

Indonesia's Strategy in Facing the Vuca Threat in South China Sea

Tamarell Vimy Salsa Bila¹, Surya Wiranto², Rudiyanto³
Pujo Widodo⁴, Panji Suwarno⁵

¹(National Security Faculty, Indonesia Defense University, Indonesia)

²(National Security Faculty, Indonesia Defense University, Indonesia)

³(National Security Faculty, Indonesia Defense University, Indonesia)

⁴(National Security Faculty, Indonesia Defense University, Indonesia)

⁵(National Security Faculty, Indonesia Defense University, Indonesia)

ABSTRACT :The North Natuna Sea, which is located in the Riau Archipelago, directly adjacent to the South China Sea, is Indonesia's sovereign territory, and has a wealth of natural resources that makes this area want to be controlled by China on the basis of the nine-dash line. This unilateral claim by China has triggered conflicts from other countries because it is not in accordance with international law recognized by UNCLOS 1982. This condition can be called VUCA, namely volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity, namely several difficult conditions and situations. This study will discuss the implementation of the VUCA strategy by Indonesia to deal with threats to the Natuna Sea, which aims to determine Indonesia's strategy in dealing with the threat of sovereignty to Indonesian territorial waters. The research method uses descriptive qualitative methods with data collection techniques using literature studies. This study reveals that the strategy that can be used in dealing with the threat of VUCA is to apply VUCA Prime, namely by implementing Vision, Understanding, Clarity, and Agility adapted to the vision of Indonesia Emas 2045 in developing maritime development policies and strategies to be able to make Indonesia a center of world's maritime civilization.

KEYWORDS – North Natuna Sea, South China Sea, VUCA

I. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is an archipelagic country that has a geographical condition that is dominated by very large waters. With a very large sea area, Indonesia is bordered by many countries which increases the possibility of friction between countries. Indonesia's strategic location where it is in a cross position which makes the sea area an international crossing area and has the potential of abundant marine resources allows Indonesian territory to be claimed by other countries if it is not properly guarded and dealt with firmly. One of Indonesia's regions that is very rich in marine resources is the Natuna Sea with a sustainable potential of 767,126 tons in WPP 711 (Karimata Strait Waters, Natuna Sea, South China Sea) (Dinas Kelautan dan Perikanan, 2022). This potential comes from aquaculture, capture fisheries and marine space management, if this potential is utilized optimally it will increase income for the state and provide benefits for communities around the sea or coastal communities.

The North Natuna Sea, which is located in the Riau Archipelago, directly adjacent to the South China Sea, is Indonesia's sovereign territory, and has a wealth of natural resources that makes this area want to be controlled by China on the basis of the nine-dash line. The Natuna Sea is divided into two parts, namely the West Natuna Basin and the East Natuna Basin. The area of the Natuna Sea itself is 3.5 million square meters with abundant natural wealth, both from marine fisheries, natural gas, and oil. The amount of natural wealth is

considered very large, so that with maximum utilization it will provide benefits for Indonesia. This very abundant natural wealth will indeed be very beneficial for Indonesia, but at the same time this potential poses a threat to marine security for Indonesia, the North Natuna Sea, which is Indonesia's sovereign territory, is an area that is also highly desired by China. The North Natuna Sea, which borders the South China Sea to the south, is said to be China's right on the basis of a traditional fishing ground marked with nine-dash lines. With this line, most of the South China Sea belongs to China.

These difficult conditions and situations can be categorized as VUCA threats, where changes occur very quickly and cause volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity. This drastic and sudden change began when China claimed maritime territory on a historical basis not recognized by international law, namely UNCLOS 1982. This claim began in August 1951 when Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai declared China's ownership of the Paracel and Spratly islands (Gerald, 2020). This unilateral step led to the outbreak of conflict with four countries, namely the Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam.

The four countries involved in this conflict feel that this claim by China is unfair because the Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam also have claims to parts of the South China Sea as part of their country's Exclusive Economic Zone. This claim then makes the relations of these countries unstable which can pose a threat to the area around the South China Sea because all parties want to fight for their interests over the territory they claim within their sovereign territory.

The dispute in the South China Sea is about claiming ownership of the island into their country's territory, but this dispute does not touch the maritime boundary line so that Indonesia is not a conflicted country. However, several facts reveal that of the nine-dash lines claimed by China, one of which is included in the 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zone of Indonesia, this is actually difficult to ascertain because there are no exact coordinate data points regarding the exact location of the nine-dash lines claimed by China. This is coupled with America's entry into the South China Sea with the desire to uphold freedom of navigation or freedom of states in the South China Sea, by building several military bases, such as in Australia and the Philippines. America is also cooperating with India to emphasize the importance of maintaining stability in the Pacific and Indian regions. The South China Sea area is a contest of influence between the United States and China. In 2016 the Philippines won a lawsuit at the International Court of Arbitration, which in essence is not recognizing China's territorial claims and traditional fishing grounds which China has always argued for (Gerald, 2020).

Indonesia here is a region that is not in dispute but is in the region, so Indonesia must have resilience so that its territory is not arbitrarily claimed by other countries. The step taken by the Indonesian government is to rename the area in the Natuna Islands to the North Natuna Sea, Indonesia no longer uses the name South China Sea, even though it was rejected by the Chinese government, but the toponymy carried out by Indonesia is in accordance with regulated international law. This name change is because this sea area is an Exclusive Economic Zone area belonging to Indonesia, so the Chinese government cannot sue Indonesia regarding the change in the name of the North Natuna Sea to the International Court of Justice. China persists with its claim to continue to enter the area around the Natuna Sea to take fish, this is a challenge for Indonesia to further strengthen and maintain its sovereign territory. Indonesia requires certain steps to deal with this threat which is categorized as a VUCA threat.

A previous study by Mulyadi and Lukman entitled "Optimasi Nilai-Nilai Pancasila Di Era Vuca Perspektif Strategi Perang Semesta", explained the VUCA situation which is a volatile, uncertain, complex, and fuzzy situation or ambiguity, where the researcher believes this will make the values of Pancasila vulnerable, especially the value of Indonesian Unity. So this research was conducted to find a universal strategy, throughout the region, by all Indonesian people towards the values of Pancasila in the VUCA Era. Then the research conducted by Gerald with the title "Peran Strategis Indonesia dalam Penyelesaian Konflik Laut China Selatan dalam Perspektif Stabilitas Keamanan Regional", where the researcher explains that Indonesia's current strategic role is as a security guard country in the Southeast Asia region from the threat of open war in the South China Sea. In addition, Indonesia has always been the initiator of negotiations on the settlement of the South China Sea

dispute. This study discusses the strategy that Indonesia has taken to avoid the threat of war by conducting diplomacy in international forums.

The difference between the current research compared to previous studies is that the two previous studies did not specifically discuss strategies for dealing with the VUCA era from the Indonesian side to deal with disputes in the Natuna Sea. The argument expressed in this research regarding the strategy that can be applied by Indonesia to deal with the threat of disputes in the Natuna Sea is to carry out Indonesia's long-term vision, where the plan that has been formulated, namely Indonesia Emas 2045 can be used as a guideline for the government to develop policies and strategies for good maritime development by the current and future governments. Based on this background, this research aims to discuss issues related to the best strategy used by Indonesia in dealing with the Natuna Sea dispute so that it can maintain Indonesia's territorial sovereignty from the threat of territorial seizures on non-lawful grounds.

This article will have 2 sections of discussion. The first discussion will discuss China's unilateral claim to the North Natuna Sea. The second discussion, Implementation of VUCA Prime Strategy by Indonesia on China's claims.

II. LITERATURE RESEARCH

VUCA is an acronym for volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity. The term VUCA appeared in the leadership theory of Warren Bennis and Burt Nanus in 1987. The first component of VUCA is volatility. Volatility is a condition of instability caused by drastic or rapid changes (Kail, 2010). The challenges are unpredictable and may be of unknown duration (Bennett & Lemoine, 2014). This VUCA situation is said to make humans vulnerable (Bakrie, 2020).

Uncertainty can be said to be difficult to find out more about what events and events have occurred and will occur in the future so it is necessary to prepare strategies and policies and even cooperation in order to reduce the negative impact of the threat of uncertainty.

Complexity means that there is complexity in a situation, even an organization. In such a situation, if the preparation is not mature then what happens is chaos, difficulty finding the cause and way out of a problem, a lot of things that make complexity happen such as the emergence of new powers in the world order, technological progress is marked by the information technology advance, globalization, the emergence of overlapping policies, the interests of the hegemonic parties and various other things. The term used by Ronald Heifetz to name a condition in which the complexity of various situations occurs and the reason for this occurs is an adaptive challenge.

Furthermore, the definition of ambiguity is all blurry (Bakrie, 2020). So that it can be said that in reality it feels uncertain, unpredictable, not clear, so that decision makers cannot see a clear picture when formulating a policy or making decisions. Is the solution chosen is the best and most appropriate to carry out to achieve the expected goals or results. A state of ambiguity is felt when faced with the challenges, all the steps faced when conceptualizing become unpredictable, so it will be difficult to determine a solution.

With the threat of VUCA, stakeholders can use a framework called VUCA Prime. Johansen said to see VUCA as something more positive, so the VUCA Prime paradigm emerged, which is Vision, Understanding, Clarity, Agility.

Dealing with Volatility with Vision, this can be seen, namely accepting changes that occur as part of the work environment and starting to set goals and build a clear shared vision of plans for the future. Stakeholders can also set a goal that is flexible so that it will help steer the situation when it becomes uncertain. Vision itself can be understood not to predict what will happen in the future but to design the future by acting as much as possible.

Furthermore, Uncertainty can be overcome by Understanding, which is trying to understand the surrounding conditions and taking other perspectives to be able to respond to threats from uncertain circumstances, implemented in new and out of the box actions. So that if a similar threat occurs, they will get used to dealing with it and already have a way to survive.

Then face Complexity with Clarity, which is trying to establish the best possible communication with various related parties, establish clear cooperation, build and develop groups. This VUCA situation is often difficult to handle without a solid cooperation, without a well-thought-out plan and strategy, it will be difficult to overcome this obstacle. And the last is to face Ambiguity with Agility, namely the agility to deal with various changes that occur, encourage flexibility, get used to adapting to complex events.

Winning in the VUCA world requires the ability to simultaneously manage the short-term and long-term goals of a plan that presupposes "success is not the end, failure is not fatal: it is the courage to continue that counts" (Manwani. H., 2013). To deal with VUCA situations, individuals or groups, organizations need to act and think outside the box.

III. RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses descriptive qualitative methods, which according to Sugiyono (2016) qualitative research methods are research methods used to examine the condition of natural objects where the researcher is the key instrument. Furthermore, the research design used is literature review. Literature review is research that examines or critically reviews knowledge, ideas, or findings contained in the body of academic-oriented literature, as well as formulating theoretical and methodological contributions to certain topics (Cooper, 2010).

The data collection technique in this study used a literature study. Literature study itself is a way to collect data and sources related to the thing being studied in a study. After the required data has been collected, descriptive analysis is then carried out, namely the process of parsing the data that has been obtained, then explained so that the explanation can be understood by the reader.

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1.1. China's Unilateral Claims on the North Natuna Sea

The North Natuna Sea is a sovereign area of Indonesia which is located directly adjacent to the South China Sea, to be precise in the southern part. The South China Sea area is considered a very strategic area, has a lot of potential for abundant marine resources, this sea is also an international route for ships to pass, the South China Sea borders many countries in Southeast Asia and China directly so that many countries want to control parts of the South China Sea.



Source: Marsetio, FGD Laut China Selatan Doktor Unhan, 2018

China began claiming most of the South China Sea as its own on the basis of the nine-dash line on the Chinese map. China says that this area is a traditional fishing ground, based on the existence of historical documents and maps, making China claim on historical grounds to recognize most of the South China Sea.

As is known, this claim was submitted unilaterally by China, causing many complaints to come from other countries around the South China Sea because it is unreasonable and violates the rules agreed upon in international law, namely UNCLOS 1982. Chinese ships are exploiting and enter the South China Sea area which should not be its sovereign territory without permission. Not only that, China also carries out development activities, such as constructing permanent buildings in the South China Sea, increasing fishing vessels, building military bases, besides placing warships on patrol (Gerald, 2020).

UNCLOS 1982 became the legal basis for Indonesia in dealing with China's unilateral claims to the South China Sea. UNCLOS 1982 itself is a United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, where the Indonesian Exclusive Economic Zone (ZEEI) in Natuna waters is a sovereign territory of Indonesia. China's historical claims do not make the Chinese state the right to operate without permission in this region because their claims are not legally enforceable which are recognized by many countries, namely UNCLOS 1982.

1.2. Implementation of VUCA Prime Strategy by Indonesia on China's claims

With the threat of VUCA as discussed earlier that stakeholders can use a framework called VUCA Prime. The VUCA Prime paradigm expressed by Bob Johansen is to see VUCA as something more positive, namely Vision, Understanding, Clarity, Agility. Indonesia in its efforts to maintain state sovereignty, carries out various strategies so that Indonesian waters can be protected from those who want to control them.

Dealing with Volatility with Vision, this can be seen, namely accepting changes that occur as part of the work environment and starting to set goals and build a clear shared vision of plans for the future. The development of this vision is carried out in order to realize Indonesia which is expected by all Indonesian people. The vision specified in the Ringkasan Eksekutif Visi Indonesia 2045 issued by Bappenas in 2019 is Indonesia as the Global Maritime Axis in 2024.

Geographically, Indonesia is a strategic country position, where its location is between two continents, namely the continents of Asia and Australia and between two oceans, namely the Pacific Ocean and the Indian

Ocean. This position is strategic because it is an international crossing route where around 90% of global trade is transported by sea, 40% of which passes through Indonesian waters (Ma'ruf Amin, dalam Musyawarah Nasional ke-II Aspekindo, 2021) so that with planned management it will encourage the achievement of Indonesia's vision to become the global maritime axis. In all efforts to resolve disputes in the South China Sea, the Indonesian government makes decisions in the form of policies and regulations based on Indonesia's predetermined vision and mission, namely the Global Maritime Axis.

The Global Maritime Axis Policy is Indonesia's effort to develop the marine sector in various aspects during the administration of President Jokowi (Nainggolan, 2015). The President has given a speech about his ambition to make Indonesia a Global Maritime Axis at the 9th East Asia Summit (EAS) on November 13, 2014 in Nay Pyi Taw, Myanmar (Nainggolan, 2015). This development includes improving port infrastructure, ships and connecting each region by sea.

With the vision and mission that has been determined, it provides guidance and direction for the government in designing policies and regulations in an effort to give more attention to Indonesia's marine areas. Thus the problems and threats that often interfere with Indonesia's marine areas, such as illegal fishing, marine damage due to pollution, to the very main problem, namely Indonesia's sovereign territory which is claimed as a legal area for Chinese fishermen to take fish in the North Natuna Sea, can be resolved and handled well by the Indonesian government.

The next VUCA threat is Uncertainty which can be overcome by Understanding, where the government sees and understands the existing issues and then determines better steps and ways to act in order to overcome the threat of uncertainty in the geopolitical environment, so that in the future Indonesia can overcome similar threats. or other similar threats of uncertainty. In the fourth pillar of Indonesia's 2045 vision, namely strengthening national resilience and governance, it includes strengthening defense and security. In an effort to achieve Indonesia as the Global Maritime Axis, one of the defense and security efforts was then strengthened in Indonesian waters, namely by increasing the strength of the Indonesian Navy, BAKAMLA, and other government institutions such as the KKP, the Director General of Customs and Excise, in strengthening Indonesia's defense line in the sea area, as well as stipulating sanctions for violations committed by foreign nationals in the Indonesian seas.

In particular, Indonesia assigned the military to carry out strict supervision to prevent the entry of foreign ships into the Indonesian Sea area, this policy was carried out by increasing the number of warships plus complete tools to guard Indonesia's outer lines and areas prone to infiltration by foreign ships. This operation is carried out for a maximum of 24 hours. China's efforts to claim most of the South China Sea on the basis of the nine-dash line have made China brave enough to let its fishermen take fish in areas that are part of Indonesia's EEZ. For this reason, Indonesia does not want the previous weak supervision to occur again, so that China and other countries carelessly enter Indonesian territory and take fish in areas where only Indonesian fishermen should have the right to take the fish. If this is allowed to continue, the fish in Indonesian waters will decrease a lot but will not give the benefit to Indonesia because the fish are brought by them to be sold outside the territory of Indonesia.

Next, Solve Complexity with Clarity, which is trying to establish the best possible communication with various related parties, establish clear cooperation, build and develop groups. This VUCA situation is often difficult to handle without a solid cooperation, without a well-thought-out plan and strategy, it will be difficult to overcome this obstacle. In carrying out the vision of Indonesia 2045 for Indonesia to become the Global Maritime Axis, there are four pillars based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution (UUD 1945) as the basis of the nation, state and constitution. The four pillars are human development and mastery of science and technology, sustainable economic development, equitable development, strengthening national resilience and good governance. To be able to realize this, one way is to build cooperation with other countries.

The implementation of clarity is shown by Indonesia by collaborating, one of which is with the United States in the maritime sector. This cooperation will be a bridge for the two countries to support each other's interests, protect the oceans from new threats to the region that can cause instability in the Indo Pacific region, and introduce development in the marine sector. There are several main initiatives in the maritime sector which of course maintain the security of Indonesia's marine areas from threats and disturbances to the territorial sovereignty of Indonesian waters. In building this new partnership, the United States and Indonesia cooperate with each other in eradicating violations of illegal, unreported, unregulated (IUU) fishing to the Asean region and preventing security threats in the sea transportation sector. In the framework of this collaboration, the US Agency for International Development (USAID), the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), the Department of Justice, and the US Department of Defense will support Indonesia to provide good technology, integrated systems, and in training to increase human resource capacity. .

In addition, Indonesia takes advantage of its strategic role in cooperation with Southeast Asian or Asean countries with the aim of carrying out world order based on independence, eternal peace and social justice. A further step towards this goal is to participate in encouraging efforts to maintain stability in the Asean region and avoid the outbreak of open war which can only harm the warring countries and countries around the conflict areas. Indonesia seeks to emphasize the importance of resolving problems through negotiation and diplomacy, the four countries in Southeast Asia that have problems over the nine-dash line claims in the South China Sea are the Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam, in an effort to reject China's claims, the Philippines finally brought this case to the International Court of Arbitration in 2016, and succeeded in winning his lawsuit and the EEZ area which is said to be a traditional fishing ground area does not belong to China and still belongs to the Philippines.

This clarity strategy is implemented by Indonesia based on the vision of Indonesia 2045 with improved communication, compact cooperation, careful strategic planning, so that the conflict in the South China Sea does not trigger a deeper conflict that can create new threats, namely war in the Indo Pacific region. China in the region also made America start to enter the region in order to emphasize the rules of freedom of navigation in the South China Sea, the existence of these two powers in the Indopacific region, requires Indonesia to take careful steps in carrying out strategy and diplomacy in order to keep the situation and situation safe and under control.

The last one then is to overcome Ambiguity with Agility, namely the agility to deal with various changes that occur, encourage flexibility, get used to adapting to complex events. Indonesia formulated the vision of Indonesia Emas 2045 and in developing policies and strategies for maritime development in Indonesia's National Medium-Term Development Plan (Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional/RPJMN).

Indonesia is building a plan to lead Indonesia to become the center of world maritime civilization, this is done with the aim of realizing Indonesia as an archipelagic country that is independent, advanced, strong, and based on national interests as the foundation towards Indonesia as the center of world maritime civilization, as stated in the Medium Term Development Plan National Maritime Affairs Sector 2020-2024.

In the 2020-2024 National Mid-Term Development Plan for the Maritime Sector, the development plan is detailed starting from 2020-2024, namely by increasing the development of the Indonesian archipelagic state, making Indonesia an archipelagic country that is independent, advanced, strong, and based on national interests as the foundation towards Indonesia center of the world's maritime civilization. Furthermore, in 2025-2029, by developing Indonesia as a strong maritime country by developing advanced and balanced connectivity infrastructure integrated with increasing industrial competitiveness, both natural resource-based and advanced technology-based industries.

Years 2030-2034, seeks to develop Indonesia as a developed maritime country by developing industries supported by advanced technology and artificial intelligence as well as human resources with maritime character.

In 2035-2039, Indonesia will develop as an independent maritime country by developing industrial competitiveness based on advanced technology and increasing the added value of natural resources and the environment with the support of advanced human resources and strong character and the upholding of maritime sovereignty.

Until finally, 2040-2045 can make Indonesia the center of world maritime civilization which is characterized by high national competitiveness supported by advanced and balanced infrastructure between regions, competitively superior industry and natural resource products with high added value, supported by human resources, advanced and strong maritime diplomacy.

V. CONCLUSION

China claims that most of the South China Sea belongs to China on the historical basis that the traditional fishing ground is marked by nine-dash lines, but this claim is not recognized by international law, namely UNCLOS 1982. The North Natuna Sea, which is located in the Riau Archipelago, is directly adjacent to The South China Sea is Indonesia's sovereign territory, but this area is also wanted by China so that appropriate steps are needed to minimize the threat to maritime security for Indonesia. These difficult conditions and situations can be categorized as VUCA threats, where changes occur very quickly and cause volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity. This VUCA condition can be faced with VUCA Prime.

Indonesia seeks to deal with Volatility with Vision, namely by realizing Indonesia's vision to become the Global Maritime Axis. Furthermore, overcoming Uncertainty with Understanding, namely by focusing defense and security efforts on strengthening Indonesian waters by adding military forces that strengthen Indonesia's defense line in the sea area. Then by completing Complexity with Clarity, which is done by collaborating with other countries. Then handle Ambiguity with Agility, where Indonesia formulates the vision of Indonesia Emas 2045 and in developing maritime development policies and strategies to be able to make Indonesia the center of world maritime civilization which is characterized by high national competitiveness supported by advanced and balanced infrastructure between regions, industries that are competitive advantage and natural resource products with high added value, supported by advanced human resources and strong maritime diplomacy.

VI. Acknowledgements

The author would like to say thank you to the several parties, because without their help and support, this article would never be completed, first thank you to Vice Admiral Indonesian Army Dr. A. Octavian, S.T., M.Sc., DESD., CIQnR., CIQaR, IPU, as Chancellor of Republic Indonesia Defense University. Then, Major General Indonesian Army Dr. Ir. Pujo Widodo S.E., S.H., S.T., M.A., M.Si., M.D.S., M.Si(Han), as Dean of National Security Faculty, Republic Indonesia Defense University. Dr. Herlina Juni Risma Saragih, M.Si. CIQnR. CIQaR as Vice Dean Faculty of National Security. And COLONEL Indonesian Army Dr. Panji Suwarno, S.E., M.SI., CIQnR, Head of Maritime Security Study Program, The Republic Of Indonesia Defense University.

REFERENCES

- [1] Amin, Ma'ruf. (2021). Dalam Musyawarah Nasional Ke-II Asosiasi Pemerintah Daerah Kepulauan dan Pesisir (Aspeksindo). 08 Oktober 2021.
- [2] Bappenas. (2019). Ringkasan Eksekutif Visi Indonesia 2045. Jakarta: Bappenas.
- [3] Baran, E Benjamin, Woznyj Haley M. (2019). Managing VUCA: The human dynamics of agility. Organizational Dyamic, pp.11.
- [4] Bennett, Nathan, G. James Lemoine. (2014). What a difference a word makes: Understanding threats to performance in a VUCA world. Business Horizons.

-
- [5] Dishidros Dinas Hidro-oceanografi. (2015). Daftar pasang surut tide tables tahun 2015 : kepulauan Indonesia Indonesia archipelago. Jakarta: TNI-AL Dihidros.
- [6] Gerald Theodorus L.Toruan. (2020). Peran Strategis Indonesia dalam Penyelesaian Konflik Laut China Selatan dalam Perspektif Stabilitas Keamanan Regional. *Jurnal Keamanan Nasional*: <https://ojs.ubharajaya.ac.id/index.php/kamnas/article/view/449>.
- [7] Johansen. Bob. (2007). *Get There Early*, Berrett-Koehler Publishers. ISBN: 9781576754405.
- [8] Johansen, Bob. (2009). *Leaders Make the Future: Ten New Leadership Skills for Uncertain World*. Chicago: Berrett-Koehler Publisher, Inc.
- [9] Kail, Robert.V, Cavanaugh.J.C. (2000). *Human Development : A life Span View 2th ed.*United States : Wadsworth Thomson Learning.
- [10] Kemenkomarves. (2019). *Rencana Strategis Deputi Bidang Koordinasi Kedaulatan Maritim dan Energi 2020-2024*. Jakarta: Kementerian Koordinator Bidang Kemaritiman dan Investasi.
- [11] Kemenkomarves. (2019). *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional Bidang Kemaritiman 2020-2024*. Jakarta: Kementerian Koordinator Bidang Kemaritiman dan Investasi.
- [12] Mulyadi & Lukman Yudho. (2021). Optimasi Nilai-Nilai Pancasila Di Era Vuca Perspektif Strategi Perang Semesta. *Jurnal Inovasi Penelitian*: <https://stp-mataram.e-journal.id/JIP/article/view/651>.
- [13] Nainggolan, Poltak Partogi. (2015). *Kebijakan PMD Joko Widodo*. Jakarta: Pusat Pengkajian, Pengolahan Data dan Informasi (P3DI) Sekretariat Jenderal DPR RI.