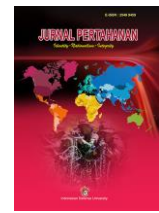




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COVID-19, SECURITIZATION, AND TERRORISM: NATIONAL SECURITY CHANGE MANAGEMENT DILEMMA

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Abstract

The Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19) pandemic is spreading globally, including in Indonesia, with a significant impact not only in limited a sphere of the threat to public health. The Covid-19 pandemic shaped social phenomenon followed by the changes in the social order of life into the securitization process with multi-dimensional impacts. Due to restrictions extensively, society's liability realities become an opening fissure for terrorist groups to persist in their actions. This rational context raises awareness for the State as State-actor in the security realm to generate security for its people. This paper aims to analyze how the expansion of the Covid-19 outbreak with multi-dimensional impacts in the securitization approach, counting terrorism expansion, and how the State dealing with as a State-actor. Using a qualitative approach, the authors expound on national security and change management theory, illustrating how the Government is a state-actor within its strategy. In responding to the emerging constellation, there are various dynamic challenges for the Government, within its central powers and regional authorities, toward change management dilemmas in the context of national security. At the end of the discussion, it portrays the urgency of responding to the strategic changes in the framework of change management under the top leader's forceful strategic leaderships in integrating all components of the nation.

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INTRODUCTION

The Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19) pandemic came as a disaster with significant meaning to the security realm, marked by public health consequences for sustainability in political, economic, social, security, and national defense. As if playing

a role after 9/11, which put terrorism at the forefront of the national security agenda, Covid-19 changed national security priorities. Securitization in the health sector has given space for implementing measures to deal with the Covid-19 outbreak that is unable to be managed symmetrically.

Almost every country is disrupted with handling measures national-oriented internally since the Covid-19 widespread expansively in almost evenly distributed throughout the world. The international communities seem to have lost momentum in developing multilateral strategic responses in dealing with the pandemic and building a health system sustainably in contending with the virus outbreak's shocks in the future.

In the national sphere, Indonesia also experienced the shock of the Covid-19 pandemic attack in early March 2020, where previously, it was confident that there was no Covid-19 with permissive arguments that it does not exist in the tropics. Since the first discovery in two Depok residents in early March 2020 (Ihsanuddin, 2020), the Covid-19 case has continued to experience an escalating tendency to date in several cities in Indonesia, especially the capital Jakarta. The Covid-19 pandemic hitting Indonesia currently has caused various impacts not only on public health issues but also on collateral implications for more complex dimensions, from economic, political to security and defense.

On the other hand, with types of measures restrictive broadly, it is recognized that these steps can reduce the spread of Covid-19 in the community. This condition becomes a different obstacle for various criminal activities, including terrorism. In reality, social phenomena also experience changes in various social life activities with their positive and negative impacts. Multi-dimensional problems, including terrorism, as a result of the Covid-19 outbreaks, are becoming increasingly complex. As a necessity for Indonesia, it is not easy to respond to the Covid-19 pandemic with partial-handling steps as the dimensional impact changes Indonesia's national security and state defense order. Through this paper, the authors discuss how the complexity of the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic with the securitization

approach and how the development of terrorism in this constellation is seen as a dilemma for national security.

METHODS

The authors use qualitative methods in discussing the focused substance within this paper in narrating how the Covid-19 pandemic affects not only social individuals as a form of individual health but also develops broadly in multi-dimensions towards threats to national security. The Covid-19 pandemic drives human health threats leading to securitization and the short-term impact of terrorism. Some of the information and data used in analyzing the focused substance were obtained from open sources, including mass media, electronic media, literature, and other open sources.

The authors use qualitative methods to discuss the focused substance in this paper narrating how the Covid-19 outbreak influences social individuals as human health and growing widely in multi-dimensional to national security. Covid-19 pandemic impelled human health threats toward securitization matter and its short-term impacts on terrorism. Several information and data used in analyzing the focused substance were acquired from open sources, both from mass media, electronic media, literature, and other exposed sources.

National Security

Paleri (2010) mentioned that:

national security is the measurable state of the capability of a nation to overcome the multi-dimensional threats...by balancing all instruments of state policy through governance (p. 521).

This articulation provides an understanding that national security is a measurable state capability in overcoming multi-dimensional threat problems by managing all national instruments through government policies in a balanced manner. The balance of all national instruments' use becomes an urgency in national security by utilizing

them based on each instrument functionally and building them into a collective force. In this context, when facing multi-dimensional threats, integrated government policy is a necessity and becomes a guideline for all government levels, both at the central and regional levels.

Change Management

In terms of change management, Anderson D. and Anderson L.A. (2001) explained that change management is an attempt to find solutions to two focal problems facing transformational change, how to plan for better implementation, and how to trounce personnel resistance, is not sufficient to achieve constructive results (p. 2). The essence of this theory explains that change management is something good, where management adjustments need to be made in facing transformational change. However, it looks insufficient due to personnel or organizational elements dispensing with the challenges that emerge dynamically, leading to failure. In this regard, it is necessary to realize a change in leadership that allows for strategic transformation through an oriented and integrated process.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Covid-19 in Indonesia

On March 2, 2020, the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Mr. Joko Widodo, accompanied by Minister of Health Terawan Agus Putranto, announced the first positive case of Covid-19 in Indonesia struck two residents (Mother-Child) in Depok (Ihsanuddin, 2020). The Ministry of Health dispatched teams to trace the two Depok residents' outbreaks' primary source, followed by the residence isolation mechanism and further monitoring. With the discovery of the first positive case of Covid-19, the thesis saying that it is impossible Covid-19 exist in tropical countries, especially in Indonesia, is rescinded. Meanwhile, FKM-UI monitoring reports that Covid-19 has entered Indonesia

in the 3rd week of January 2020, based on people under monitoring (ODP) reports in a particular area (Detik.com, 2020).

The findings of FKM-UI eventually reaped public responses, among many of which emerged were assessments that revealed the Government's protracted efforts to prevent the widespread of Covid-19. By the official announcement in early March 2020, the Government began taking monitoring measures to prevent the widespread of Covid-19. In the first week of February 2020, the Government stopped all flights from China and revoked visa granting and visa on arrival for Chinese citizens. In the first week of March 2020, the Government issued five main protocols preventing Covid-19, including health protocols, communication protocols, border surveillance protocols, educational institution area protocols, and public area and transportation protocols (Kemenkes RI, 2020). Moreover, on March 14, 2020, the Government officially declared the Covid-19 pandemic a national disaster.

The Government's countermeasures dealing with Covid-19 outbreaks do not stop at this point, yet realizing nationwide, e.g., inter-city transportation restrictions, work from home, online learning, office hours, quarantine, and others up to the establishment of the Covid-19 Task Force. In Presidential Decree Number 7 of 2020 concerning the Task Force for the Acceleration of Handling Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19), it explains the organizational structure of the task force containing the direction level consist of the Coordinating Minister for Human Development and Culture, Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs, Minister of Health and Ministry of Finance, and operational level headed by the Chairperson of the BNPB and 12 members from Ministries and Institutions. The imperative mandate carried out is to coordinating and controlling the implementation of all activities need to accelerate the handling of Covid-19 by

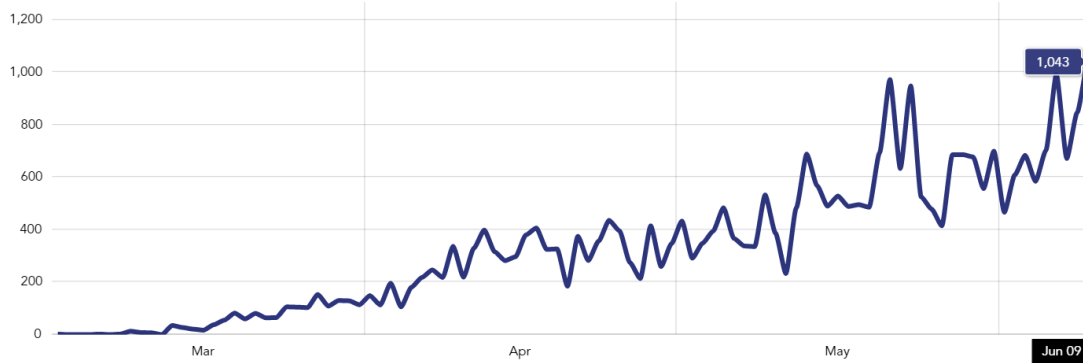


Figure 1. Positive Confirmed Cases of Covid-19 Per-Day
Source: Covid19.go.id, 2020

mobilizing all resources. A week after passed through, the Government revised the decision by issuing Presidential Decree No. 9 of 2020, with significant changes in entangling 23 Ministers and 8 Heads of Institutions and 33 elements of Ministries and Institutions.

Since the first positive case, the Covid-19 is increasing dynamically with such intrigues in various fields of lives in society, nation, and State. Multiple responses, comments, and attitudes were showing up side by side with the emerging-dynamics. Several regions are now starting to think about reducing supervision and control's tightness to balance economic activities and social lives. However, until now, the number of Covid-19 cases still shows an escalating trend. Based on account of the Covid-19 case-control record as of June 9, 2020, it recorded 1043 cases throughout Indonesia, with a total of 33.076 cases, 19.739 in treatment, 11.414 recovered, and 19.923 deaths (Covid-19.go.id, 2020). We can see the escalating trend in Figure 1.

Individual Securitization and National Security

Maintaining survival is fundamentally the highest need and desire, besides becoming a real impetus for every security actor in all kinds of efforts to respond and face insecurity caused by a mishmash of threats as external factors and vulnerability (Buzan, 1983, pp. 73–74). Non-traditional security within the securitization process

has increasingly been experienced after the Cold War in dynamic development with complex political, economic, social, energy, environmental, and others, both in the inter-relations and inter-influence. In this context, it is necessary to consolidate security analysis in analysis levels based on the complexity of the problems or cases dimensionally, counting the intricacy of the actors' involvement. Even though state actors are dominant, non-state actors' involvement in their contributions remains a discourse in security realms.

Individual security developing in more complex spheres based on the individual sovereignty concept often become the main object in the analysis process as the Welsh School popularized the human security perspective (Hasan Hama, 2017). By setting individual security as the object in security, the human security perspective places the State's existence in security calculations. Individual security becomes an inseparable part of the interaction pattern between individuals and the State, where individuals are objects of the national ends. With all national resources and instruments, the State has intentional means designed in a strategic architecture in possible endeavors (ways). As the main actor, the State creates a sense of security for each individual or social group as described by Sørensen (1996) that individual security is a primary concern. Through this approach, on events affected to human security, the State will take and use its role as the main actor and in

line with consequencing efforts to defend itself, as Deibel (2007, p. 125) emphasized as imperative of survival, over the people.

Securitization on pandemic is driven by normative demands for human development and as a step to increase awareness of the potential threat of bioterrorism (Ackerman & Peterson, 2020; Heymann, 2003). Even though Covid-19 is not a biological weapon, as professionals said (Atam et al., 2020), a paradoxical phenomenon seems to have occurred in the case of Covid-19 outbreaks. Even though the securities are on set at the global level, this pandemic seems to undermine globalization, whereas each country relies more on its capabilities to maintain its citizens' health security (The Economist, 2020). The Covid-19 pandemic developing in this context is seen as a threat to individual humans and assessed as a threat that could endanger the survival of human kinds. State behavior, as the collective behavior of social communities, and upon the imperative responsibility as the main actor, responds to the widespread threat of Covid-19 in its natural ways, so that how stimulated to expand into contestations between countries on a more complex dimension.

The factual reality of what has happened to many countries worldwide over the Covid-19 pandemic, like it or not, is also occurring in Indonesia nowadays. The Covid-19 pandemic has shown a conscious contextualization of events, with a comprehensive multi-dimensional impact, which can be interpreted not only as an event concerning individual human health (Human Health). However, it has also increased at the level of human security, even penetrating the issue of national security in wider dimensions. The rivalry between the United States and China, triggered by the Covid-19 epidemic, is increasingly showing its real opposition, not only in the race for vaccine discovery but also in military tensions in the South China Sea (Beech, 2020). In the meantime,

many countries impose restrictions on border areas, causing a drastic decline in the tourism business and delays in the flow of goods and services. Eventually, each country protects each other.

Covid-19 and Terrorism

Since the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia, Indonesia has gradually implemented various regions' restrictions. Although they do not impose an absolute lockdown, the Central Government and several Regional Governments to reduce and localize the spread of the virus, have implemented large-scale social restrictions (PSBB) such as dismissing schools and office activities, limiting transportation, restricting religious activities, maintaining distance in public spaces. (social distancing), closing/limiting various public spaces and public facilities, including a curfew's imposition in several areas. The Central Government and Local Governments have also strictly restricted people's mobility between cities and between provinces for several months, followed by strict checks of some of the entrances between cities. The community needs to meet several requirements to be able to travel between cities. The PSBB policy of the Central Government and local governments has made the mobility of the community not free and increasingly limited.

The PSBB policies of the Central Government and Local Governments have a broad impact on all levels of society's personal life and social life in various dimensions of life. The widespread impact of the Covid-19 pandemic has been responded to variously by terrorist activist groups in the country. Naturally, terrorists try to guard themselves to avoid contracting Covid-19, as explained by Zachary Abuza and Alif Satria (2020) that some terrorists react to it in a religious context to avoid Covid-19, so they have to stay at home. Efforts to protect themselves are also being carried out to avoid the spread of Covid-19

in the internal sphere, although some groups take advantage of the conditions of the Covid-19 pandemic to take action (Abuza & Satria, 2020). The Covid-19 pandemic, with its economic impact broadly in the community, also affects funding for various internal and external activities of terrorist groups (Arianti & Muh Taufiqurrohman, 2020). This reality does not necessarily stop terrorism activities entirely.

When the discourse related to terrorism is presented, many important things can be discussed, both at the academic, operational, and policy levels. However, in general, the discussion about terrorism cannot be separated from doctrine, recruitment, spread, and movement. The limited mobility and the drastic reduction of the social community based on the PSBB policy due to the Covid-19 pandemic have affected the community's limited-flexibility for various terrorist field-activities. With its various activities in normal conditions, the community's life is also active protection for the terrorism physically-movement, both for recruitment goals, distribution, and movement. This situation becomes a different obstacle for terrorist groups in developing their actions (Silke, 2020). As the UN Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate Report (2020) describes the short-term impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on terrorist actors in the form of negative impacts on operational activities, resources, and popularity. The question in this context is whether the Covid-19 pandemic naturally killed the terrorism movement in Indonesia.

Terrorism, which relies on asymmetrical movements in spreading doctrine, recruitment, and carrying out its actions in the field, basically has a strong psychological character of ideological struggle (Borum, 2004, p. 33). The clandestine method has also experienced developments following the times and the advancement of the community's social order. Based on an ideological paradigm with a belief in their struggle principles,

terrorism groups basically will not stop acting in their various fighting activities just because of the Covid-19 pandemic. On the one hand, conditions do not allow acts of terror with violence. On the other hand, the struggle for doctrine and dissemination of understanding allows it to be developed using various communication methods developed during the current pandemic, such as video conferencing.

Various restrictions in public space due to the Covid-19 pandemic have had a vast economic impact. Many people have lost their jobs, reduced income, increased prices for public consumption, and other necessities have increasingly pressed people's lives amid concerns over the pandemic itself. The vulnerability of people's conditions in the social community allows, with psychological instability, it is possible to find alternatives to their lives. This liability opens up space for terrorist groups to expand radicalism (Ackerman & Peterson, 2020).

The condition of a vulnerable society like this has become an easy target to instill radicalism, coupled with the various restrictions that are still in effect today, it also becomes difficult in itself to control it, as Coleman (2020) reinforce the potential for terrorist groups to exploit their liabilities to gain advantage or strengthen their strength. Various social activities of the community, on the one hand, reduce the interaction of the physical interactions of the social life of the community against acts of terrorism, on the other hand, the socio-economic realities due to Covid-19 increase the social vulnerability of the community to radicalism thoughts.

This real fact was confirmed by Komjen Pol Boy Rafli Amar that radical groups were still actively carrying out their actions with recruitment propaganda, online and offline (Puspa Sari, 2020). Although radicalism in this context is still at the level of ideological radicalism (Borum, 2011), the potential for the terrorism process is open to occur. The Covid-19 pandemic's

reality is clouding the securities process, which is homework for the State as the main actor.

National Security: Change Management Dilemma

In responding to the Covid-19 outbreaks, the Indonesian Government took steps to handle it as has been going on to date. Since the first Covid-19 case occurred in Wuhan, China, at the end of December 2019, it is clear that Indonesia has taken relatively no precautionary measures, while the case has rapidly spread to various countries in East Asia, Europe, and the Middle East. As if to believe in the statement that Covid-19 has not spread in the tropics, so that Indonesia has relatively taken no significant precautions, even though in the 3rd week of January 2020, positive cases of Covid-19 were found by FKM-UI. Various negative responses were addressed to the Government, which was considered slow, and even after the announcement of the first case by President Joko Widodo, steps seemed slow, and there were often changing policies.

The development of the Covid-19 pandemic with a multi-dimensional impact must be acknowledged as having touched the existence of national and State life. The case of Covid-19, with a multi-dimensional impact, can be studied by how this pandemic is developing in Wuhan and several other East Asian countries from various aspects of life. On the other hand, in real terms, although the various activities of terrorist groups have been limited by the implementation of the PSBB, in terms of doctrine and spread of ideology, radicalism remains open to penetrating and affecting the psychology of society. Moreover, the development of socio-economic pressures was added due to the widespread application of the PSBB.

This pandemic can be categorized as a threat to national security and national defense (Atam et al., 2020), given the widespread impact as a result. So it is only

natural that negative responses develop in highlighting government performance. Presidential Decree No. 7 of 2020 shows that the Government interprets the Covid-19 pandemic more from a public health perspective, marked by the task mandated more to concentrate on handling the spread of Covid-19. This is reinforced by the government apparatus's components involved that do not show the meaning that the Government's point of view is concentrated on issues of national security or national defense. Some local governments also show different views in their decisions and policies with the central Government.

This apparent paradox is that Indonesia has not yet established a National Security Council with applicable national security regulations. The practice of intelligence acquisition in providing strategic studies at the national level has been partial. The dichotomy of high state institutions and institutions' roles, institutional egoistic, political pragmatics, to centralized hegemony of power in one or several individual institutions are contradictory portraits. This reality is not following what the Government should do in responding to something with a national security approach, where problems need to be handled with measurable capabilities based on central government policies in dealing with multi-dimensional threats (Paleri, 2010, p. 521). It must be admitted that this is the negative side of national resource management, which can degrade national preparedness to respond and deal with various threats related to national security. This national contextual unwittingly becomes a management dilemma (Hülsmann, 2004).

Hülsmann, to overcome the management dilemma, explains several steps that can be taken, including the consistency of each system according to the demands of achieving national goals and securing its existence, avoiding friction between system structures and processes, and

intermediation of management functions (Hülsmann, 2004). In practice, it can be witnessed in public that several Ministries and Institutions and Local Governments show different implementation plans. Some regional heads expressed resistance to the decisions of the central Government. This real portrait shows an indication of change as such Aljohani (2016) describes by type operational change, strategic change, cultural change, political change, the problems, and challenges. It is also what Anderson D. and Anderson LA criticized. as traditional change management (2001, p. 30), while in the context of strategic change, speed and point of concentration (magnitude) are needed so that strategies can be realized quickly and adaptively. (Yaqun Yi et al., 2017).

The adjustments applied by the components of the nation seem to vary and work independently, so the Head of BNPB often calls on all components of the nation to unite (Hermawan, 2020; Wubowo, 2020). So that in the end, adjustments in change management in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic have not achieved satisfactory results. The system's existence in dealing with this constellation needs to be based on regulations that divide the roles and authorities of related institutions equally. Avoid overlapping tasks that can lead to friction between institutions and develop intermediation of management functions in state organizations accompanied by leaders' control with strong strategic leadership characteristics. The important thing that underlies the management dilemma strategy's implementation is a commitment to shared goals, namely national goals, and to be implemented sustainably.

Strategic Solution: National Defence Perspective

In general, science's philosophy is a process of breaking through the boundaries of science to reveal, describe, explain, and prove the truth of science. As in general, the

philosophy of science studies a science by parsing it from the perspective of ontology, epistemology, and axiology. In a philosophical approach, defense science is a reflection of state behavior in various efforts to maintain and develop the sustainability of the State in achieving its national goals (Riley, 2008). Defense science is related to the State, military, other components of the State besides the military, territory, strategy, military tactics, to how technology is developed to support it (Tippe, 2016, p. 53). State behavior in developing a defense strategy for its country can also be seen in how the defense is designed, military tactics are developed, including weapon preferences or weapons systems based on technological advances continuing to evolve relentlessly to be an option for the country.

Given the absence of an agreed concept of national security for Indonesia, implementing the State Defense Law can be a current solution in facing various challenges and threats following the strategic environment's development. The Law on National Defense regulated explicitly in Article 7, has divided military defense and non-military defense. The concept of non-military defense contending with non-military threats is the embryo of national security in Indonesia by prioritizing forces other than the Ministry of Defense of Indonesia and the Indonesian Military (TNI) and assisted by other national forces. However, many civilians do not understand the concept of national defense with various arguments. Besides, the National Defense Council (Article 15) has never been implemented.

In this context, strategic changes become essential in change management (Aljohani, 2016) in achieving long-term national goals. Several factors in change management, including types of change and institutional change, consequences of change (positive and negative), concepts and applications of change management, effective implementation of change

management (Revino & Jalagat, 2016), it is crucial to respond as early as possible given the dynamic constellation that continues to emerge. Institutional restructuring with the revitalization of institutional functions and authorities in the National Defense Council's context becomes urgent under the leadership of the President with strategic leadership in change management.

Leadership in change management, as Anderson D. and Anderson LA. (2001) put in plain words, has an essential meaning in developing change management in dealing with problems. The difference in the nation's components in interpreting national security and national defense cannot be allowed to drag on. The implemented change management does not produce positive-constructive benefits without strategic leadership in change management. The strategic leadership of state leaders is a crucial point in change management to face the constellation of the Covid-19 pandemic with the current multi-dimensional impact, including the potential for the growing threat of terrorism, to link ideas and actions between ends and means as means systematically to achieve goals through the mobilization of all national resources (Deibel, 2007, p. 157). The strategic leadership position of state leaders is needed to integrate all components and changes in society's social order in response to this pandemic. It is a crucial success factor in responding to transformational change (Anderson & Anderson, 2001, p. 30), especially in formulating strategies to achieve benefits for the country's interests (Oktaviano et al., 2020).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Observing the above explanation, it can be concluded that fundamentally the Covid-19 pandemic that has surfaced at this time has become a necessity for every country that is not merely a public health problem. The Covid-19 pandemic has provided lessons understood beyond the widespread post

9/11 terrorism incident. The complexity of intra-dimensional problems at the internal scope of the State or between countries over the Covid-19 pandemic continues, be it political, economic, social, to security, and defense. Even though many restrictions carry out, the acts of radicalism that have led to the embryo of terrorism continue, online and offline. The dichotomy of the role of high state institutions and institutions, institutional egoistic, political pragmatics, to centralized hegemony of power in one or several individual institutions are contradictory portraits. This reality is not per what should be in responding to something with a national security approach, where problems need to be handled with measurable capabilities based on central government policies in dealing with multi-dimensional threats. This national contextual unwittingly becomes a management dilemma.

The difference in the nation's components in interpreting national security and national defense cannot be allowed to drag on. The implemented change management does not produce positive-constructive benefits without strategic leadership in change management. The strategic leadership of state leaders is crucial in change management to face the constellation of the Covid-19 pandemic with the current multi-dimensional impact to link in ideas and actions between ends and resources as a systematic way to achieve goals through the mobilization of all national resources. The strategic leadership position of state leaders is needed to integrate all components and changes in society's social order in response to this pandemic. It is a crucial success factor in responding to transformational change.

The concept of national security is essential to immediately be constituted by the integrated implementation of all national elements in response to similar things with multi-dimensional impacts in the future. The need to initiate the concept

of national security can be carried out by developing non-military defense and activating the National Defense Council under the President's strong strategic leadership.

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