) In maintaining the area in the air, the National Air Operations Command or Koopsudnas. is an important element that functions as a guard for the division of aircraft movements within the territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. As a security guard for Indonesian territory, in carrying out their duties, Kodam is supported by TNI AU radar units stationed in various areas, besides Kohanudnas, they have also integrated data from civilian radars throughout Indonesia. So far Indonesia's radar can be seen on the map below:



Figure 2. Radar Map of the Republic of Indonesia

Management the air defense of the region relies heavily on the radar because of the range that each region can cover from west to east. The use of military radar and civilian radar is the right combination to see what types of aircraft can pass through Indonesian airspace. The breadth of the aerospace domain, more equitable distribution of development results, and the distribution of important objects need to be secured, requiring the presence of a reliable and adequate Sista, in this case, radar also requires professional and disciplined personnel, so a device capable of continuous operation is needed. a stable, integrated, responsive, effective, and efficient way to maintain state sovereignty throughout the year, even requiring domestically produced radar (Sudah Seharusnya Radar Nasional Mandiri, 2022)

## 2. Methods

The method used in this paper is library research. Sources that can be used as references are books, journals, and scientific articles. This article also uses a descriptive analysis approach to explain a phenomenon, condition, and situation that exists in a society and tries to raise the phenomenon to the surface as a trait, personality, or trait by focusing on the unity of different phenomena requiring deeper data (Arikunto, 1997). This study is descriptive analysis research. Analytical description means describing the status quo and then analyzing the data according to the relevant rules (Mamuji, 2006). The analytical descriptive aims to provide a clear and comprehensive picture of Kogabwilhan's deterrence strategy in maintaining border security in the South China Sea from a defense management perspective. The data obtained will then be processed, classified data then produced in a research report in the form of an in-depth analysis of cases that have followed the analysis and classification process in the analysis using concepts and theories to reach a comprehensive conclusion.

#### 3. Results and Discussion

The national defense policy is developed in sync with other security policy components (Djunaidi, 2022). This defense policy is intended to counter and respond to threats of a military nature. Meanwhile, responses to threats from a non-military perspective are handled by other national security actors. The role of the TNI is guided by defense policies which then lead to an analysis of capacity requirements to address the threats and risks identified in the previous strategic analysis. Based on this analysis, a Kogabwilhan strategy is developed, which concerns the organization and use of Kogabwilhan by environmental threats, capacity requirements, and resources provided by the government. This then leads to decision-making in various operational areas, such as forecasting future forces, operational capabilities, operational doctrine, training, international equipment purchasing space, and supporting infrastructure. From there, develop more theories and concepts of association (joint doctrine and concepts). In the management function in general, there are five main functions which are further elaborated as follows. First, the leader or manager does the planning, and what will be done. Then, organize to implement the plan, and then gather organizational personnel with the resources needed to implement the plan. These resources provide direction and control and keep it operating optimally.

Meanwhile, according to (McConville, 2006) relevant aspects of defense management are planning and coordination. These two aspects are linked together to create goals as efficiently as possible. In defense management, planning elements in a system include interrelated components. The first component is strategic planning which includes the vision, mission, and goals of the organization while the second component is operational planning in the form of operational goals and performance. management functions, including monitoring and evaluation, and feedback functions. From the discussion of the factors that influence the role of Kogabwilhan, there are five functions in the concept of defense management (McConville, 2006) relevant as follows:

Planning, Melsee the latest developments in the strategic environment, checks and balances, and government policies. Although Indonesia's position in the South China Sea dispute is not a claimant state, several Indonesian territories are claimed by China, including Indonesian territory, especially the waters of the Natuna North Sea. China's attitude in trying to assert its claim to control over the South China Sea by militarizing the South China Sea has the potential to disrupt regional stability. The view of the Indonesian government through the 2015 Defense White Paper is that China's militarization and modernization efforts can create security dilemmas among neighboring countries. This security dilemma sparked a response from countries around the South China Sea. The Indonesian government under President Joko Widodo has placed security issues in the South China Sea as one of the strategic defense issues, as stated in the Defense White Paper issued by the Ministry of National Defense. Under the leadership of President Joko Widodo, Indonesia's defense budget grew significantly compared to the defense budget under the leadership of President Susilo Bambang

Yudhoyono (Daud, 2019). To strengthen Indonesia's defense capabilities in the border areas, the DPR agreed to fund the construction of a military base in Natura to anticipate threats from the South China Sea, particularly China. (Indrawan, 2015). In 2016, the Ministry of Defense submitted a 2017 budget that would prioritize the construction of a military base in Natura and the modernization of defense equipment that was deemed no longer usable (Gumilang, 2016). Due to the limited budget of the TNI and the Ministry of Defense, the construction of a military base in Natuna will be carried out in stages to form a complete military base that will be used by law enforcement to deal with violations around South China sea (Sarwanto, 2016). Project the construction of a military base initiated by the Ministry of National Defense and the TNI shows that the situation in the South China Sea, particularly the Natura area, can threaten Indonesia's stability, security, and sovereignty, because it forces the Indonesian Government authorities to take action against existing threats. Considering the situation and condition of the Natuna region, which is the outermost region that is often prone to conflict, the Natuna military base development program is an important program that can be used for law enforcement, protecting the territory of foreign parties, trying to enter illegally into the territory of Indonesia to commit an act, violate the law,

Organizing, the transition mechanism comprehensively examines the relationship between the strategic plan of national defense and the defense posture development program (Fardani et al, 2021). Following the construction of military bases and supporting facilities for military bases, the next government program is the formation of a TNI unit and the Joint Regional Defense Command. The purpose of the formation of this integrated TNI unit is to stop threats in the Natuna area. The evolution of an integrated TNI unit that will develop into a permanent and integrated organization in one command and equipped with an operational control system based on (network-centric warfare)network-based warfare (Astungkoro, 2018). Unity now integrated TNI is still in its infancy, including several TNI units such as the TNI AD, TNI AL, and TNI AU (Permana, 2018):

- 1. Indonesian Armed Forces, such as the Joint Battalion, Engineering Company, Anti-Air Missile Batteries, and Field Artillery Batteries;
- 2. The Indonesian Navy from the composite of Marines and supporting port facilities support the operations of the Indonesian Navy warships operating around Natuna waters;

3. The Indonesian Air Force is in the form of an airbase, with integrated hangar facilities and Unmanned Aircraft Squadron (UAV) hangars.

Commanding, in a defense organization, a leader must be able to invite all members of the organization to be motivated to work better, faster, and more efficiently. Money is a problem and a motivator for workers to do their jobs. In this case, ideally, a leader can establish a system of rewards and punishments. The set of positive relationships between people: trust, mutual understanding, shared values, and behaviors that bind members in networks and communities that enable collaboration. Kogabwilhan is one of the TNI divisions responsible for maintaining the security of Indonesian waters, in carrying out its duties, Kogabwilhand is divided into several main commands with their respective functions. Unity of command is a principle that states that orders received by a subordinate cannot be carried out by more than one officer of his superiors. In carrying out the work, the principle of unity of command must be upheld. In the implementation of functions and missions, direction and goals depend on the unity of command.

Coordinating, follow the incident involving the ship Han Tan Cou which is believed to be full of paramilitary forces supported by the Chinese Coast Guard performing dangerous maneuvers against the Indonesian maritime security agency carrying out dangerous maneuvers, conducting security operations at the time. The Indonesian government through the TNI responded to these provocative efforts by holding military exercises in Natuna waters. One of the training activities carried out is the 2016 Angkasa Yudha Exercise. The Angkasa Yudha training session will initially be held in Tanjung Pandan, Belitung Regency. However, President Joko Widodo ordered that the training location be moved to the Natuna Islands, Riau Islands Province (Suhendra, 2016). The shift from the training ground to the Natuna Islands as a training ground is inseparable from a series of incidents involving Chinese ships and KRI Imam Bonjol that occurred in the Natuna waters. The scenario applied in this training activity is an aerial combat scenario (Ziyadi, 2016)., air operations in intelligence operations are Operation Air Intelligence Surveillance and Reconnaissance (OUIPP), Strategic Offensive Air Operations (OUSS), Resistance Air Operations (OUP), Operation Information, Air Mobility Operations (OMU), Special Air Operations (OUK), Law Enforcement and Airspace Security Operations (Opsgakkumpamwilud), Territorial Operations. (The doctrine of the TNI Air Force Swa Bhuwana Forced. Decree of the Commander of the Indonesian National Armed Forces Number KEP/545/V/2019 dated 22 May 2019) exercise this was also followed by several main weapon systems main tool (defense equipment) such as the Sukhoi Su27/30, F16, Hawk, T50i Golden Eagle, and EMB31 Super Tucano who took part in parachute combat training. The exercise was also witnessed directly by President Joko Widodo, who was accompanied by ministers to review the exercise. (Main, 2016) presence President in this exercise showed how meaningful this exercise was to show the readiness of Indonesia, especially the TNI to face all forms of threats in Indonesian territory, especially Natuna, which is routinely infiltrated by paramilitary forces disguised as fishermen sent from the South. China Sea Region.

Controlling, to support the operations of the TNI units, several operational support facilities have been built such as hospitals, three-dimensional integrated hangars for the TNI, docks for TNI AD facilities, TNI AL ports, and TNI AU radar facilities. (Permana, 2018). After the three TNI dimensions have been fully integrated, the next stage is the construction of the Joint CommandstepThe next step is to build the Joint Regional Defense Command (Kogabwilhan). The formation of the Kogabwilhan was planned during the administration of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, who was succeeded by President Joko Widodo. Factors considered in the formation of the Kogabwilhan include the position of the Commander in Chief and his entire staff, followed by elements of the Enforcement Unit. This joint command consists of 3 combined regions of West, Central, and East (Putra, 2015) The basis for the formation of the Kogabwilhan has been formalized in the form of Presidential Decree No. 62 of 2016 dated 14 July 2016 with the structure of the Kogabwilhan being led by a high-ranking three-star officer. With a two-star Senior Officer as deputy and six one-star assistants. The formation of the TNI unit and the Joint Regional Defense Command shows that the Indonesian government is not only focusing efforts to maintain the security of the South China Sea only by building military bases and facilities, supporting facilities but also by building operational structures. this military base. With the construction of military bases accompanied by TNI units and the establishment of a joint regional command, military base combat operations will be consolidated and directed under a single command badge.

#### 4. Conclusion

Stability South China Sea has deteriorated after China's efforts to militarize several areas that are considered part of China based on a nine-line map released by the Chinese government. This militarization effort has created the possibility of conflict escalation into open conflict between the claimant and non-claiming countries. To ensure the security of the Natuna region, the Indonesian government is also trying to build a military base in line with the formation of an integrated TNI unit and the Joint Regional Command. Just as China is building military bases in areas that are seen as part of its efforts to defend its territory, the Indonesian side also needs to strengthen its military strength in the Natuna area. The Indonesian government has made several countermeasures to overcome potential conflicts in the South China Sea, such as conducting a series of exercises in the Natuna Sea. This military exercise is aimed at "demonstrating readiness" rather than "showing skill". This series of education and training titles is a form of massage that the Indonesian government is trying to convey through the TNI.

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