

DYNAMICS OF STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY IN THE ASIA PACIFIC REGION AND THEIR IMPACT ON INDONESIAN MARITIME SECURITY: ANALYSIS OF SOUTH CHINA MARINE DISPUTES WITH ESTIMATIVE METHODOLOGY AND NATIONAL SECURITY APPROACHES

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Abstract

The South China Sea (LTS) is a relatively closed sea and is surrounded by at least eight countries, namely China, Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei, the Philippines, and Taiwan. Indonesia is not involved or directly affected by the South China Sea dispute involving China and one of the ASEAN members, the Philippines. However, China's rejection of the PCA (Permanent Court of Arbitration) ruling in favor of the Philippines had an impact on Indonesia. Based on this strategic environmental background, the researcher conducted a study entitled Strategic Environmental Security Dynamics in the Asia Pacific Region and Its Impact on Indonesian Maritime Security: South China Sea Dispute Analysis with Estimation Methodology and National Security Approaches. This study uses an estimation methodology that relies on three prediction mechanisms, namely: extrapolation (extrapolation), projection (projection), and forecasting (forecasting). Based on the results of the study, it was found that the LTS dispute has the potential to become a conflict if the conflict in the region involves countries in Southeast Asia and East Asia, the use of military instruments by the parties involved in the LTS dispute. , the involvement of major countries in the conflict, and there are no relatively credible social institutions or instruments to resolve disputes in the South China Sea. The recommendation in this study is that Indonesia can play a key role in creating stability in the region as well as building communication and diplomacy with countries holding the UN veto power or major countries from other regions.

Keywords: Dynamic, Strategic, Security, South China Sea and Maritime

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

LTS (South China Sea) is a relatively closed sea and is surrounded by at least eight countries, namely China, Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei, the Philippines and Taiwan. The LTS area consists of four islands, which include the Spratlys, Prata, Paracels and Macclesfield Bank. The unresolved problem in LTS is the determination of maritime boundaries and access to marine resources. Such geographical character gives rise to China's claim to the South China Sea based on a map known as the nine-dash line that encircles almost the entire South China Sea and where China claims to be China's historically sovereign waters. On the other hand, other littoral states claim sovereignty over small islands in the South China

Sea, i.e., Vietnam claims the Spratly Islands, while Brunei and the Philippines claim the Kalayan Island Group.

Indonesia is not directly involved or affected in the South China Sea dispute involving China and an ASEAN member, the Philippines. However, China's rejection of the PCA (Permanent Court of Arbitration) decision, which sided with the Philippines, had an effect on Indonesia. Natuna Island, which is in these waters, is the border of Indonesia. Indonesia's position is different before and after this PCA decision. Previously, President Jokowi stated that although Indonesia is close to the South China Sea, Indonesia has no direct interest in these waters. However, recent developments show a different response. President Jokowi's last visit to the Natuna Islands, he reminded that in 1996 China had recognized the Natuna waters as Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ).

China seems to build an image of passive assertiveness over the region but avoids decisive actions that can create direct conflict, while also expanding its movement in the South China Sea. This condition brings several legal implications to neighboring countries that are close to South East Asia, especially to ASEAN member countries. This includes increasing China's maritime power in the South Asian region, which can have an impact on the Southeast Asian region.

Indonesia has the right to draw archipelagic baselines connecting the outermost points of its outermost islands as an archipelagic state. Although Indonesia does not claim any of the disputed islands located in the South China Sea, it does have several islands around the South China Sea, namely the Natuna Islands. Taking into account Indonesia's sovereignty over the Natuna Islands, Indonesia has the right to several territorial waters measured from the Natuna baseline in accordance with international law. Based on this baseline, Indonesia has rights to the various maritime zones established by the LOSC. So that Indonesia has overlapping waters with two neighboring countries, which are claimant, countries in the LTS dispute, namely Malaysia and Vietnam. (Puspitawati, 2018).

Based on the background that has been presented, Indonesia's maritime security is an urgent matter of the Indonesian maritime system, and has a relatively complex mission as challenges and problems from the various parties involved. The meaning of maritime security from all parties involved is still different, due to the basic aspects of the tasks they are involved in. Therefore, research on the Strategic Environmental Security Dynamics of the Asia Pacific Region, by taking the case of the South China Sea (LTS), and its Impact on Indonesian Maritime Security becomes important to do.

1.2 Problems

Referring to the 2015 National Defense Strategy (Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, 2015), in the context of the Development of the Strategic Environment, in general the development of the environment shows an increasing and complex trend. This can be seen from the growing number of conflicts, crises and wars occurring in various parts of the world, and shows an increasingly dynamic situation. The dynamics of the development of the strategic environment today has created a complex spectrum of threats and has implications for national

defense. The essence of the analysis of the development of the strategic environment is to determine the possibility or estimate of threats, challenges, and risks to national defense. The possible threats, challenges and risks are used as a basis for consideration in the selection of a national defense strategy. The strategic environment also provides opportunities for the national interest to maintain the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and ensure the smooth running of national development.

Indonesia as the largest archipelagic state in the world is located between two continents, namely the Asian continent and the Australian continent, and connects two oceans, namely the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. The area of waters, territorial seas and inland waters is approximately 2.7 million square kilometers, or about 70% of the total area of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia or the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. With the addition of the ZEEI (Indonesian Exclusive Economic Zone) of 3.1 million square kilometers, the total marine area of Indonesia's national jurisdiction is 5.8 million square kilometers.

The many potentials that can be extracted from the territorial waters of Indonesia will certainly have an inevitable impact, namely the emergence of threats to Indonesia's national interests, especially in the maritime sector. Threats can come from various sources, both from certain countries and from non-state actors, with varying intensity of threats. Thus, Indonesia needs to respond with adequate maritime security capabilities and forces, so that these threats can be minimized as much as possible (Anwar, 2016). Based on this formulation, this study seeks to find answers to how the impact of the Strategic Environmental Security Dynamics of the Asia Pacific Region, taking the case of the South China Sea, on Indonesian Maritime Security? How to explain using Estimative Methodology and National Security Approach?

2. THEORY BASIS

2.1 Threats to National Security

Referring to Barry Buzan, threats to state security can take the form (Anwar, 2016):

1. Military threats. Has the potential to destroy various components of the country and even the country itself;
2. Threats to ideology; Are all things that fall into the category of threats with a political dimension;
3. Threats in the economic field. For example: embargoes, restrictions on exports and imports of goods, theft of natural resources, and cessation of supplies of essential materials;
4. Threats in the field of environment or ecology. For example, natural disasters, pollution, and so on.

Barry Buzan also stated that there are at least three factors that need to be considered in the context of the threat, namely (Anwar, 2016):

1. The source of the threat can come from within the country itself or from outside the country;
2. The intensity of the threat, can range from low to very high intensity. Can be influenced by factors such as distance from the source of the threat or the duration of the threat;
3. The probability or level of probability of the occurrence of the threat.

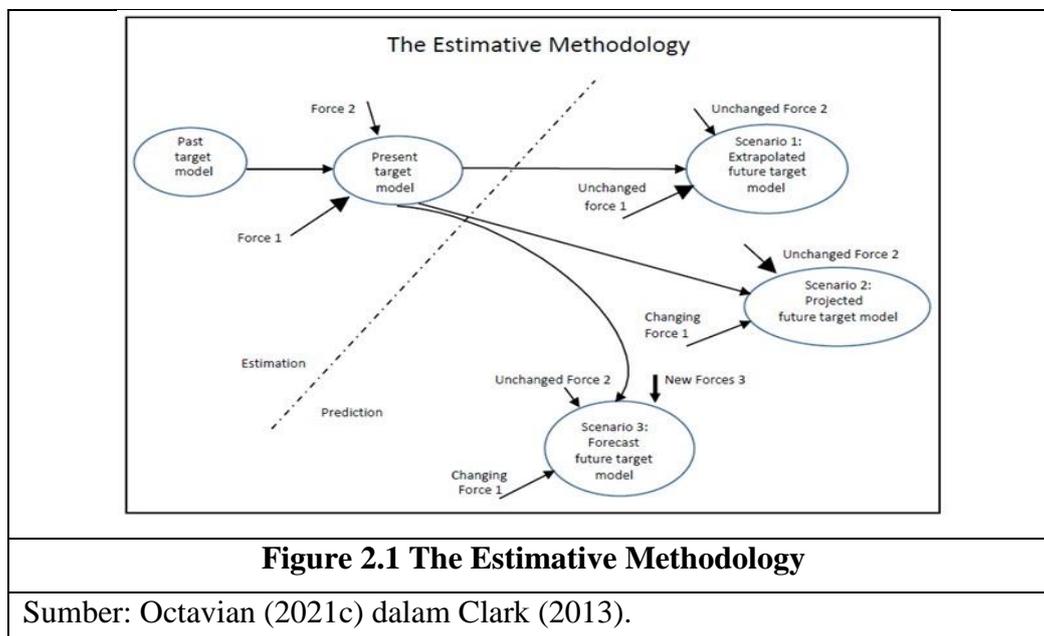
2.2 Maritime Security

The concept of Maritime Security, traditionally defined as defense or protection of the state, defines and regulates the role and strategy of the Navy (Seapower). In times of peace, one of the functions of the Navy is to secure SLOC (Sea Lanes of Communication) through prevention, surveillance and pursuit to support and facilitate international trade that supports a country's economic growth. The concept of Maritime Security can be explained from the various threats it faces. The UN Secretary General's 2008 report on Oceans and the Law of the Sea distinguishes 7 (seven) types of threats:

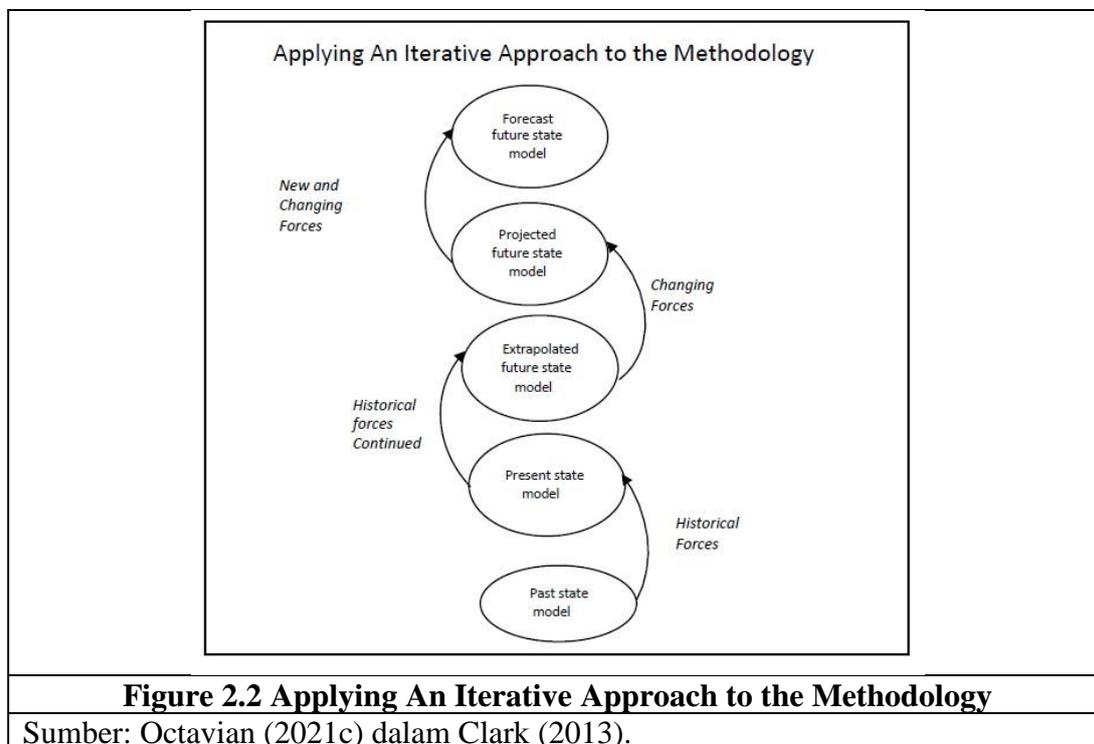
1. Piracy and armed robbery;
2. Terrorist acts (acts of terrorism);
3. Illicit trafficking in arms and weapons of mass destruction (smuggling of weapons and weapons of mass destruction);
4. Illicit trafficking in narcotics;
5. Smuggling and trafficking of persons by sea (smuggling and trafficking of persons by sea);
6. IUU Fishing (illegal, unregulated and unreported fishing business);
7. Intentional and unlawful damage to the marine environment.

2.3 The Estimative Methodology

In intelligence analysis, more attention is paid to describing the status or condition of the target in the past and present to make judgments about its future status. In the social sciences, the technique used is to combine complex data to make estimates. The need to combine this data is done to estimate the state of an entity and evaluate the strengths that exist in the entity, so that it can predict its future state. This estimation methodology relies on three prediction mechanisms, namely: extrapolating (extrapolation), projection (projection), and forecasting (forecasting) (Octavian, 2021c). In general the differences between the three are: Extrapolating assumes that these forces do not change between present and future conditions. Projection assumes the variable is changing; and Forecasting assumes that the variable is fixed, the variable changes and there is a new power variable.



At least, there are five steps to carry out this estimative methodology, which are as follows (Clark, 2013): First, determine at least one past condition and current entity condition. In the world of intelligence, these entities are model targets, and can be models for almost anything, terrorist organizations, governments, industry, technology, clandestine trade networks, or even ballistic missiles. Second, determine the forces acting on the entity to bring it to its current state. These same forces, acting unchanged, will produce future states which are shown as extrapolations. Third, to make a Projection, estimate the changes in power that exist and may occur. Fourth, to make Forecasting, start with extrapolating or projection and then identify new forces that can act on entities, and combine their effects. And lastly, fifthly, determine the possible future state of the entity based on a strength assessment. A strong and certain force is heavily weighed in this prediction.



This study will use forecasting as an analytical tool to explain the impact of the Strategic Environmental Security Dynamics of the Asia Pacific Region, taking the case of the South China Sea, on Indonesian Maritime Security with a National Security Approach.

The main purpose of forecasting in intelligence is to determine alternative futures from the target model, not just the most likely future. These futures alternatives are usually scenarios.

Forecasting tries to identify new forces that will affect the target, to consider the possible impact of new developments in distant fields, such as new technologies in the field of artificial intelligence, new constraints posed by the sociological impact of pollution, or new forms created through genetic engineering.

In addition, the concept of Scenario is also important to explain. The purpose of the Scenario is to highlight the main forces that can shape the future (Clark, 2013 in Octavian, 2021d). The development of the scenario makes these forces visible, so that when they start to make an impact, intelligence officers will at least recognize them. Thus, scenario planning helps intelligence analysts and customers to anticipate the future and better respond to future events.

In an alternative future as depicted by the scenario, the decision maker should be able to make decisions and develop strategies by identifying the following:

- Relationships between forces.
- Possible impact on the organization or situation.

- Key decision points for taking action.

3. DISCUSSION

3.1 Dynamics of Strategic Environmental Security in the Asia Pacific Region

The Asia Pacific region is a very dynamic, fast-changing and uncertain region. This situation has an impact not only on economic issues, but also on security issues. Several developments in the Asia Pacific region that need to be observed and have an effect on regional security stability are China's economic and military developments, US (United States) strategic policies in the region and disputes in the South China Sea that involve several countries in the region (Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, 2015b).

China with high economic growth will continue to modernize its military. China's high economic growth gives China the opportunity to make efforts to modernize its forces and increase its military capacity. These developments have given rise to speculation and mixed responses among countries in the region.

In the past decade, there has been a tendency to increase China's defense spending. China has the largest defense budget in Asia and ranks second in the world even though its defense budget is only one sixth of the US defense budget.

Concern over the possible implications of the development of China's military power on the military balance in the region is very reasonable considering that China is considered to tend to show a more assertive attitude in building military power and its foreign policy. In addition, it is clear that China is involved in maritime territorial disputes in the South China Sea and in the East China Sea. The modernization of China's military power has created a security dilemma for its neighbors.

Several countries in the Asia Pacific region have built up their military power significantly. As an implication of the development of China's military power which is considered to show the development of an active and massive military posture. The main reason for modernizing military forces, among others, is to anticipate the possibility of armed conflict. The deployment of military forces in the disputed area has created a complex situation that makes it very difficult to maintain a balance of military power.

The US has implemented a strategic policy called the "US Rebalancing Strategy". This strategy was triggered by three factors as follows: First, the emergence of the Asia Pacific region as an important region for global economic growth that the US can use for its economic recovery. Second, the end of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan has provided an opportunity for the US to divert military resources, move troops, and reorient its strategic policies. Third, China's defense modernization has changed the balance of power in a region that has tended to be dominated by the US.

The implementation of the rebalancing strategy policy has changed the map of US military strength in the region. Rebalance actually has diplomatic, economic, and military elements, but

the military element attracts the most attention. The US will not reduce its defense investment in Asia Pacific even though there is a tendency to reduce its defense spending.

The US has stationed its marine forces in Darwin, Australia. The US has also stationed littoral combat ships around Singapore and the Philippines. At about the same time, the US has moved marine forces from Okinawa to Guam, Hawaii and Alaska. By the end of 2020, the strength of the US Navy (AL) warships in the Pacific region will account for 60% of the US Navy's strength.

Several US allies and partners in the region have expressed their desire that the US presence be strengthened to keep pace with the development of China's military power. Therefore, the US has and will revitalize its bilateral and multilateral security relations with countries in the region, such as in Australia (ANZUS/The Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty) and with several countries in Southeast Asia, such as Thailand, Singapore, Philippines and Vietnam. The implementation of the US strategy and its implications in Asia Pacific will be or can be seen as part of US efforts to isolate and confine China, so that China will react by continuing to build its military strength.

Disputes in the LTS will affect security stability in the Asia Pacific region. The LTS area is a strategic area that has economic value. This area is very important because of its geographical potential and natural resources (SDA). The area is a shipping lane and international communication (international trade sea-lanes). Thus, the area has the opportunity to be explored, but at the same time has the potential to become a competition that can lead to open conflict.

Disputes in LTS have the potential to become conflicts for four reasons. First, conflicts in the region involve countries in Southeast Asia and East Asia, namely Malaysia, the Philippines, Vietnam, Brunei Darussalam, Taiwan, and China. Second, the parties involved in LTS disputes often use military instruments to strengthen their claims. Third, there is the involvement of major countries in the conflict. Fourth, there is no form of institution or social instrument that is credible enough to resolve disputes in the LTS area.

The four variables are fixed and changing variables that have the potential to create open conflict from disputes in the LTS. If a new variable is added, namely alliances, for example Russia wants to ally with China to become an alliance with China, the possibility that this will happen is High Impact, Low Probability. This is where Indonesia can play a key role in creating stability in the region. Indonesia can build communication and diplomacy with UN veto-holding countries outside the US and China or big countries from other regions such as Germany.

Until now, the six countries that claim the area remain in their respective positions. The Philippines, however, still claims that the area is part of the Western Philippines, but China has objected to this claim. Apart from the Philippines, Vietnam is also doing the same thing. Vietnam claims that the South China Sea is an area of North Vietnam based on historical evidence. Vietnam claims to have controlled the region, especially the Spratly and Paracel Islands, since the 17th century. Likewise, Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam claim the area

based on an exclusive economic zone in accordance with the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS).

The overlapping claims resulted in the occupation of the entire southern archipelago of the South East Sea region. Until now, the countries that are actively occupying this area are Vietnam, the Philippines, and Malaysia. Meanwhile, China, which only took control of the islands in 1988, is aggressively building military construction and installations and presenting its military regularly.

3.2 Indonesian Maritime Security in the Perspective of National Security

The map of the so-called claims of a number of countries to the South China Sea was presented by Sean Mirski. China claims the area as the nine dash line as shown in the nine red lines. From these data it is clear that bilaterally there are various major problems related to maritime borders. China is dealing with four ASEAN countries at once, but because Beijing has far greater political and military power, these countries have not dared to take a firm stand.

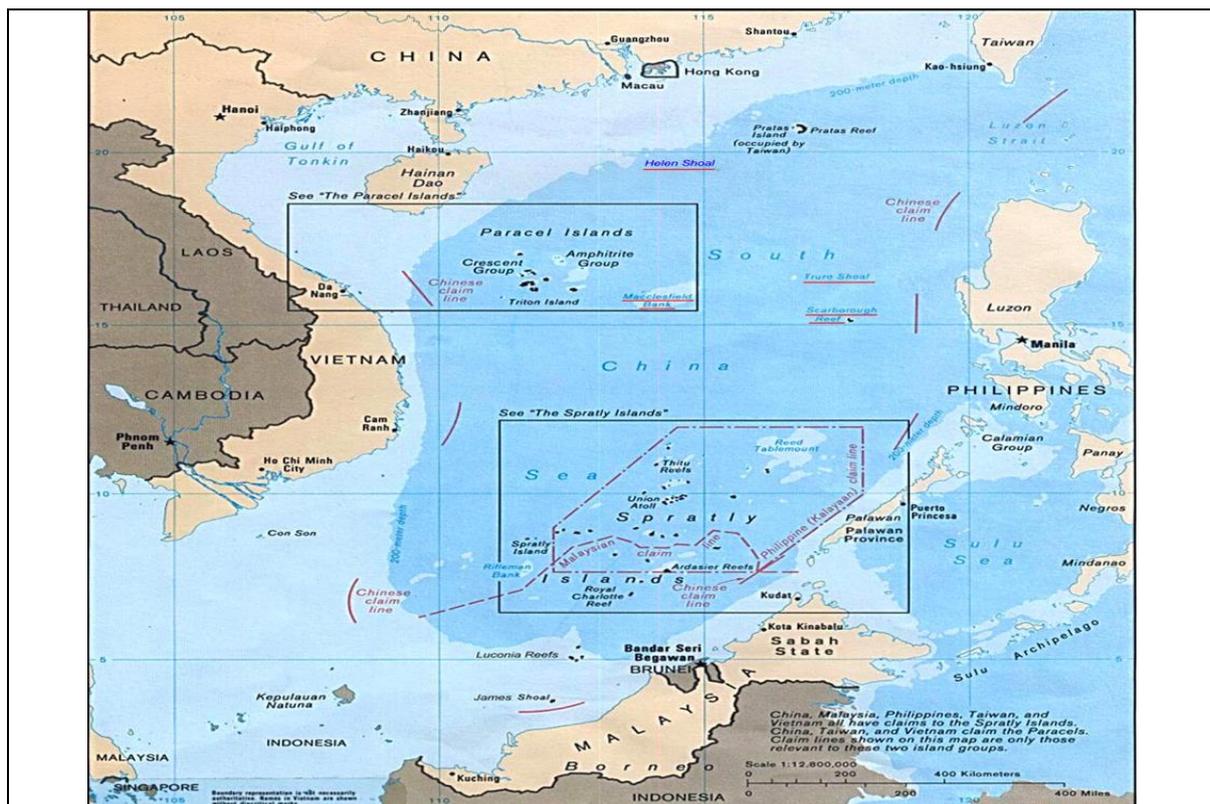


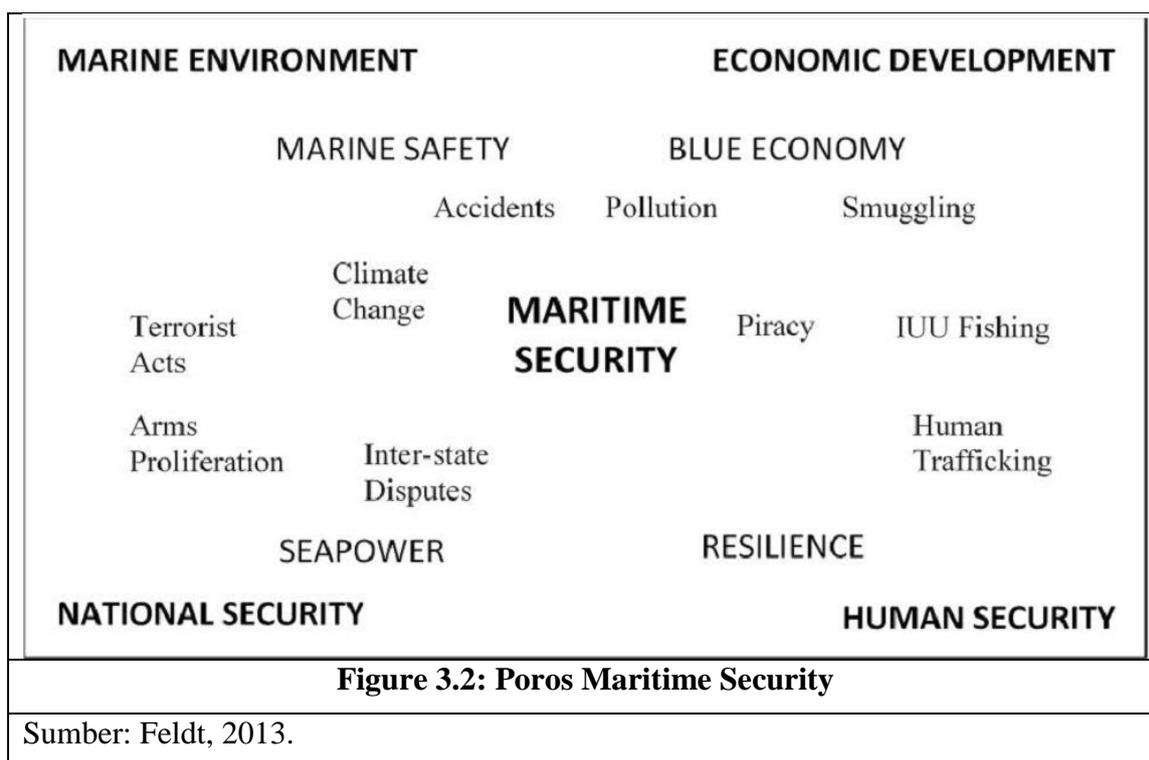
Figure 3.1 Peta Nine Dash Line

Sumber: Setiawan, 2017.

From a military perspective, maritime security generally focuses on national security issues, in an effort to protect the territorial integrity of the country from armed attacks or the use of other types of force, as well as projecting the interests of the state to other areas. Meanwhile, from the point of view of national defense, maritime security covers broader matters in dealing with more types of threats in the maritime field.

Maritime security is a combination of maritime prevention and to protect the maritime from threats and illegal actions. Maritime security is primarily concerned with issues of navigational safety, eradication of transnational crimes including maritime piracy and maritime terrorism as well as conflict prevention and resolution. In that context, non-traditional issues, such as environmental security and search and rescue operations are included (Feldt, et. al., 2013).

Maritime security in the South China Sea, for example, is very important because it is located near Southeast Asia and the main maritime sea transportation routes for East Asian countries including China. Feldt, et. al. (2013) formulated the maritime security axis in the following description.



Based on the picture, the security dimension stated does not include Maritime Security. But Buzan's concept of security because of its broad nature can be implemented as a maritime security analysis tool like in LTS.

From the framework of thinking about the regional security complex, this can be seen in LTS. Various basic elements of maritime security in this area can be seen from the potential contained in these waters.

First, the natural wealth in LTS is in the form of gas and oil reserves. In the map, it appears that the energy content in the LTS area is relatively large and can be a future capital for the economies of bordering countries.

Second, apart from its natural wealth, LTS is also a strategic free shipping lane for energy and goods shipments. In a different language, this maritime area is a strategic international environment. Through this region, the volume of ships transporting fuel oil is relatively high for East Asian countries. So it appears that the energy supply every year is very large. Not only a pathway for the flow of energy needed by countries in East Asia, the South China Sea is also an important maritime route for international trade.

In the context of the South China Sea, several countries have common interests in maritime territorial boundary disputes such as Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, the Philippines and Vietnam. These four countries are facing China, a big power country that claims almost all of the LTS area.

As stated by Buzan, security is a relational phenomenon. In the state analysis level, maritime security in the South China Sea is facing a big threat because bilateral conflicts on maritime borders are not yet at the settlement stage because each party making a claim does not want to step down from its position. China, with the nine dash line principle, has established itself as a legitimate claimant. With a large maritime power, China plays the role of a big country in dealing with small countries around it.

Then the distribution of power is the overall pattern of distribution of power between global powers. The global forces and regional dynamics of regional security complexes are the so-called penetration mechanisms. Penetration occurs when the alignments of outside forces enter a region in regional security complexes. One of the objectives of regional security complexes is to reduce the tendency of the role of these global powers, which in turn ensures the proper portion of local factors in security analysis.

The involvement of countries outside the region on border issues in the South China Sea has exacerbated conflicts in the South East Asian Region. The unequal distribution of power between China as a big country and Brunei Darussalam (a very small country), then Malaysia with an unbalanced power compared to China, the Philippines and Vietnam experienced the same thing because they had the same conditions. A strong state is faced with a series of small and medium-sized countries in terms of political and military power.

An important variable that then changed the standard pattern to be centered in the regional security complex was the US presence in the South China Sea to balance China's might in the maritime area which the US claims has two main interests in the South East Asian Region, namely access and stability. The US has a great interest in maintaining unhindered access to these waters. From Washington's point of view, all countries can take advantage of freedom in

free waters including freedom of navigation, outside of the 12 nautical miles of territorial waters whose sovereignty belongs to a particular country. Both commercial and military vessels enjoy freedom on the high waters in accordance with articles 56 and 87 of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). To fulfill this goal the US carried out various affirmative operations such as freedom in the waters of Malaysia, Vietnam and China.

In addition, the US also has a great interest in maintaining regional peace and stability in Southeast Asia. Such as open and barrier-free access, regional stability also maintains prosperity in both East Asia and America, because security tensions or conflicts will reduce trade due to the threat of maritime routes and reduce investment in both the region and the Pacific.

However, awareness of the pattern of distribution of power in the South China Sea is still concerned with aspects of negotiation and peace. Although there have been conflicts that have caused casualties and war of words between the Philippines and China, efforts have long been made to ensure that freedom of navigation in the South China Sea is guaranteed. This freedom of navigation will guarantee trade traffic and energy flows needed by East Asian countries (Setiawan, 2017).

4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As stated in the 2015 Defense Posture (Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, 2015), in general, in an effort to achieve national goals and protect national interests, the Ministry of Defense (Ministry of Defense) formulates a number of factors that can be categorized as threats. The strategic analysis process in formulating threats is carried out continuously on data, facts and situation trends at global, regional and national scales.

The development of the strategic environment in general shows symptoms of being increasingly escalating and complex in various parts of the world. This shows a reflection of the continuation of the previous problem caused by various underlying factors.

Based on the explanation above, although the LTS dispute so far has no direct implications for Indonesia, some of Indonesia's EEZ in the Natuna Islands overlaps with China's nine-dash line. Furthermore, China has expressed its rejection of the PCA decision, Indonesia should ideally create a further legal and policy framework to implement its sovereign rights over the EEZ in the Natuna Islands. In addition, a strong political statement must also be taken to anticipate China's movement in the South China Sea through its nine-dash line claim (Puspitawati, 2018).

Maritime security approach to LTS using Barry Buzan's analysis of the state shows that maritime border conflicts have yet to find a solution. All countries that claim sovereignty remain in their positions regarding their territorial boundaries, thus causing problems that are not only manifest in maritime security in South East China Sea waters.

In order to balance China's power, certain countries such as the Philippines indirectly create a common front in dealing with maritime border disputes. This shows that there is a centered pattern in which foreign countries are invited to balance out a strong country during border

conflicts. The US involvement shows that maritime security in the South China Sea region must get guarantees from all countries that make claims. The US underlines in its policy that free access must be enforced in the South China Sea to maintain economic interests in Asia Pacific. Uncle Sam's country also emphasizes that security stability must be guaranteed in the South China Sea which is the access of the US civilian and military and its allies (Amaritasari, 2017).

From the various discussions conducted, several conclusions were drawn. Indonesia's national interest in the maritime sector consists of three elements, namely maintaining territorial integrity and state sovereignty, maintaining maritime resources and domestic and international commercial shipping, and achieving the welfare of the Indonesian nation (Anwar, 2016). By using Estimative Methodology, especially forecasting, as found in the discussion section, disputes in LTS have the potential to become conflicts if there are the following four variables. First, conflicts in the region involve countries in Southeast Asia and East Asia, namely Malaysia, the Philippines, Vietnam, Brunei Darussalam, Taiwan, and China. Second, to strengthen their claims, the parties involved in LTS disputes often use military instruments. Third, there is the involvement of major countries in the conflict. Fourth, there is no relatively credible form of institution or social instrument to resolve disputes in the LTS area. The first and second variables are fixed variables, while the third variable is a changing variable, and the fourth variable is a new variable. These four variables have the potential to create open conflicts from disputes in the LTS. If a scenario is made with one new variable added, namely an alliance, for example Russia wants to be an ally with China and become an alliance with China, the potential that occurs is High Impact, Low Probability. This study also recommends that Indonesia can play a key role in creating stability in the region. Indonesia can build communication and diplomacy with UN veto-holding countries outside the US and China or big countries from other regions such as Germany.

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