



Conflict and Insurgency: National Security Threats in the Indonesian Defense and Security Sector

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Abstract

The development of information and telecommunications technology, as well as transportation technology accelerates the flow of information, global financial flows, and human mobility. These various phenomena of change are not impossible to bring excesses that have the potential to become a threat to the security of a country. The process to realize national integration often faces various threats. One of the threats to national integration is in the field of defense and security. The threat of non-state actors currently appears in various forms, these forms of non-conventional threats are called asymmetric warfare, including insurgency. The research method used is a qualitative method with secondary data sources. Conflict and insurgency as a form of threat faced threaten national defense in the perspective of Indonesia's national security and defense and security, it is necessary to have an in-depth study of the views of conflict and insurgency in order to get attention so that Indonesia's national security defense can be maintained. The development of defense and security is primarily aimed at upholding state sovereignty, maintaining the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, safeguarding the safety of the entire nation from military and non-military threats, increasing a sense of security and comfort as a guarantee of a conducive investment climate, as well as maintaining order and law enforcement in society.

Keywords: *Conflict; Insurgency; National Security; Defense*

Introduction

In the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, it is stated that one of the objectives of the establishment of the Government of the State of Indonesia is to protect the entire Indonesian nation and the entire homeland of Indonesia. In realizing the goals of the state, national defense is a very essential factor in ensuring the survival of a country. The existence of a country is very dependent on the ability of the nation to defend itself from any threats both from outside and from within the country itself.

The development of information technology and telecommunications, as well as transportation technology accelerates the flow of information, global financial flows, and human mobility. These various phenomena of change are not impossible to bring excesses that have the potential to become a threat to the security of a country. Threats are not only in physical form, but also non-physical threats such as the cultivation of foreign life values that can become a means of destroying the entity of a nation's civilization.

Facing future challenges, potential military and non-military threats are still possible for Indonesia. Geographically, Indonesia is the gateway to the Asia Pacific region. The level of security vulnerability in the Asia Pacific region has recently tended to increase, mutual territorial claims between several countries have increased the concentration of military force deployments in this area. Territorial disputes involving China, Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia, Taiwan and Brunei, are not impossible to lead to the Natuna Region, which is the territory of Indonesia's sovereignty. The South China Sea dispute in the end also developed into an arena for world military power competition when a superpower such as the United States took part in a show of strength in protecting its interests in the region.

The process to realize the national integration of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) often faces various threats. One of the threats to national integration is in the field of defense and security. The threat of non-state actors currently appears in various forms, such as terrorism, armed separatist movements (insurgency), and threats through cyber-crime. These forms of unconventional threats are called asymmetric warfare or asymmetric warfare.

This includes asymmetric wars, one of which is carried out by a group of non-state actors, which can be in the form of terrorism or other forms. Counter-terrorism has been included in the category of non-war military operations. The National Research Council (DRN) of the Defense and Security Technical Commission once held a workshop entitled, *A Thought on Asymmetric Warfare*, in Jakarta in 2008.

According to the National Research Council (DRN), asymmetric warfare is a war model developed from an unusual way of thinking, and outside the prevailing rules of war, with a very wide spectrum of war and includes aspects of *astagatra* (a combination of *trigatra*: geography, demography, and natural resources/SDA, and *Pancasila*: ideology, politics, economy, social, and culture).

Activities of non-state actors besides terrorism and war through cyberspace, also included in this type of threat are environmental destruction, human rights violations, smuggling, theft of marine wealth, illegal immigrants. This type of threat can also destabilize national security and sovereignty.

Information warfare has also been designed in such a way as to influence and gain superiority through mastery of propaganda, mastery of digital-based content, even to mastering the cyber system or what we know as cyberwar. Especially related to the cyber world, the most ideal and initial step is to implement an electronic defense system or e-defense based on Geographical Information System (GIS) in the TNI's defense posture.

In this study the national security point of view of a country becomes the focus of analysis. The state, according to Thomas Hobbes, plays an important role in defending and protecting its people from foreign invasions along with damages or conflicts between each other.¹ This means that the state has two main tasks, namely: 1) externally the state has the obligation to remain alert in the face of all threats and challenges from outside and 2) and internally, the state has an obligation to remain vigilant in overcoming and protecting the community from potential conflicts.

The notion of security should not stand alone, because it has different meanings and certain attributes. A comprehensive understanding of national security is generally accompanied by a demand to prioritize human security. Military and non-military issues not only threaten the integrity of the country but also threaten individuals living in a country. In 1990, the United Nations has built and developed the concept of human security with the characteristics of "...from an exclusive stress on national security to a much greater stress on people's security, from security through armaments to security through human

¹ Buzan, Barry. (1983). *People, State, and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations*. Brighton/Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books.

development, from territorial to food, employment and environmental security". Furthermore, UNDP created seven security dimensions, namely:²

- a) Economic security: where a basic income from productive work is required.
- b) Food security: everyone at every opportunity has access (both health and economy) to basic food.
- c) Health Security: everyone must be guaranteed their health and access to health.
- d) Environmental Security: health and order and physical environmental security.
- e) Individual Security: reduction of individual threats from criminal acts.
- f) Community Security: security through membership in a group.
- g) Political Security: guaranteed life in a society that respects human rights.

The seven dimensions mentioned above do not stand alone, but are intertwined with one another.³ So clearly, the state needs national and comprehensive security to protect its territory from unwanted things. In a broader perspective, the notion of national security is defined as "The basic need to protect and safeguard the national interests of a nation and state by using political, economic and military power to deal with various threats both from outside and from within the country."⁴ National security can also be interpreted as the need to maintain the existence of the state through economic, military and political strength as well as the development of diplomacy. The concept emphasizes the government's ability to protect the territorial integrity of the country from threats that come from outside and from within the country. Indonesia as a nation-state has recognized its sovereignty internally and externally. Internally, the sovereignty of a country can be formally declared by the existence of the territory along with the population and government in it. Externally, the sovereignty of a country is indicated by the recognition of other countries. Thus, the state border area has a strategic role and value in supporting the establishment of state sovereignty, so that the Indonesian government must pay serious attention to national welfare and security. Border areas need attention because these conditions will support national security within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. There are five categories of threats by sector to national security, namely:⁵

- a. Military threat. Traditionally the military threat is the highest priority of concern for national security, this is because the military threat by using armed force can destroy what has been achieved by humans. Military threats are also not only direct, but can also be indirectly directed at the country, but rather to external interests aimed at that country.
- b. Political threat. This threat is aimed at the stability of the performance of state institutions. Their goals are quite broad, from starting to pressure the government through certain policies, to overthrow the government, to stir up chaos. The target of this political threat is state values, especially national identity, ideology, and some institutions that deal with this. Political threats can also be structural in nature, specifically arising when there is a clash between two major groups within the state with different views.
- c. Social threat. Social threats to national security usually come from within the country. Social security is about threats to sustainability from changes in values, culture, habits, ethnic identity. According to Buzan, social threats can be divided into several forms, which are basically: physical threats (death, illness), economic threats (destruction of property rights, limited access to

² UNDP. (1994). *Human Development Report 1994*. New York: Oxford University Press

³ Siregar, Chairil N. (2008). Analisis Potensi Daerah Pulau-Pulau Terpencil dalam Rangka Meningkatkan Ketahanan, Keamanan Nasional, dan Keutuhan Wilayah NKRI di Nunukan-Kalimantan Timur. *Jurnal Analisis Potensi Daerah Pulau-Pulau Terpencil*, Ed. 13, p. 347-368

⁴ Darmono, et al. (2010). Keamanan Nasional, Polisi, dan Intelijen Keamanan (Intelkam) Media Cahya Surya, <http://csuryana.wordpress.com/2013/04/15/keamanan-nasional-polisi-danintelijen-keamanan-intelkam-literature-review/> on 15 August 2021

⁵ Buzan, Barry., Op. Cit.

employment), threats to rights (restrictions on civil liberties rights), and threats to position or status (demotion, public humiliation).

- d. Economic threat. The main problem with the idea of economic security is the continuity of normal conditions of market participants without the disruption of unfair competition and uncertainty. Economic threats also examine the problems of unemployment, poverty, limited resources, and people's purchasing power.
- e. Ecological threat. It is a threat from natural disasters such as floods, landslides, rainstorms, earthquakes. However, the central issue of ecological security is the problem of human activities that damage the environment, such as global warming, the greenhouse effect, floods, exploration of natural resources on a large scale and continuously.

Research Methods

The method used in this research was qualitative method.⁶ That is research that aims to provide an explanation of the phenomena that occur in the present, as well as to describe in a systematic, factual and accurate way about the facts or the nature and relationships between the phenomena under study.⁷ This study uses a type of research in the form of library research. Literature studies are related to theoretical studies and some references that cannot be separated from the scientific literature.⁸ In this study, the data sources are obtained from relevant literatures such as books, journals or scientific articles related to the chosen topic. The data collection technique used in this library research is to find data about things or variables in the form of notes, books, papers or articles, journals and so on.⁹ The source of data in this study was a very important factor because it involves the quality of research results, the data collection method in this study is secondary data. Secondary data is data that has been available in various forms, generally in the form of evidence, historical records or reports. The research instrument used by the researcher was a check-list for the classification of research materials based on the focus of the study, writing schemes/maps, and the format of research notes.

Discussion

National Security Concept

Issues of security and insecurity are not synonymous with mere physical or military threats. For hundreds of millions of people in the world today, one of the causes of insecurity in their lives is not merely terrorism, but extreme poverty.¹⁰ Currently, more than one billion people on earth (out of a total of six billion) live on only the equivalent of one dollar per day. Yet hunger and poverty are very serious events. The United Nations (UN) in its Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which was launched in 2000 set the first of eight MDGs targets to reduce extreme poverty and hunger.

National security is generally defined as a basic need to protect and safeguard the national interests of a nation that is a state by using political, economic and military power to deal with various threats, both

⁶ Miles, Matthew. B., A. Michael Huberman and Johnny Saldana. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook 3rd edition*. USA: Sage. p. 31-32

⁷ Moleong, Lexy J. 2007. *Qualitative Research Methodology*. Revised Edition. Bandung: PT Teen Rosdakarya

⁸ Sugiyono. (2012). *Qualitative Quantitative Research Methods and R&D*. Bandung: Alfabeta

⁹ Arikunto, S., & West Java, CSA (2010). *Evaluation of Educational Programs*. Jakarta: Earth Literacy.

¹⁰ Subair. (2015) The Relevance of Malthus' Theory in Contemporary Population Discourse. *Journal of Dialectics*, 9 (2), p.100

from outside and within the country.¹¹ National security is assumed to be the basis that comes from human security as the main subject, so the boundaries of national security are indeed very broad. National security policy includes decisions and actions deemed necessary to protect domestic important values from external threats.¹²

Security can minimize threats. Threats can be seen as anticipation of a barrier of some value. When we speak of protection it is usually about being free from obstructions and hindrances to what is enjoyed as a worthwhile outcome. The national interest ultimately becomes security by referring to the valuable outcomes desired by those who are in the politically effective basis of a nation.¹³

Asymmetrical Warfare

Threats no longer lead to mere military threats, but have entered the aspects of ideology, politics, economy, socio-culture, technology, public safety and legislation. Terrorism has become a real threat that has been faced for a long time until now and has even grown and can threaten in the future. As with contemporary conflict tendencies, the pattern for controlling space is no longer carried out frontally, but is carried out in nonlinear, indirect, and proxy war ways.¹⁴

Asymmetric warfare is a non-traditional, population-centred war waged between a higher military power and one or more lower powers that includes all of the following aspects: evaluating and defeating asymmetric threats, conducting asymmetric operations, understanding cultural asymmetry, and evaluating asymmetric costs. This definition covers every aspect of asymmetry that is important to today's strategists. It gives equal weight to enemy actions (asymmetric threats) and allied actions (asymmetric operations). This, along with cultural asymmetry and cost asymmetry, covers all the most important aspects of asymmetry that must be applied to today's grand strategy.

The most recent official document supporting the concept of asymmetry is the 2006 Quarterly Defense Review Report, published on 6 February. The term "asymmetric" appeared 14 times in the 2006 QDR. It addresses asymmetric operations, asymmetric threats, asymmetric challenges, asymmetric military capabilities, asymmetric tactics, asymmetric approaches and, in one example, actually uses the term "asymmetric warfare," albeit in parentheses: "Irregular (Asymmetric) Warfare".¹⁵

To fully understand the definition requires a discussion of the four main elements of asymmetric warfare described in it. Asymmetric Threat. The components of asymmetric threats are: terrorism, insurgency, information operations, disruptive threats and unknown threats. Insurgency or rebellion. At its root, rebellion is a revolutionary war. Asymmetry abounds in rebellion. The key is that, unlike a terrorist, an insurgent is completely dependent on the population, and the population is a destination for both the insurgent and the counterinsurgent.¹⁶

Conflicts and Insurgency

Many studies conclude that conflict is increasingly becoming a challenge to peace and security, little effort has been made to examine the bigger picture, especially the consequences of reduced quality of

¹¹ Anakotta, Mathsian Yeksi and Hari Sutra Disemadi. (2020). Melanjutkan Pembangunan Sistem Keamanan Nasional Indonesia Dalam Kerangka Legal System Penanggulangan Kejahatan Terorisme. *Jurnal Keamanan Nasional*, VI (1), p. 41-71

¹² Leffler, MP (1990). National Security. *The Journal of American History*, 77(1):143.

¹³ Anakotta, Op., Cit.

¹⁴ Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia. (2015). Indonesian Defense White Paper. Jakarta: Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Press.

¹⁵ Rumsfeld, Donald H. (2006). Secretary of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review Report*. Washington DC: Department of Defense

¹⁶ Buffaloe, David, L. (2006). Defining Asymmetric Warfare. *Land Warfare Paper* (58): 1-34

global health care associated with durable solutions to conflicts such as in African countries, at least about two-thirds countries in Africa have experience in conflicts that have caused the displacement of millions of people.¹⁷ In the conceptual approach, conflict is understood as "the pursuit of incompatible goals or interests by different groups or individuals". For him, all humans and their social organizations have certain goals which are determined by their interests which always conflict with the interests of other groups.¹⁸ As interests, power and resources struggle for scarce, groups tend to neutralize, injure or eliminate one another.¹⁹ The line of thought states that conflict is a real conflict of interest in which an individual or group of individuals tends to outperform or maneuver themselves in the actualization of goals.²⁰ As a form or manifestation of conflict, insurgency according to the United States Department of Defense has been understood "as an organized movement aimed at overthrowing a government formed through subversive means and armed conflict".²¹ The conception of the definition offered above suggests that rebels are not only highly lethal because of their attempts to undermine state sovereignty and share their resources, they also use unlawful means that go beyond socio-political and religious strategies to advance their direction.²² As a war, insurgency is characterized by prolonged asymmetric violence, the use of complex terrain (mountains, jungles), psychological warfare and political mobilization to change the balance of power in the interests of the rebels. This tactic used by the insurgents is responsible for the failure of the Nigerian federal government to tame the feared Boko Haram and Niger Delta insurgents.

In a broad sense, rebellion is characterized into two main forms: national uprisings and liberation rebellions. First, in the case of a national uprising, the main antagonists are the rebels and the national government. The differences between the government and the rebels are defined in terms of legitimacy, ideological economic class and identities shaped by ethnicity, race and religion or other political logic.²³ Second, liberation rebellions on the other hand pitted themselves against ruling groups called foreigners with rules based on their identity, even if they weren't. The preoccupation of the liberation rebels is to liberate the country from what they perceive as imperialistic control. Some notable examples include the anti-apartheid uprising, the Palestinian uprising in the Middle East, the AL Qaeda/Taleban insurgency in Afghanistan.

The consequences of conflict and insurgency have been the bane of many displacements and refugee flows in various parts of the world, with Africa hosting the largest number. Following this submission, the Geneva-based Center for Internal Displacement Monitoring reported that approximately 33.3 million displaced persons were found in Africa, and with the consequences of further conflict, Nigeria was seen to have the highest number of refugees in Africa. For example, the 2014 Global Overview Report claims that Nigeria has the highest number of people displaced by conflict. The growing conflict phenomenon is triggered by Boko Haram attacks and ongoing communal clashes in North Central and Northeastern Nigeria. This was further reinforced by the government's counter-insurgency attacks against several other groups fighting against humans and disasters caused by natural disasters. At the same time, conflicts are also triggered by cultural conflicts between clans, communal social tensions, political violence, inter-religious violence and the eviction of the government.²⁴

¹⁷ Burke, Marshall B, Miguel E, Satyanath S, Dykema J. A, Lobell, DB (2009). Warming Increases the Risk of Civil War in Africa. *Proceedings of the National Academic of Science* 106(49), p. 206-704.

¹⁸ Bakut, SO (2007). *Conflict Dimension and Sectarian Crises in Nigeria*. Benin: Montana Publishing.

¹⁹ Schmidt, A. (2000). *Thesaurus and Glossary*. London: FEWER.

²⁰ Addison, T. (2003). *From Conflict to Recovery in Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press.

²¹ Hellesen, P. (2008). Counterinsurgency and its Implications for the Norwegian Special Operations Forces. *A Thesis for the Naval Post Graduate School*. Monterey, California

²² Siegel, LJ (2007). *Criminology: Theories, Patterns and Typologies. 11th edition*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

²³ Dowd, C., Drury, A. (2017). Marginalisation, Insurgency and Civilian Insecurity: Boko Haram and the Lord's Resistance Army. *Journal of Peacebuilding* 5(2):136-152.

²⁴ IDMC (2012). *Resolving Internal Displacement: Prospects for Local Integration*. The Brookings Institution, London School of Economics Project on Internal Displacement

National Security Threat

This assumption can help explain the causes of conflict in Indonesia. Most of the conflicts that occurred in the last ten years (1998 – 2008) in Indonesia were not armed conflicts between the state (TNI/POLRI) and the separatist movement, but rather were internal conflicts or civil wars between parties in society. As happened in Poso-Sulteng, Maluku, Sambas-Kalbar, Sampit-Kalteng, and Sanggau Ledo-Kalbar in the period 1998 – 2003. Among the causes of civil conflicts in these places are not merely ethnic or religious conflicts. But mixed with political interests, poverty and low education, as well as dissatisfaction in terms of income distribution. Conflict is also seen that "although every situation is unique, there are some predisposing cultural,"²⁵

Reviewing the Indonesian National Security Concept:

"National Security doesn't consist only of an army, a navy, and an air force..it depends on a sound of economy..on civil liberties and human freedom" -Harry S. Truman

The chairman of the PKS faction of the MPR RI, Tifatul Sembiring, assessed that the national security threat experienced by the Republic of Indonesia was disintegration and national separatism. "The biggest threat to our national security is not an attack from outside, but the disintegration of the nation. The disintegration of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. We have 17,500 islands in Indonesia, 1,340 ethnic groups, we only fly from Sabang to Merauke the same as we fly from Jakarta to Jeddah, 9 hours. how far apart we physically are as a nation".²⁶

Deputy VII of the State Intelligence Agency (BIN), Wawan Hari Purwanto, said that there are a number of national defense and security threats that deserve mutual attention. These threats include the Covid-19 pandemic, ethnic, racial, religious and inter-group conflicts. Then Papuan separatism, the spread of hoaxes on social media, radicalism, and cyber attacks.²⁷

National security threats require comprehensive attention in supporting the achievement of national goals. Threats in the view of national security indeed take many forms, thus national security can be a reference in combating existing and future forms of threats.

Threats in Defense and Security

Threats in the field of national defense can be in the form of military aggression, violation of territorial sovereignty, terrorism, armed rebellion, and espionage. Some examples of disturbances to regional security are piracy, weapons smuggling, and pollution and theft of marine wealth. While some examples of armed rebellions that threaten the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia include the Darul Islam/Indonesian Islamic Army (DI/TII) rebellion, the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PRRI), Permesta, and the Madiun PKI Rebellion.

Threats are anything that endangers national sovereignty, territorial integrity, the safety of citizens and democratic life in Indonesia, as well as endangers regional and international order and peace, both conventional and non-conventional.²⁸ From this understanding, it can be said that threat is a multidimensional concept, it can be in the form of military and non-military threats, traditional and non-

²⁵ Anwar, Dewi Fortuna. (2005). *Violent Internal Conflicts in Asia Pacific. Histories, Political Economies and Policies*. Yayasan Obor Indonesia: Jakarta

²⁶ JPNN. (2017). MPR: Ancaman Terbesar Bukan Serangan dari Luar tapi.. diakses melalui , <https://www.jpnn.com/news/mpr-ancaman-terbesar-bukan-serangan-dari-luar-tapi> on August 14, 2021

²⁷ TEMPO. (2021). BIN Sebut 6 Ancaman Keamanan Negara, Termasuk Separatisme Papua dan Radikalisme. <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1472899/bin-sebut-6-ancaman-keamanan-negara-termasuk-separatisme-papua-dan-radikalisme/full&view=ok> on August 13, 2021

²⁸ Gunawan, Ivan. Konsepsi dan Implementasi Manajemen Pertahanan dan Keamanan Negara. <http://www.dephan.go.id/modules.php?name=Sections&op=viewarticle&artid=55> on August 13, 2021

traditional threats, external-internal threats, and can be direct or indirect threats. Due to its multidimensional nature, efforts to overcome threats must also be carried out in a sectoral manner and involve many actors. So it is not only the TNI or the police who are responsible for dealing with threats, but also military intelligence, BIN, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Department of Defense, down to the local government level.

The geopolitical condition of Indonesia as an archipelagic country located between the continents of Asia and Australia as well as the Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean has caused the national condition to be strongly influenced by the development of the strategic context. By observing the dynamics of the strategic context, both global, regional and domestic, the threats that will arise will be manifested in three types, namely interstate or interstate conflicts, internal conflicts, and transnational conflicts. Interstate conflict. The international world is now colored by globalization. The narrowing of the world due to the development of technology, telecommunications, and transportation raises the tendency of similarity and uniformity of individuals, groups, and social systems that cross or even erase traditional national boundaries. As a result, the tendency for open conflict between countries will be very difficult to occur. This is because the state will think about calculating the impact it will get if it engages in open conflict with other countries.

Indonesia, which incidentally is a country located in the Southeast Asian region, will not have the threat of open conflict with other countries in the next few years, because the potential for ASEAN regionalism is now strengthening where ASEAN is trying to build a common identity, ASEAN identity. So the tendency for conflicts between countries to occur is very small. Unless there are factors that encourage conflict, such as changes in the power dynamics of big countries at the regional and global levels²⁹, where these countries are trying to enlarge their country's power through expansionist policies.

However, from the side of interstate conflict, there is a threat that the Indonesian government must seriously consider, namely the issue of maritime areas. The interests of countries in the Southeast Asian region will depart more from the maritime environment, especially with the existence of the Malacca Strait which is an international shipping lane. It is the conflict of interest of the state that occurs in the sea area that must then be handled. These conflicts usually occur because of a violation of state sovereignty or due to a tug of war on authority. In the next few decades, maritime security issues will still face at least five challenges: *terrorism and crime at sea, humanitarian assistance, environmental protection, safety and protection of shipping and resource conflict*. Challenges that must be immediately answered by Indonesia's maritime powers so as not to have an impact on the occurrence of conflicts between countries.

Conclusion

Conflict and insurgency as a form of threat faced threaten national defense in the perspective of Indonesia's national security and defense and security, it is necessary to have an in-depth study of the views of conflict and insurgency in order to get attention so that Indonesia's national security defense can be maintained.

The development of defense and security is primarily aimed at upholding state sovereignty, maintaining the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, safeguarding the safety of the entire nation from military and non-military threats, increasing a sense of security and comfort as a guarantee of a conducive investment climate, as well as maintaining order and law enforcement in society. The condition of Indonesia's vast territory (both land and water), a large population and the value of national wealth whose security must be guaranteed make it a challenge for the duties and responsibilities of the defense and security sector.

²⁹Widjajanto, Andi Widjajanto. (2004). *Reformasi Sektor Keamanan Indonesia*. Jakarta: Propatria

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