## Hybrid Threats To Transformation The Doctrine Of Military Campaign Based On Historical Perspective To Achieve Comprehensively National Security

Novky Asmoro<sup>1\*</sup>, Marsetio<sup>2</sup>, Susanto Zuhdi<sup>3</sup>, Resmanto Widodo Putro<sup>4</sup>

### **ABSTRACT**

Hybrid threats are a combination of non-military threats and military threats, including cyber threats, terrorism, and legislation. Even though it has been listed in the Indonesian Defense White Paper, at the Indonesian Armed Forces (Tentara Nasional Indonesia/TNI) level there is no overarching doctrine when it comes to deploying a Military Campaign. The Hybrid Threat has not been identified in the history of the two previous TNI Military Campaigns, namely in 1961 in Trikora Operation in the seizure of West Irian and in 1975 in Seroja Operation for the liberation of East Timor. Therefore, with qualitative research methods with a phenomenological approach combined with Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP) tools, then through data collection through in-depth interviews, observations, library research and Focused Group Discussions from expert informants, this study was designed to answer the problem formulation that has been determined. At the end of the study, a Military Campaign doctrine model will be obtained which is considered capable of underpinning every TNI operation in dealing with Hybrid Threats and theorizing the results of phenomenological analysis so that this doctrine is adaptive in dealing with any dynamics of the strategic environment and changes in the threat spectrum.

**Keyword:** Hybrid threat, Doctrine of Military Campaign, Hystorical Perspective, National Security, Strategic Environmnet, and Threat Spectrum.

### I. Introduction

The evolution of the national security paradigm that continues to evolve has resulted in a shift in doctrine in terms of managing defense forces and resources. Doctrine as a teaching that is believed to be true by certain communities and is used as a guide in carrying out an activity / activity becomes a basic principle in guiding the armed forces in carrying out their duties to achieve goals (Darmono, B. 2010).. The policy for implementing state defense is a guideline in preparing national defense to maintain state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and protect the entire nation, as well as to provide a sense of security to all citizens (Alfajri, A 2019). Defense and security are two concepts that are

vital in the life of the nation and state. The defense of a country is carried out to anticipate threats from within and outside the country to the existence of the country (zattullah, 2022).



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Doctorate of Defense Sciences Study Program, Republic of Indonesia Defense University, IPSC Sentul Area, Sukahati, Citeureup District, Bogor Regency, West Java 16810, Indonesia

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Doctorate of Defense Sciences Study Program, Republic of Indonesia Defense University, IPSC Sentul Area, Sukahati, Citeureup District, Bogor Regency, West Java 16810, Indonesia

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Faculty of Culture Sciences, University of Indonesia, Pondok Cina, Beji District, Depok City, West Java, 16424, Indonesia

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Doctorate of Defense Sciences Study Program, Republic of Indonesia Defense University, IPSC Sentul Area, Sukahati, Citeureup District, Bogor Regency, West Java 16810, Indonesia

Email: novky.asmoro@idu.ac.id, marsetio@idu.ac.id, susanto\_zuhdi@yahoo.com, resmanto.putro@idu.ac.id \*corresponding author: novky.asmoro@idu.ac.id

# Figure 1.2 Factors Affecting Doctrinal Change

Sumber: Jackson (2013). Doctrine, Strategy and Military Culture

If you refer to the theory related to the factors that influence doctrinal changes from Jackson (2013) to Doctrine, Strategy and Military Culture (figure 1.2), then there are 7 underlying aspects as well as parameters and indicators, namely Historical Analysis, Military Concepts and Theory of Strategic Policy, Technology, Political Policy, Strategic Culture (National or Operational Level), Operational and Tactical Needs (Supriyatno, M. 2014). Because of the complexity of the factors that influence changes in doctrine, it is proper that doctrine will be so adaptive to changing conditions around it.

If observed more closely, actually the seven factors are very closely or relevant to the dimensions of the strategic environment. According to Homan (2008) there are at least 6 other factors that can determine the direction and policy of the doctrine, namely the National Interest and the formulation of the military objectives of the whole country (Military National Objects), Potential Threats, Political Policy, Experience, Theory and Education. All of the factors from both Jackson and Homan are basically a combination of the dimensions of Lingstra and the Threat Spectrum which are indeed two principal things to be responded to by a doctrinal transformation.

Furthermore, learning from historical experience will certainly contribute to the adaptation of a country's defense doctrine and strategy where it is strongly influenced by threats and is related to historical perspectives where it cannot be separated from the history of the Indonesian military. At this point, the transformation of military campaign doctrine is strongly influenced by four strategic aspects. namely the legal basis (Law, BPPI, TNI Doctrine and Military Campaign Doctrine), Regional Context or Problems (Threats that change doctrine), Kammil historical factors and geographical position that contain potential as well as vulnerabilities for national defense and security. Therefore, such a Doctrine position will become a substantial sub-coordinate in the implementation of military operations and training activities.

The relevance of doctrine to Military Campaigns is related to its understanding as an

art that connects battlefield strategy (tactics) with operational strategies designed to achieve both the objectives of military strategy (national strategy) and the objectives of military operations carried out in a predetermined space and time. The military campaign is directed at destroying the Center of Gravity (COG) of the enemy who has the intention or has carried out an invasion in order to uphold the sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) (Decree of the TNI Commander Number Kep/265/IV/2013). In the TNI's historical trajectory, the Military Campaign in Indonesia has been carried out twice, namely the operation to liberate West Irian from the Dutch in 1963 or better known as Operation Trikora and Operation Seroja, namely the occupation of East Timor in an effort to integrate the former Portuguese colony into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. (NKRI) in 1975.

As a joint military operation involving units from all dimensions, both land, sea and air, of course, the two military campaigns will certainly have tactical projections, namely the control of the target area of the operation. History also records that in time West Papua and East Timor could be controlled by the TNI and become part of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. But more than that, what if the meaning of success is judged by achievement of comprehensive national security. In order to get the answer, of course, a sharp and specific analysis is needed so that whether the military campaign is truly holistically said to be comprehensive in achieving its operational objectives or is it just a false victory that actually leaves a detrimental impact on the country.

The nature of hybrid war based on the 2015-2019 National Defense Implementation Policy is a war that is mixed in nature which is an integration between conventional and nonconventional forms of war ( Nurbantoro, E., 2017) Hybrid warfare, among others, combines missions and operations of conventional, asymmetric, terrorist and cyber warfare, as well as diverse and dynamic criminal warfare. In addition to the various combinations of war, hybrid warfare can also be in the form of integrated attacks by utilizing the use of chemical, biological, nuclear and explosive weapons (Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear and Explosive / CBRNE), and war or information operations. If described more

broadly, this form of hybrid threat in addition to cyber threats, terrorism and insurgency can include, among others, infectious disease outbreaks, artificial natural disasters and economic and financial crimes.

### 2. Research Methods

In this study, the researcher used a descriptive method with a qualitative approach to phenomenology. Descriptive research method with a qualitative approach is a certain way of uncovering and analyzing problems by describing and explaining phenomena that occur based on facts, so as to produce descriptive data in the form of written and spoken words from people and observable behavior.

The focus of phenomenology is not limited to studying phenomena but exploring experiences consciously from the perspective of the first person who experiences it directly (Kuswarno, 2009). There are things that must be considered in qualitative research, especially those using a phenomenological approach. Phenomenological research must pay attention to the characteristics that surround it, namely: (1) Referring to reality; (2) Understanding the meaning of events and their relationship to people in certain situations; (3) start with silence.

Collecting data from this study was obtained by observation and interviews, including by using in-depth interviews or indepth interviews (Wijaya, H. 2019). This indepth interview is used to obtain details about the phenomenon under study. This type of interview also aims to get "something" from the unseen. The data obtained from this in-depth interview were then analyzed using the type of DAPA (Data Analysis Procedure by Application) tool, namely Atlas Ti.

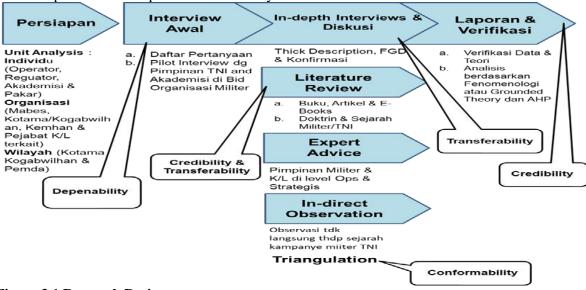


Figure 3.1 Research Design

Source: Wahyuni (2012), Qualitative Research Methods

In this study, the research design uses a qualitative design of two models to obtain novelty standards, whether it is a new theory finding from the research process, a concept derived from an existing theory or a derivative theory adapted to the historical perspective of the Indonesian Military Campaign at a certain level, especially related to the implementation Military Campaign. The levels are at the Grand Strategy level, Military Strategy Strata, Strategic and Operational Strata.

In the first qualitative model, interviews and observations will be conducted for the development of phenomenological research.

The next step is to proceed with a qualitative model in the form of testing the theory or concept of the Integrated Military Campaign through testing the National Security variable using Atlas. Ti software and the Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP).

#### 3. Results and Discussion

### 3.1 Tren Ancaman Hibrida

The essence of hybrid threats is a mixed threat which is an integration between military and non-military threats. The threat of hybrid war is faced using a military defense pattern with non-

military defense forces that are formed into Supporting Components according to the nature and escalation of the hybrid threat that arises (Asbullah, 2022) Hybrid threats include combining conventional, asymmetric, terrorist and cyber warfare threats, as well as diverse and dynamic criminal threats. In addition to these various combinations of threats, hybrid threats can also be in the form of an integrated attack between the use of chemical, biological, nuclear and explosive weapons (Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear and Explosive / CBRNE), and information warfare, (Minister of Defense Regulation No. 2015).



Figure 2.9. Hybrid Threat Domain Source: Giannopoulos, et. al (2021)

Two important things that affect the type and nature of hybrid threats are Domain and Phase.

The domain is the area the actor is aiming for as a destination for hybrid threats. For example,

in the military sector, especially in the defense system system. State actors (policy makers.

policy implementers, strategic industries, or other countries that supply defense equipment to

Indonesia) can do the following:

- a. Lowering the quality of goods and services offered (e.g. reduced parts availability, reliability),
- b. Increase its operating costs,
- c. Reduces/eliminates redundancy and causes unilateral dependence on actors
- d. Gain or restrict access to key resources necessary for its functioning (raw materials, technology, expertise, etc.), and others. The domain referred to in this context is illustrated in the image above.

### 3.2 The Character and Transformation of Military Campaign Doctrine in Historical Overview

The doctrine of defense is essentially a guide and guide in the administration of national defense, both in conditions of peace and war. The implementation of the defense is reduced to which will eventually strategy implemented into military operations. To find out whether the character of a defense doctrine is offensive or defensive, it can be seen from the character of its military operations, whether it emphasizes more on offensive elements or emphasizes more on defensive elements. During the Guided Democracy period, military operations were carried out within the framework of the seizure of West Irian and the Malaysian confrontation.

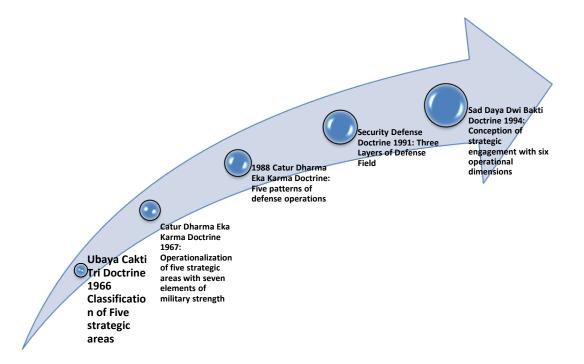


Figure 4.2 Development of Operational Patterns for the New Order Defense Doctrine

### Source: Military Doctrine Variations, Ni Komang Desy Setiawati Arya Pinatih, FISIP UI

From the study of the five doctrines in the New Order period, although the strategies and patterns of defense operations have been refined from time to time, overall the five doctrines have several characteristics in common, namely:

- a. Menekankan pada konsepsi Sistem Pertahanan Keamanan Rakyat Semesta dengan pelibatan seluruh sumber daya nasional melalui mekanisme mobilisasi dengan TNI sebagai tulang punggung dan rakyat sebagai kekuatan cadangan.
- b. Konsepsi dasar pertahanan negara dibagi atas pola operasi pertahanan yang bersifat defensif-aktif, untuk mengatasi ancaman dari luar negeri dan pola operasi kamdagri untuk mengatasi ancaman dari dalam negeri dengan unsur-unsur operasi intelejen, operasi tempur dan operasi teritorial.

 Mengandalkan gelar operasi terpadu baik matra tunggal maupun gabungan. Keempat, menitikberatkan pada konsepsi pertahanan berlapis.

# 3.2 Evolusi Paradigma Keamanan Nasional

Pergeseran lingkungan strategis dunia yang semakin kompleks dengan isu-isu ancaman yang bergeser pada level negara, kawasan, global hingga keamanan pribadi, maka membentuk konsep Keamanan Nasional yang mengalami evolusi dari National Security, Collective Security, International Security dan Global Security hingga membawa inspirasi bagi model-model Keamanan Nasional lainnya. Pada skala nasional, Keamanan Nasional yang komprehensif ternyata juga dekat dengan sebuah teori yang disampaikan oleh Prof. Dr. Juwono Soedarsono. mantan Gubernur Lemhanas bahwa dimensi Keamanan Nasional tersebut meliputi Pertahanan Keamanan Negara, Keamanan Negara dan Keamanan Insani (Mukhtar, S. 2017).

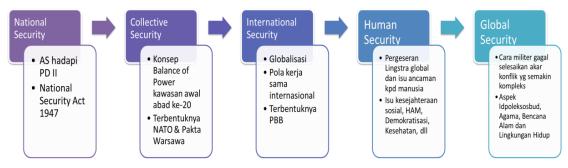


Figure 1.1 Evolution of the National Security Paradigm

Sumber: Focus Group Discussion 1, 2021

The evolution of the national security paradigm that continues to evolve has resulted in a shift in doctrine in terms of managing defense forces and resources. Doctrine as a teaching that is believed to be true by certain communities and is used as a guide in carrying out an activity / activity becomes a basic principle in guiding the armed forces in carrying out their duties to achieve goals (Darmono, B. 2010).

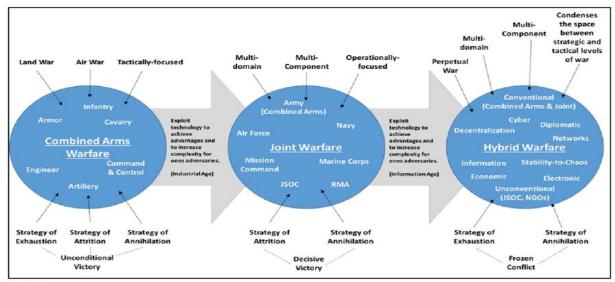
### 4.3 Data and Analysis

# 4.3.1 Identifying Hybrid Threat Structures and Actors

The existence of both state and non-state actors becomes an important identification if the military campaign doctrine used is still dominated by the types of operations, namely military operations. It is clear that the split perception of whether this Military Campaign can be used to act against Hybrid Threats occurs because there is still a dichotomy between State Actors and Non-State Actors or in the TNI's operational pattern there is still a clear separation between War Military Operations and Military Operations Other Than War. There are criticisms based on the reality that occurred when the conflicts between Armenia and Azerbaijan or Russia and Ukraine broke out

where state and non-state actors were no longer limited where the state military only focused on cracking down on cyber attacks in the domain of military operations.

If you look at the Anatomy of Hybrid War data, the use of tools identified as Means in the form of Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear and Explosives (CBRNE) is expected to be more widespread in the future. Actually, this is clear in one sense of the Hybrid Threat that identifies CBRNE as its tools. Besides CBRNE. the use of information communication technology that utilizes cyberspace has also become the main medium for Hybrid Threats. If analyzed based on the opinions of experts in FGD, RTD and in-depth interviews, it will be seen how technology is the common thread between several types of Hybrid Threats, including cyber attacks, terrorism and insurgency. As a result of this technological evolution, it has the potential to develop modern conflicts/wars, it is noted that there is an expansion of the threat of nonconventional wars or hybrid wars which results in increased danger to all elements of national security, as well as impacts on regional security.



Figure

Figure 4.x Evolution of Hybrid Warfare

then there are two important points in identifying Hybrid Threats, namely

- a. The existence of Hybrid War is the result of the evolution of the categories of combined armed war (Combined Arms Warfare) and Joint War or Joint Warfare (Joint Warfare). Therefore, the principle of war or modern military campaigns in the future will be projected as a hybrid war arena that combines cyber attacks, terrorism and insurgency in a series of attacks that utilize information and communication technology.
- b. Adaptive military campaigns in the modern era are no longer dichotomous between Military Operations for War (OMP) and Military Operations Other than War. Military campaigns are in the realm of the national Grand Strategy so that there are efforts to empower all national resources both in the land, maritime, air, cyber, space and energy aspects. This condition is reasonable considering that in the development of hybrid warfare, it began with the dominance of non-military threats such

as cyber attacks, information distortion, economic sanctions, infectious disease outbreaks. energy blockades. diplomacy propaganda and attacked several centers of gravity and theatre. When a country judges itself to be able to weaken another country through the hybrid attack, then the next stage, with or without a declaration of war, is to launch a conventional military attack to control sovereignty of another country.

The development of new technologies has a catalytic effect on the tools of the Hybrid Threat method. Any technology that leverages the cyber dimension always enhances the initial conditions for action and the range of activity of Ancman Hybrids. At the same time, new technological developments can also offer options to better identify, understand, defend and counter hybrid attacks. It is therefore important for political, civil and military leaders and decision-makers, as well as for industry and academia, to develop a comprehensive understanding of the implications of new technologies in the context of hybrid warfare.

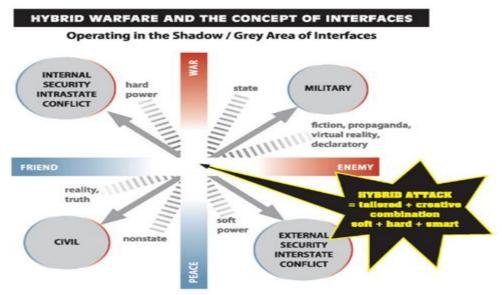


Figure 4.x Hybrid Threat in Doctrine Transformation Process

Source: COI Strategy and Defense, 2021

Analysis from COI Strategy and Defense (2021) states that the existence of several types of Hybrid Threats has been analyzed with the aim of assessing the complexity of these hybrid threats/conflicts/wars in official strategies, national defense policy documents to military doctrines. In Figure 4.x above, it can be seen that the Hybrid Threat attack has been identified as a combination of Soft, Hard and Smart Power which is present in strengthening its position as Gray Zone Warfare where there is no longer visible boundary between the military and civilian roles in overcoming it. Hybrid attacks are also able to be present in every form of conflict regardless of whether it is an Interstate Conflict or an Intrastate Conflict. This situation is related to hybrid attack actors who are also difficult to identify as State Actor or Non-State Actor so that the state needs to deal with it with a defense doctrine design response that is able to accommodate all forms of attack models and patterns from Hybrid Threats.

4.3.2 Transforming Military Campaign Doctrine in Responding to Changes in the Threat Spectrum and Dynamics of the Strategic Environment

> Kehadiran ancaman dan perabg hibrida yang berbeda secara signifikan dari ancaman tradisional baik dalam aktor maupun tujuannya sehingga dalam berbagi dengan konflik disebut sebagai perang tidak berarturan atau Irregular Warfare. Ketidakteraturan tersebut karena penggunaan kekuatan dari nonmiliter mencapai tujuan tertentu terkait dengan penguasaan kedaulatan sebuah negara. Menurut Gerasimov (2013) guna menghadapinya, negara pada umumnya menggunakan kekuatan pasukan khusus, kelompok anti sabotase dan pengintaian, unit intelijen dan berbagai satuan operasional lainnya. Gerasimov, "The Value of Science in Prediction."

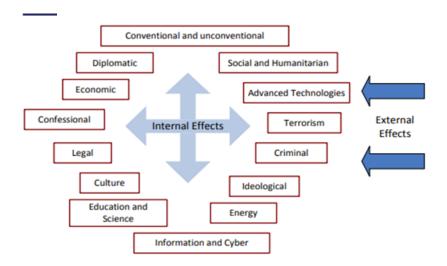


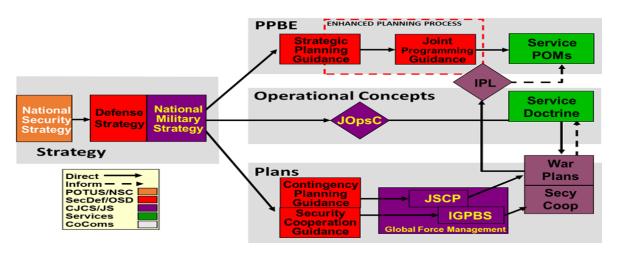
Figure 4.x Impact of Hybrid Threats Sumber: Danyk, et al, 2017

For some armed forces of certain countries, special operations countering attacks from Hybrid Threats may involve information and cyber operations, electronic warfare, or acts of sabotage designed to destroy forms of Hybrid Threat that cannot be achieved through traditional means. Therefore, according to Schmid (2022) the main priority for national defense in the context of dealing with hybrid warfare is the design of an effective countermeasure system. Such a system must include a highly capable intelligence system based on electronic technology, information operations, psychological operations, and cyber operations that can be synergized to achieve a common strategy, and be able to operate both independently and in combination in a Military Campaign.

A key component of hybrid warfare countermeasures operations is Intelligence,

Surveillance and Recognaissance (ISR) capabilities and includes the use of unmanned drones in combat operations. The use of drones to support operational flexibility in different functional areas or fields for intelligence purposes, anti-electronic warfare and direct attack patterns and different environments on land, sea, air and amphibians.

Hybrid warfare is not a new phenomenon, but its presence in modern war operations such as those in Ukraine and Russia is a challenge, especially for security conditions in Europe. It was as if the wars in the two regions of Eastern Europe did not begin with a pre-war escalation like conventional wars. In fact, there are almost no signs of the urgency of the national situation due to asymmetric actions or acts of terror that generally occur before hybrid war attacks.



The emergence of hybrid threats is identified due to the interaction of conventional threats to the strategic environment. As an illustration, namely that the development of the strategic environment is always talking about problems at the global, regional and national levels. This situation is relevant to the hybrid threat structure which includes hybrid threat methods, actors, scenarios, concepts and tactics. At the current global level, there has been a shift in the Balance of Power, the US-China Trade War, the Global Conflict and the Covid-19 Global Pandemic. At that point actors, scenarios, methods and concepts are implemented in the hybrid threat structure. The existence of a crisis that is motivated by ideological, political and economic conflicts in the form of a shift in the Balance of Power, the US-China trade war, the Global Conflict, the South China Sea dispute that triggers an arms race in terms of modernization of defense equipment and the Global Covid-19 Pandemic will generate other hybrid threats. such as the Global Terrorism movement and Terrorism Actions that occur in various parts of the world.

If grouped, there are complex and multi demonsional threats between the military, hybrid and non-military. The actual threats range from territorial violations, foreign interference, separatism, terrorism, threats, intelligence, espionage, Psychological Threats, Natural & Environmental Disasters, Robbery & Theft of natural resources, Drugs, Impact of Industrial Revolution 4.0, biological weapons attacks, disease outbreaks. Then there are also potential threats, namely threats that have not yet occurred but can occur at any time in certain situations and will turn into actual threats. All of the crises above have very clear aspects of the strategic relevance to environment.

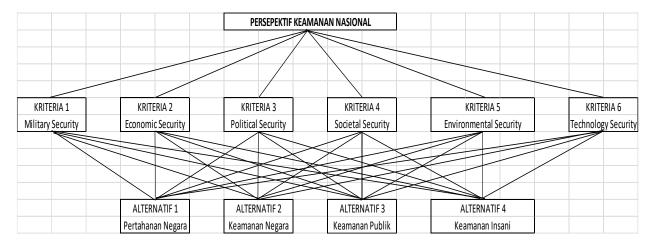
There is a kind of close interaction when the crisis of terrorism, drug abuse, moral degradation and psychological threats will be related to the crisis in the ideological, political, economic and socio-cultural aspects. Likewise,

when there is a shift in the balance of power, trade wars, disease outbreaks, ethnic issues, technological disruption and arms races are reflections of the complexity of threats that no longer come from a single factor in the Lingstra aspect, but have been so blended into one another. This situation will later trigger the variety of Hybrid Threats, which means that in dealing with them, efforts and strategies are also complex, and the Lingstra variable can also increase.

# 4.3.3 National Security Perspective in Formulating Military Campaign Doctrine

The dynamics of changing the spectrum of threats and the strategic environment will the paradigm directly shift of implementation of the national security system in a country. The most important element in realizing comprehensive national security is how the military is able to deploy its strength in carrying out operational tasks including the Military Campaign. This National Security perspective is very important when various forms of threats begin to emerge, including Hybrid Threats, so that departing from the value of the flexibility of the Doctrine, the Military Campaign Doctrine must also quickly make changes.

The research model with AHP analysis refers to the National Security variable from Barry Buzan and the four government functions in the National Security Prof. Joewono Sudarsono where the informants still have a strong tendency that National Security is perceived as Military Security. Therefore, it is commonplace when the idea arises to no longer dichotomy between Military Threats and Nonmilitary Threats, but the Military Campaign Doctrine only focuses on how to deal with the diversity of threats that are the current trends, including dealing with the transformation of various threats into other forms of threats. The structure of the AHP for Criteria and Alternatives used in this study is as follows:



The results of the AHP analysis indicate that the perspectives on Economic Security, Political Security, Social Security, Environmental Security and Technology Security are still not dominant in the perspective of TNI informants. However, another interesting thing from this aspect of the criteria is that it turns out that Technology Security has been considered as part of the dominant meaning of National Security. If this analysis is developed further, it can be perceived that the current form of National Security threat has the main source trend in the use of technology.

The above will be an interesting interpretation that it turns out that technology

has become the main medium of various forms of Hybrid Threats to continuously change shape both in the aspect of actors, tools, domains and phases. At this point, the researcher will also answer how to identify the factors that influence the emergence of Hybrid Threats and at the same time see the relationship between terrorism, insurgency and cyber as their mutually transforming forms. The calculation value of the weighting of Technology Security compared to other National Security criteria can be seen in the following table:

				$\longrightarrow$																		
	MS	ES	PS	SS	NS	TS			MS	ES	PS	SS	NS	TS			MS	ES	PS	22	NS	TS
MS	1.00	1.42	1.15	2.96	4.22	135		MS	1.00	1.42	1.15	2.96	4.22	1.35		MS	6.76	8.07	10.97	14.02	21.20	13.39
ES	0.70	1.00	1.75	2.01	1.95	1.45	X	ES	0.70	1.00	1.75	2.01	1.95	1.45		ES	5.49	6.00	8.03	10.84	17.04	10.86
PS	0.87	0.57	1.00	1.15	2.90	2.01		PS	0.87	0.57	1.00	1.15	2.90	2.01		PS	5.21	5.82	7.16	9.91	14.80	9.56
SS	0.35	0.50	0.71	1.00	1.74	0.90	•	SS	0.35	0.50	0.71	1.00	1.74	0.90	-	22	3.04	3.41	4.55	5.85	8.98	5.93
NS	0.41	0.51	0.81	0.57	1.00	0.86		NS	0.41	0.51	0.81	0.57	1.00	0.86		NS	2.72	2.95	3.82	5.27	8.02	5.16
TS	0.74	0.69	0.50	1.11	1.11	1.00		TS	0.74	0.69	0.50	1.11	1.11	1.00		TS	3.24	3.84	4.74	7.00	10.05	5.96
	MS	ES	PS	SS	NS	TS				Bobot Prioritas (ev)												
MS	6.76	8.07	10.97	14.02	21.20	13.39		74.41		0.266			Military Security		1	\						
ES	5.49	6.00	8.03	10.84	17.04	10.86		58.27					Economic Security		2							
PS	5.21	5.82	7.16	9.91	14.80	9.56	Ŀ	52.46	52.46		0.188		Political Security		3							
SS	3.04	3.41	4.55	5.85	8.98	5.93		31.76		0.114			Societal Security		5							
NS	2.72	2.95	3.82	5.27	8.02	5.16		27.94		0.100			Environmental Security		6							
TS	3.24	3.84	4.74	7.00	10.05	5.96		34.83		0.125			Technology Security		4							
								279.67		1	.000				V							

If it is related to the organizational structure, the TNI must immediately fix its doctrines, including the Military Campaign Doctrine, which if it runs without transformation without any other introduction

of new knowledge, it will result in organizational stagnation and then decreased productivity. The only way to continue the transformation is to get feedback and reflection and so on.

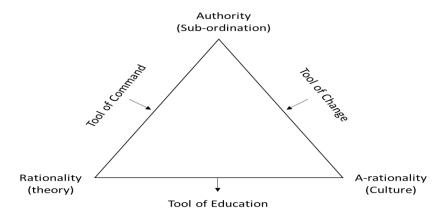


Figure 4.x The Nature of Doctrine Source: Hoiback (2013), Understanding Military Doctrine

"Doctrine tells us who we are (culture), what we are to do (theory), and what we have to do (authority)" (Høiback, Understanding Military Doctrine, 2013: 2). The doctrine will eventually become a "custom" for organizations including combat organizations such as the TNI. Hoiback's concept explains clearly that doctrine is described as a rationality (theory), culture and authority. Departing from this, then if the policies, processes, systems and structures have changed due to the response to existing assumptions, it will produce a habit. Therefore, the doctrine must indeed be demanded to be flexible so that the organization can easily accommodate the changes that exist in producing the right implementation in accordance with the challenges it faces.

In the TNI's conception, there is a clear common thread, although the complexity of threats and the dynamics of the strategic environment continues to move, the formulation of the Military Campaign Doctrine which focuses on Hybrid Threats by abandoning the concepts of OMP and OMPSP, still has its natural nature, namely as the Universal People's War Doctrine. In this modern era of war, this is what is actually called the empowerment of national defense resources. The Universal People's Defense and Security System no longer views the habitat of "land war" as the main dimension, but the sea, air, space and cyber dimensions are the real battlefields that must be faced by involving all potential national resources so as to give rise to the TNI's core war doctrine, namely:

- a. The Universal People's War is an absolute and inseparable part of national defense and security (Hankamnas).
- b. The Universal People's War is a universal war, which uses all national power in a total and integral way, using the militancy of the people as an element of its strength to defend the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia and secure the course of National Development.
- c. The Universal People's War has a pattern of operation:
  - 1) 1) The pattern of domestic security operations (Operation Kamdagri), which aims to maintain and restore the power of the government/state of the Republic of Indonesia and uses various types of intelligence-combat and territorial operations.
  - 2) The pattern of defense operations aimed at thwarting attacks and real threats from enemy war forces, with types of combat and territorial intelligence operations. The nature of this defense operation is defensive-strategic and offensive-strategic. Popular resistance and civil defense are important elements in the power of war with the armed forces at its core.

### 5. Conclusions and Recommendations

Hybrid threats are mixed threats that are a cohesiveness between military and nonmilitary threats. Hybrid threats include combining conventional, asymmetric, terrorist and cyber warfare threats, as well as diverse and dynamic criminals related to the doctrine of defense is essentially a guideline and guide in the implementation of state defense in both peace and war. Comprehensive National Security is also close to a theory presented by Prof. Dr. Juwono Soedarsono, former Governor of Lemhanas that the dimensions of National Security include State Defense, State Security and Human Security and the evolution of the ever-evolving national security paradigm resulted in a doctrinal shift in terms of managing defense forces and resources as for hybrid threats, namely the existence of hybrid warfare, namely the existence of hybrid warfare is the result of evolution. From the categories of combined arms warfare and joint warfare b and adaptive military campaigns in the modern era no longer dichotomize between Military Operations for War (OMP) and Military Operations Other than War so as to pose a hybrid threat identified due to the interaction of threats conventional to the strategic environment, technology has become the main medium of various forms of Hybrid Threats to continue continuously changing shape both in aspects of actors, tools, domains and phases.

### 5.2 Recommendation

Based on the results of the research, several research recommendations can be made as follows:

1) National defense aims to maintain and protect the sovereignty of the state, the territorial

integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and the safety of the entire nation from all forms of threats, both from outside and from within the country. This is also carried out in order to ensure the realization of the Government's vision, mission, and priority agenda in order to support PMD policy. To achieve this goal, defense policy The state is formulated in five interrelated strategic goals. First, realizing a national defense capable of facing threats; Second, realizing a state defense capable of handling the security of the maritime area, the security of the land area and the security of the aerospace area; Third, realizing

- national defense capable of playing a role in creating world peace based on free and active politics; Fourth, realizing a strong, independent and competitive defense industry; and Fifth, realizing Indonesian citizens who have awareness of defending the country
- 2) The development of military and nonmilitary defense institutions is carried out in order to realize an integrated strength in the management of national defense through strengthening and rearranging as well as institutional restructuring.
- To realize the government's vision and mission for the development of national defense, a national defense strategy is formulated which includes objectives, strategic objectives, ways to achieve defense targets and resources in order to realize the strengths and capabilities a strong, effective and highly defensive national defense. The development of the national defense force is inseparable from the Government's policies in national development, including the PMD policy. In realizing this policy, the Government needs to build a national defense force to support sustainable maritime defense integrated by utilizing satellite technology and drone systems.

### References

### **Journal Articles**

- 1. Alfajri, A., Setiawan, A., & Wahyudi, H. (2019). Sinergitas Pembangunan Tata Ruang Pertahanan Daerah dalam Menghadapi Ancaman Non-Militer di Indonesia. Global Strategis, 13(1), 103-122.
- Asbullah, T., Danil, P., & Haba, R. (2022). Analisis Hukum Terhadap Perubahan Norma Undang-Undang No. 34 Tahun 2004 Tentang Tentara Nasional Indonesia. Sawerigading Law Journal, 1(1), 10-18.
- 3. Darmono, B. (2010). Konsep dan Sistem Keamanan Nasional Indonesia. Jurnal Ketahanan Nasional, 15(1), 1-42.
- 4. Indrajit, R. E. (2020). Filsafat Ilmu Pertahanan dan Konstelasinya dalam Kehidupan Berbangsa dan Bernegara. Jurnal Kebangsaan, 1(1), 42-53.
- 5. Kuswarno, E. (2009). Fenomenologi. Bandung: Widya Padjadjaran.

 Nurbantoro, E., Risman, H., Widjayanto, J., & Anwar, S. (2021). Analisa Kebijakan Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 97 Tahun 2015 tentang Kebijakan Umum Pertahanan Negara Tahun 2015-2019.

- 7. Maggalatung, A. S. (2014). Hubungan Antara Fakta Norma, Moral, Dan Doktrin Hukum Dalam Pertimbangan Putusan Hakim. Jurnal Cita Hukum, 2(2).
- 8. Mukhtar, S. (2017). KEAMANAN NASIONAL: ANTARA TEORI DAN PRAKTEKNYA DI INDONESIA1. Sociae Polites, 127-137.
- 9. Putra, I. N., & Hakim, A. (2016). Analisa Peluang Dan Ancaman Keamanan Maritim Indonesia Sebagai Dampak Perkembangan Lingkungan Strategis. JOURNAL ASRO, 6, 1-22.
- Rahmadi, H. B. (2018). Relevansi Dan Aplikasi Doktrin Wawasan Nusantara Dalam Analisis Ancaman Kontemporer. Jurnal Kajian Lemhannas RI, 6(1), 51-64.
- 11. Wahyudi, B. (2018). Kepemimpinan Nasional Dalam Perkembangan Lingkungan Strategis. Pakuan Law Review, 4(2).
- 12. Zattullah, N., Malik, I., & Hidayat, E. R. (2022). Analisis Kebijakan Keamanan Nasional Indonesia Ditinjau Dari Kelembagaan dan Perkembangan Ancaman. Jurnal Ilmiah Universitas Batanghari Jambi, 22(1), 120-125.

### **Book**

- Supriyatno, M. (2014). Tentang ilmu pertahanan. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- 2. Wijaya, H. (2019). Analisis Data Kualitatif: Sebuah Tinjauan Teori & Praktik. Sekolah Tinggi Theologia Jaffray.
- 3. Munir Fuady, D. S., & MH, L. M. (2014). Doktrin-Doktrin Modern dalam Corporate Law & Eksistensinya dalam Hukum Indonesia. Citra Aditya Bakti.