

## ANALYSIS OF POTENTIAL CONFLICT AND PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS AS IMPACT OF STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENTAL DEVELOPMENTS AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON NATIONAL SECURITY

By

Arifuddin Uksan

Republic Indonesia Defense University

E-mail: [arifuddinuksan123@gmail.com](mailto:arifuddinuksan123@gmail.com)

### Article Info

#### Article history:

Received April 7, 2023

Revised April 23, 2023

Accepted May 26, 2023

#### Keywords:

*Potential, Conflict, Peace,  
Strategic Environment, Security*

### ABSTRACT

Developments in the strategic environment can create both opportunities and threats for Indonesia which must be addressed with a national defense system that is able to take advantage of Indonesia's opportunities and advantages to maximize the achievement of Indonesia's strategic interests and counteract all threats to Indonesia's national security arising from the dynamics of developments in the strategic environment. This study aims to analyze the potential for conflict as a result of developments in the strategic environment. This research was conducted with a qualitative descriptive approach. The results of the study indicate that the potential for open conflict escalation in the region is very likely to arise if a misperception or incident occurs at the locus of dispute. The biggest possibility of an open conflict is a battle in maritime theater that occurs in the South China Sea and East China Sea between the US and its allied countries in the Indo-Pacific region and China, or between China and one or more countries that have territorial disputes with China. Indonesia's geographical position which is at the crossroads of the Pacific and Indian Oceans as well as the continents of Asia and Australia makes Indonesia very vulnerable to spill impacts arising from all conflicts that occur in the Indo-Pacific region.

*This is an open-access article under the [CC BY-SA](#) license.*



### Corresponding Author:

Arifuddin Uksan

Republic Indonesia Defense University

E-mail: [arifuddinuksan123@gmail.com](mailto:arifuddinuksan123@gmail.com)

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The development of the strategic environment in this contemporary century is increasingly dynamic and complex and brings multidimensional consequences to various aspects of human, state and international community life and is marked by the existence of traditional and non-traditional threats originating from state and non-state actors in the mainland, sea, air, cyber, to space. Developments in the strategic environment have an impact on Indonesia's national interests in the aspect of national security including the rise of China and the rebalancing strategy undertaken by the United States in the Asia Pacific region; conflict escalation in the South China Sea which also involves the interests of several major countries; the defeat of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in the Middle East region which has implications for the return of terrorists to their countries of origin including Indonesia and several countries in the Southeast Asian region; the development of information and communication technology followed by an increase in threats in cyber space; developments in weapons technology and trends in military modernization in various countries that change the characteristics of warfare; acceleration of climate change triggered by global warming; and the emergence of various threats of transnational crime. [1]

Various fields of science and technology have developed very rapidly and will still be one of the main drivers of strategic environmental change in the 21st century. Developments in various fields of science and technology will continue to create new threats, shift the domain of conflict and war, and change the characteristics of conflict and war itself. Meanwhile, human capabilities cannot keep up with the rapid and exponential

development of technology. 2] currently being felt is the increase in human activity and dependence on cyberspace accompanied by the emergence of various forms of threats in cyberspace targeting individual communities, the business sector, public infrastructure, to government infrastructure. Cyber space has also been used by various actors to carry out information warfare and psychological warfare in order to cause socio-political instability in society and support the achievement of certain political and ideological interests. Development of cyber intelligence capabilities, as well as integrated cyber security capabilities, including intelligence and early detection, protection, emergency response and recovery against all threats in cyber space is urgently needed to improve Indonesia's security and resilience in cyber space. 3]

In addition to technological developments in the cyber field, the emergence of various non-conventional weapons which are usually referred to as chemical, biological, radiation, and nuclear (CBRN) weapons. Meanwhile, in the next 20 years it is predicted that rapid advances in the fields of robotics, artificial intelligence, quantum computing and sensor technology will revolutionize the characteristics of conflict and warfare, as well as the way of fighting in the future (Hanlon, 2018). 4] Thus, the state is required to be able to adopt various technological developments for its defense interests and anticipate various potential negative implications through research and development efforts of various types of defense technology. Future technological developments must also be responded to by developing doctrines, strategies, concepts of operations, and defense postures that are adaptive to all technological developments.

In the aspect of international geopolitics, the development of the strategic environment in the 21st century is characterized by various dynamics and high uncertainties in the future. The trend of changing the global power configuration from unipolar to multipolar in the 21st century is marked by the emergence of emerging powers trying to balance the United States, such as China. Various scenario predictions show that the dynamics of the process of changing the balance-of-power has worrying implications for global security stability as well as for the Indo-Pacific region in the future. China's military strengthening in the East Asia region to the South China Sea as well as balancing steps taken by the US and its allies in the Indo-Pacific region have the potential to trigger future conflicts which will also have a spillover effect on Indonesia. Thus, Indonesia needs to prepare an integrated defense posture that is active defensive in nature to be able to anticipate various possibilities for regional conflicts in the future, especially defense to deal with threats at sea and in the air. 5]

In the geostrategic aspect, Indonesia's strategic cross position between two continents and two oceans as well as its geographical position as an international shipping lane has various potential vulnerabilities and threats which are expected to continue to occur in the future. In addition to traditional threats originating from conflicts between major powers in the region, Indonesia's territory is very vulnerable to non-traditional threats including violations of the boundaries of the Indonesian state by state and non-state actors, the entry of illegal immigrants, and the rise of various transnational crime activities such as narcotics, illegal, unregulated, and unreported fishing and human smuggling through Indonesian territory. In addition, the issue of territorial boundaries between Indonesia and several neighboring countries and the potential for natural wealth in border areas can be a source of conflict between countries. Threats focused on the border area need to be anticipated by strengthening defense and surveillance capabilities at vulnerable border points. 6]

Indonesia's geographical characteristics as an archipelagic country located on the equator are also very vulnerable to the impacts of climate change such as natural disasters, rising sea levels, extreme weather, and food and water crises. The impacts of climate change have the potential to become a source of socio-economic conflict in the future. Other implications of climate change for national defense include the sinking of coastal areas that were previously used as loci for defense bases as a result of rising sea levels, as well as natural disasters as a result of extreme weather changes. These threats require the adaptability of the defense component to threats posed by climate change, as well as high emergency response capabilities to carry out integrated disaster management and humanitarian assistance operations. 7]

## 2. METHOD AND THEORY

This study uses a qualitative descriptive research method. A qualitative descriptive approach can identify problems in society and the procedures that apply, as well as certain conditions in society, including the relationship of activities, attitudes, actions and ongoing processes and the influence of these phenomena. 8] This research method is used to examine the condition of natural objects where the researcher is the key instrument. Data collection techniques were carried out by means of triangulation, data analysis was inductive in nature, and the results of qualitative research emphasized meaning rather than generalization. The raw data obtained in the research process either in the form of interview results or from the results of literature studies are arranged or sorted according to the type of need, which is then interpreted with data in the form of sentences and paragraphs arranged to answer research questions that have been formulated. 9]

Pada penjelasan berikut akan diuraikan beberapa teori konflik dan lingkungan strategis, sebagai berikut:

According to Edy Prasetyono (2006), the concept of security can be seen in three aspects including shared security, cooperative security, and comprehensive security. Common security, namely believing that hostile actors can be changed by creating security measures by prioritizing transparency and eliminating aggression. The goal is to eliminate mutual suspicion and prevent armed conflict. Cooperative security seeks to deepen the understanding of security that security does not only rely on the military sector but also includes the environmental, economic and social sectors. The focus of this security is preventing conflict and trying to maintain conditions between the outside and within the country itself. This pattern of security cooperation can then be used in maintaining the security of individuals and groups within the country. Finally, comprehensive security, namely that security threats can be directed not only to the territory of the state and state authorities but to everything related to human welfare. In this case the state must prepare actors to guarantee security itself which covers all aspects of life. 10]

Alperen (2017) defines the strategic environment as the range of strategic factors that influence the leadership's understanding of the operating environment and the determination of the mission, goals, and actions taken. Furthermore, Alperen argued that the strategic environment can be associated with assessment activities regarding a group of global conditions, situations and influences that have implications for the deployment of all elements of the country's national power. 11] Supriyatno (2014) states that the strategic environment is an important aspect that influences all policy directions and strategies for developing national defense forces in the long term, so an analysis of the international, regional and national strategic environment must be carried out to identify various possible threats to national interests. Thus, through strategic environmental analysis, all national challenges can be identified and then used as a basis for formulating policies and strategies for deploying all national power instruments in dealing with all threats. 12]

Yarger (2006) 13] argues that the strategic environment consists of various contexts, conditions, relationships, trends, issues, threats, opportunities, interactions, and internal and external impacts that affect the success of a country in establishing relationships with the physical world, other countries, non- -countries, opportunities and possibilities in the future. The strategic environment contains very high uncertainty and has very fluid characteristics, where alliances and partnerships between countries, as well as various threats to national interests always come and change over time. Magee (1998) explains that the strategic environment has VUCA characteristics which are explained as follows: 14]

- a. Volatile: the strategic environment is very quickly and explosively affected by all the changes and reactions that occur in it so that it can be said that the strategic environment is very dynamic.
- b. Uncertain: the strategic environment is full of uncertainty as a result of problems and instability within it.
- c. Complex: the strategic environment is made up of many interrelated parts and it is difficult to understand their relationships collectively.
- d. Ambiguous: the strategic environment can be interpreted from various perspectives with various conclusions that can recommend various attractive solutions.

The strategic environment has physical and metaphysical attributes consisting of domestic and external components. The international environment is the external component of the strategic environment consisting of the physical geographical environment, the international system and other external actors and their culture, beliefs and actions. Meanwhile, the domestic environment of the strategic environment consists of the reality of the internal physical environment (resources and capabilities), domestic actors, constituents, institutions, and the roles played by organizations within a country. In analyzing the external strategic environment, Frank (2008) classifies the external strategic environment into three zones as follows:

- a. Immediate/immediate security environment: includes neighboring countries that have direct territorial boundaries to a country;
- b. The near security environment includes the wider regional area (e.g. a continent) of which a country is a part; And
- c. Broad security environment that includes global environment and major global powers.

Meanwhile, Gray (1999) describes in more detail the elements of the strategic environment consisting of people, society, culture, politics, ethics, economics and logistics, organization, administration, information and intelligence, strategic theory and doctrine, technology, operations, command, geography, friction/chance/uncertainty, enemies, and time. These elements must be considered holistically, namely consideration of each element individually or in context with other elements. 15]

According to Yarger (2006), this paradigm is in line with the characteristics of VUCA and various strategic environmental attributes described above. Therefore, the strategic environment needs to be understood in the perspective of dynamic systems with complex behaviors and self-regulating tendencies. In that perspective, the

strategic environment is constantly trying to find an acceptable order or relative balance. The complexity of the strategic environment results from decisions, actions or interactions of its components or agents, either individually or collectively according to their own circumstances and interests. The actions or interactions of components and agents in a strategic environment can globally affect the state of affairs and the overall interests of other parts or agents. Some interactions are predictable, some are chaotic, and some are stochastic. Thus, the strategic environment naturally has the nature of uncertainty that cannot be predicted and controlled using a direct cause and effect analysis approach, but can be shaped to be in line with the interests of the state through macro anticipation that does not try to impose domination in detail on each of its elements. 3. DISCUSSION

Various developments in the strategic environment and their threat implications must be addressed with a national defense system that is able to take advantage of Indonesia's opportunities and advantages to maximize the achievement of Indonesia's strategic interests and counteract all threats to Indonesia's strategic interests. Since the era of independence, Indonesia has adhered to a universal people's defense and security system which involved all components of the nation in fighting for and maintaining its independence from the invaders. The main capital of Sishankamrata's success in achieving and maintaining Indonesian independence is the spirit of self-sacrifice and the integration of all components of the nation based on the noble values of Pancasila and a sense of love for the motherland to mobilize all available resources as a defense force capable of countering colonial powers. This concept is still very relevant to be applied in the current context in responding to various developments in the strategic environment that have the potential to threaten Indonesia's strategic interests.

The entire people's defense and security system is contained in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (NRI) article 30 paragraph 2 which states that "State defense and security efforts are carried out through a system of defense and security for the entire people by the Indonesian National Armed Forces and the National Police. The Republic of Indonesia as the main force, and the people as the supporting force ". In its development, Article 1 of Law Number 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense explains that "The national defense system is a defense system that is universal in nature which involves all citizens, territories and other national resources, and is prepared early by the government and organized in an organized manner. total, integrated, directed, and continuous to uphold state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of the whole nation from all threats". Law Number 3 of 2002 further defines the Indonesian National Armed Forces as the main component and other national resources as reserve and supporting components in increasing the strength and capability of the main components in dealing with military threats. Meanwhile, further arrangements regarding the reserve and supporting components of national defense in the implementation of the overall defense system are regulated in Law Number 23 of 2019 concerning Management of National Resources for National Defense.

The integration between the main components, reserves and supports is the key to the success of the Defense and Security System for the people of the universe in defending Indonesia's strategic interests from all threats. For this reason, efforts are needed to direct the development and maintenance of the main, reserve and supporting components planned in a national defense posture and guided by the Sishankamrata concept. The defense strategy provides guidelines for aligning or integrating all national resources (means) with various concepts or ways (ways) to achieve defense objectives (ends). Defense posture acts as an operational framework for national defense which is translated into the strength, capability and defense title of all components of national defense in an integrated manner to achieve national defense objectives. 16] The defense posture of the country must be able to effectively implement the concept of a system of defense and security of the universal people in responding to the dynamics of the development of the strategic environment and all the threats it poses to Indonesia's strategic interests. (Hikam, 2014) 17]

### 3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

#### a. Indo-Pacific Regional Dynamics

The Indo-Pacific is one of the regions in the world with a very dynamic and complex development, which has implications for high uncertainty about the future stability of the region's security. As a country with a strategic geographical position in the Indo-Pacific region, Indonesia must anticipate every dynamic that occurs in the region in order to maintain its strategic interests. Several situations in the Indo-Pacific region which are seen as having strategic threat implications in the future are the competition between the United States and China, territorial disputes in the South China Sea and East China Sea, military modernization of countries in the region, development of nuclear weapons by North Korea, and various transnational crimes. 18]

#### b. United States of America

The main concern of the United States as stated in the 2017 "National Security Strategy" document is the Indo-Pacific region. Much of the increase in the US defense budget has been allocated to strengthen its military posture in the Indo-Pacific region, as revealed by the Institute for International and Strategic Studies 19]. This policy

---

was taken because the United States has a strategic interest in maintaining freedom of navigation and security stability in the Indo Pacific region.

In the 2017 "National Security Strategy" document, the US views that China's military modernization is carried out to limit US access and provide China with freedoms that have the potential to interfere with the sovereignty of other countries in the Indo-Pacific Region even though China stated in the 2019 Defense White Paper that China continues to work with regional countries to jointly maintain peace and stability; and firmly uphold the freedom of navigation and overflight by all countries in accordance with international law and maintain the security of sea lines of communications (SLOCs).

### **c. Tiongkok**

In 2019 China has become the country with the highest defense budget in the world after the US. Although in general China's military strength is still smaller than that of the US, China's military strength can be said to be the strongest in the Indo-Pacific region because the title of its military strength is only focused on the Indo-Pacific region, while the title of US military strength is spread across various regions. in this world. (IJSS , 2020) 20]

China's economic and military rise is driving it to be more aggressive in the region, where one of the external elements of China's national strategy is its ambition to create an international environment that is "favorable" to it or conducive to its sustainable development and in line with its aspirations of becoming a great modern socialist nation. 21] This aspiration is rooted in the glorious history of the past when China was one of the most advanced civilizations in the world.

China and Japan have overlapping claims to the continental shelf and exclusive economic zone (EEZ) in the East China Sea which contain natural gas and oil. Japan maintains that a line of equal distance from each country involved must separate the EEZ, while China claims a continental shelf that extends beyond the equidistant line to the Okinawa Trench. Japan has called for continuing negotiations with China on a principled consensus reached in 2008 that the two sides will respect an equidistant median line in the East China Sea for resource development while carrying out joint development of oil and natural gas fields in areas encompassing the line near the northern tip of the East China Sea. Japan suspects that since 2013 China has been drilling for oil and gas on its side of the median line of the East China Sea.

The South China Sea plays an important role for all countries in East Asia because these countries are heavily dependent on oil distribution and trade routes through the South China Sea. China claims sovereignty over the Spratly and Paracel Islands as well as other land features in historical "nine dashed line" claims disputed by Taiwan, Brunei Darussalam, the Philippines, Malaysia and Vietnam. In 2009, China protested Malaysia and Vietnam's proposal for an extension of the continental shelf in the South China Sea in two verbal notes to the United Nations (UN). In its note, China stated that it has "indisputable sovereignty over the islands of the South China Sea and adjacent waters, and enjoys sovereign rights and jurisdiction over the relevant waters and the seabed and subsoil" and includes the "nine -dashlines".

In 2013, the Philippines took its territorial dispute in the South China Sea to the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA). In 2016 it was decided that China's claims to "historical rights" in the South China Sea in an area described as the "nine-dash line" should not extend beyond its maritime rights as stipulated in the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). Based on the provisions of UNCLOS, the decision is final and binding on China and the Philippines.

The South China Sea territorial dispute is now colored by various incidents of violations of territorial sovereignty between the disputing countries, military exercises to the involvement of large countries outside the region. The incident that Malaysia unilaterally carried out an oil and gas survey in the Malaysia-Vietnam Joint Defined Area using the West Capella drill ship was a quite worrying violation of territorial sovereignty (Herzinger, 2020). 22] China sent several CCG vessels to follow and harass its drill and supply vessels. Vietnam has also deployed a number of maritime militias to the area to monitor the activity of the West Capella drill ship. To secure West Capella operations, Malaysia through the Royal Malaysian Navy then deployed KD Jebat, a guided missile frigate. The US has also made a presence near the area by launching a series of patrols by the US Navy and Air Force.

By mid-2020, the US had conducted five freedom of navigation operations in the South China Sea aimed at challenging China's unilateral claims in the South China Sea, and to guard against the act of innocence passage by any ship on the high seas. In carrying out the freedom of navigation operation in the South China Sea, the US deployed its naval warships, as well as its air force's bombers. In addition to freedom of navigation operations, the US is also carrying out various military exercises in the South China Sea area such as a real-fire exercise which was held in March 2020 in waters near the Philippines and US-Australian military exercises.



Figure 2. Chinese Nine-Dash Line Claim Map  
Source: Meyer et al. (2019)



In responding to these phenomena, many countries in the Indo-Pacific Region increased their defense budgets. In general, the average increase in the defense budget of countries in the Indo-Pacific region in 2019 was 5.2%. More specifically, the figure can be seen that almost all countries in the East and Southeast Asia region that have territorial disputes with China increased their defense budget in 2019. One of the increases in the defense budget of countries in the region was used to modernize their military.



Figure 3. Military Modernization of Several Countries in the Indo-Pacific Region  
Source: Directorate General of Strahan Ministry of Defense (2020)

#### d. Japan

In December 2018, the Government of Japan approved the revision of Japan's National Defense Program Guideline (NDPG) and Medium-Term Defense Program (MTDP) for the 2019-2023 period against the backdrop of North Korea's nuclear development and China's military modernization and disputes between Japan and China in the East China Sea region. Japan also wants to increase its commitment to support the US presence in the region. In Japan's latest MTDP, it is explained that Japan will acquire 63 units of F-35A fighter aircraft for its air force / Japan Air Self-Defense Force (JASDF) and 42 units of F-35Bs fighter aircraft for its navy / Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF). Japan will also acquire long-range air-to-surface stand-off missiles for the defense of its island territories. In addition, Japan is developing a sixth-generation F-3 fighter with twin engines and stealth capabilities

capable of generating power to fire directed-energy weapons. The JMSDF is also carrying out plans to modify the Izumo-class helicopter carrier so that it can become a multi-functional destroyer with high naval power projection capabilities. To implement the MTDP, Japan will increase its defense budget from US\$ 231 billion to US\$ 250 billion.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

The strategic environment is the range of strategic factors that influence the leadership's understanding of the operating environment and the determination of the mission, objectives and ways of action taken (Alperen, 2017). ] In order to sharpen the strategic environmental assessment, Alperen limits it only to a group of conditions, situations and global influences that have implications for the deployment of all elements of the country's national power. Strategic environmental assessment is very important to do because the strategic environment has VUCA characteristics and greatly influences the validity and reliability of a country's national strategy.

With the current dynamics of the Indo-Pacific region's strategic environment colored by territorial disputes and protracted great power competition, the absence of effective instruments or institutions to resolve conflicts, as well as military modernization carried out by countries in the region, the potential for escalation open conflict in the region is very likely to arise if there is a miscalculation, misperception or incident at the locus of dispute. The greatest possibility of open conflict is a battle in the maritime theater that occurs in the South China Sea and East China Sea between the US and its allied countries in the Indo-Pacific region and China, or between China and one or several countries that have territorial disputes with China. . Indonesia's geographical position which is at the crossroads of the Pacific and Indian Oceans as well as the continents of Asia and Australia makes Indonesia very vulnerable to spill impacts arising from all conflicts that occur in the Indo-Pacific region. Several spillover effects from conflicts in the region that can threaten Indonesia, namely Indonesian territory have the potential to become war lanes, battlefields, and/or be hit by misdirected attacks from battles that occur in the region, as well as disruption of all shipping and flight activities to and from Indonesia.

In various levels of conflicts that occurred in the Indo-Pacific region, there were threats of violations of Indonesia's territorial sovereignty by other countries that have an interest in conflicts in the Indo-Pacific region. Since the last few years, Indonesia has experienced several territorial violations in the EEZ of the North Natuna Sea which borders directly with the South China Sea, namely illegal fishing in Indonesia's EEZ by Chinese fishing vessels escorted by Chinese Coast Guard (CCG) ships, as well as the expulsion of vessels Indonesian fishing boats by CCG vessels. The Chinese government claims that the area is China's traditional fishing ground so that the Chinese government feels entitled to catch fish in the area. However, this area is Indonesia's EEZ under the provisions of UNCLOS. At a higher level of conflict in the Indo-Pacific region, violations of Indonesian territorial sovereignty can occur in the form of occupying Indonesian territory to serve as military bases and using Indonesian territory as a war lane by countries involved in conflicts in the region.

#### REFERENCES

- [1] Susmoro, H., Nugroho, Haris D. & Handwiono, Y. (2019). Bunga Rampai Penetapan Batas Maritim RI–Negara Tetangga (Peran Pushidrosal dalam Mendukung Diplomasi Maritim Indonesia). Jakarta: Pusat Hidrografi dan Oseanografi TNI-AL.
- [2] Jervis, R. (1997). *System Effects: Complexity in Political and Social Life*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- [3] U.S. Department of Defense (2013). *A Taxonomy of Operational Cyber Security Risks*.
- [4] Hanlon, Michael O'. (2018). *Forecasting Change in Military Technology, 2020-2040*. Washington DC: The Brookings Institution.
- [5] Meyer, Patrick K. et al. (2019). Indonesia's swift securitization of the Natuna Islands: How Jakarta countered China's claims in the South China Sea, *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 27 (1), 1-18.
- [6] Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional Republik Indonesia (2019). *Rancangan Teknokratik Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional 2020-2024*.
- [7] Adnyana, Putu J. (2017). Sinergitas TNI Angkatan Laut dalam Pemberdayaan Wilayah Pertahanan Laut Melalui Peningkatan Kesadaran Bela Negara (Studi di Kelurahan Tanjung Sengkuang Pulau Batam), *Jurnal Prodi Strategi Perang Semester*, 3 (1), 59-74.
- [8] Moleong, L.J. (2002). *Qualitative Research Methodology*. Bandung: Youth Rosda Karya.
- [9] Bungin, B. (2009). *Penelitian Kualitatif*. Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group.
- [10] Chairani, A. Zahra. (2019). Papua Conflict: Conflict Transformation? Kompasiana.com., December 2019.

- 
- [11] Acharya, A. (1995). ASEAN and Asia-Pacific Multilateralism: Managing Regional Security. Dalam Amitav Acharya & Richard Stubbs (ed.), *New Challenges for ASEAN: Emerging Policy Issues* (hlm. 182-202). Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
  - [12] Supriyatno, M. (2014). *Tentang Ilmu Pertahanan*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
  - [13] Yarger, Harry R. (2006). *Strategic Theory for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The Little Book on Big Strategy*. Pennsylvania: The Strategic Studies Institute.
  - [14] Magee II, Roderick R. (1998). *Strategic Leadership Primer*. Pennsylvania: U.S. Army War College.
  - [15] Gray, Colin S. (1999). *Modern Strategy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
  - [16] Lykke Jr., Arthur F. (1989). Defining Military Strategy, *Military Review*, 69(5), 2-8.
  - [17] Hikam, Muhammad A. S. (2014). *Menyongsong 2014-2019: Memperkuat Indonesia dalam Dunia yang Berubah*. Jakarta: CV. Rumah Buku.
  - [18] *Institute of International and Strategic Studies* (2020). *Military Balance 2020*. London: Routledge.
  - [19] Trump, Donald J. (2017). *The 2017 National Security Strategy of the United States*. Washington DC: White House.
  - [20] *Institute of International and Strategic Studies* (2020). *Military Balance 2020*. London: Routledge.
  - [21] *U.S. Department of Defense* (2020). *Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2020: Annual Report to Congress*.
  - [22] Herzinger, B. (2020). *Learning in the South China Sea: The U.S. Response to the West Capella Standoff*. Diakses pada tanggal 9 Oktober 2020 dari <https://warontherocks.com/2020/05/learning-in-the-south-china-sea-the-u-s-response-to-the-west-capella-standoff/>