

# Development of Defense Forces in the North Sulawesi Border Area as the Implementation of the Big Island Defense Strategy

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**Abstract:** Indonesia as an archipelagic country has a very wide border area, including North Sulawesi which borders the Sulawesi Sea, the Pacific Sea, and the Republic of the Philippines. Based on the characteristics of the border area of North Sulawesi which is an archipelago and the lack of monitoring infrastructure, the supervision carried out by the TNI is less than optimal, so that it becomes a gap for foreigners to enter illegally and also has the potential to become an entry point for other threats to state sovereignty. Based on this, this research was carried out with the aim of analyzing the development of defense forces in the North Sulawesi Border Region which needs to be implemented in the context of implementing the defense strategy of the big islands. The approach used is qualitative with data in the form of secondary data obtained from literature studies. Data analysis was carried out using qualitative descriptive analysis techniques. The results of the study stated that the development of defense forces in the border area of North Sulawesi must refer to the orientation to self-reliance of Sulawesi as a whole as one of the big islands which is the center of national defense. This can be realized by building food, water, energy reserves and national infrastructure facilities. In addition, in accordance with the condition of the border area in the form of an archipelago, it is also necessary to procure means of inter-island transportation that is intended for the implementation of the border control function. The development of defense forces also pays attention to four important aspects that must be considered, namely the budget aspect, setting practical targets, improving the quality of defense soldiers, and increasing deterrence.

**Keywords:** Defense Development, Border Area, North Sulawesi, Big Island, Strategy

## I. INTRODUCTION

Every country wants an increase in its national defense strength on an ongoing basis. A strong state defense is a very important factor that must be owned by the state in order to maintain the sustainability of the people's lives in it, as well as improve the quality of life welfare through the implementation of government activities that are controlled and free from threats. The strategy that can be formulated to realize it is in the form of building a defense force, which generally considers factors originating from internal and external to the state. External factors include technological developments and various types of threats that have the potential to emerge as a result of changes in the global environment, while internal factors consist of geographical

characteristics and resource ownership[1]. With regard to the first external factor, namely technological developments, in general this factor is one of the main factors underlying the development of the war model that is taking place in the world. This is as explained by William S. Lind that in total there are four existing models of warfare, ranging from the basic model to the most recent one. The first war model, called the First Generation of War (1stGW), is a war that emphasizes the human resource (HR) factor as the main force that is put forward to win the war. The next model of warfare, which is called the Second Generation of War (2ndGW), is a war that no longer only relies on HR factors, but there are already several types of war weapons involved to support the strength of HR. In this 2ndGW, humans fight by relying on heavy weapons to dominate and win the war. Without these weapons, it is certain that there will be defeat, so humans are competing to equip and develop further weapons of war in order to increase the possibility of being able to win the war. In the next generation of war, namely the Third Generation of War (3rdGW), besides being supported by weapons technology, humans are also supported by information technology. The second type of technology allows humans to improve the accuracy and completeness of information and the pace of war logistics, so that they are able to plan and implement war strategies more effectively and efficiently. In addition, information technology also increases the ability to coordinate between lines, which in turn is able to mobilize all war resources quickly and accurately[2]. The last generation of war that Lind mentioned, namely the Fourth Generation of War (4thGW), is a war model that tends to rely more on the power of information technology to create chaos that can weaken and destroy the opponent's war motivation. Through the use of information technology, various types of important information can be controlled and manipulated to create misunderstanding and confusion, which in turn can lead to errors in the formulation and implementation of war strategies[2]. External factors are rooted in the occurrence of global environmental changes. These changes have had a significant impact on many aspects of life, both on an individual and national scale, ranging from issues related to individual human security to the sovereignty and territory of a country. Changes in the global environment are basically a large framework of world change which includes technological developments as well as changes in other

factors such as economic, social, water, land, atmosphere factors, and so on. The interaction of these various factors shape changes in the global environment which are considered by each country in formulating a strategy for developing its defense forces[3].

Regarding the first factor from the internal state, namely geographical characteristics, Indonesia is a country known to the world as a country that has a very large number of islands. According to data from the Ministry of Home Affairs (Kemendagri), there are 17,504 large and small islands in Indonesia. Less than half, which is about 45% or as many as 7,870 islands have been given names, while the rest, which is about 55% or as many as 9,634 islands are still unnamed[4]. Statistically, almost two-thirds of Indonesia's territory is water with an area of 5.9 million km<sup>2</sup> which includes territorial waters of 3.2 million km<sup>2</sup> and the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of 2.7 million km<sup>2</sup>. This area still does not cover the area of the continental shelf, so overall it places Indonesia as the largest archipelagic country compared to other countries in the world[4].

Based on the geographical characteristics of Indonesia, the development of defense forces needs to be formulated with an orientation to empower all geographical potentials and threats that may arise due to the characteristics of the Indonesian territory.. The geographical potential in question must be interpreted according to the concept of Indonesia's universal national defense system, as described in Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense and Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 23 of 2019 concerning Management of National Resources for National Defense. , that universal defense is a defense that involves all citizens, territories and other national resources, and is prepared early by the government and is carried out in a total, integrated, directed, and continuous manner to uphold state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of the entire nation from all threat. Regarding the geographical characteristics of Indonesia, which are part of the universal defense system, it can be seen in the involvement of all regions and national resources in an effort to maintain the upholding of state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of the entire nation. Thus, Indonesia, which has thousands of large and small islands, must be able to empower the condition of these islands in an effort to develop defense forces. Based on this, the government through Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 8 of 2021 concerning General Policy of National Defense for 2020-2024 stipulates that the development of defense forces is directed at increasing the defense of large islands as the joint of national defense. The defense strategy for large islands is a strategy that emphasizes the ability of each major island in Indonesia to realize national defense independently[5]. This means that every major island in Indonesia is directed to be able to have a complete and strong defense force, so that it can be positioned as a major power point in the national defense system. Based on such defense capabilities, each island can make a greater contribution in the event of a protracted war. The next internal

factor is the ownership of resources in relation to the need for the development of a national defense force. In this case, Indonesia with its natural wealth and large population can be said to have abundant resources, which can be optimally empowered to increase the country's defense power. The availability of these various resources requires capable capabilities to be able to manage and empower all aspects of national resources so that the goal of developing a stronger national defense can be achieved[6]. The four factors above do have a major contribution to the formulation of the national defense development strategy. However, the factors that need to be prioritized to be considered first are related to the geographical characteristics of Indonesia that cause defense gaps, which have the potential to be exploited by foreign parties to harm Indonesia. This can be seen, for example, in one of Indonesia's border areas in North Sulawesi, which is vulnerable to being entered by foreign nationals (WNA) illegally. There have been several cases of arrests of foreigners who have been proven to have illegally entered Indonesian territory through the North Sulawesi border, such as the findings of the Director General of Immigration in 2015 and as many as 100 foreigners in Poso were subsequently deported to their countries of origin[7]. Furthermore, in 2020 it was also found as many as 51 foreigners in Manado who did not have immigration permits, so they were immediately deported to their countries of origin[8]. The border area of North Sulawesi has become a vulnerable point for national defense because of the geographical condition of the area which contains many small islands, making it difficult to place surveillance posts by the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI). This has resulted in the allocation of human resources and facilities as well as limited weapons to protect the outermost small islands which are part of the North Sulawesi region. It was even stated that due to limited facilities, TNI soldiers guarding the North Sulawesi border had to take fishing boats to patrol around small islands[9]. Another thing that needs to be considered is related to the determination to defend the country from the people in the border area of North Sulawesi. It is known that in May 2017 the Ministry of Defense opened a joint movement for the Indonesian National Defense Action in North Sulawesi. The movement aims to increase people's love for the homeland and provide opportunities to participate as a reserve component for national defense efforts in Indonesia future[10]. However, the first batch of state defense cadres who were inaugurated in July 2017 were only 150 people. This illustrates the need to increase the determination to defend the country from all Indonesian people, especially those in border areas in North Sulawesi.

The implementation of defense operations that have not been maximized as well as the geographical conditions and determination to defend the country from the border area of North Sulawesi must be addressed immediately through the development of defense forces in the region. This is very important because apart from being a realization of efforts to maintain state sovereignty, it is also a form of practical

solution needed by the people in the related area. The existence of an entry route for foreigners illegally has the potential to endanger people's lives and state sovereignty, and can be considered as a form of threat that has the potential to create even greater threats in the future.

Apart from being a border area which is a vulnerable point for emerging threats from abroad, North Sulawesi also has enormous economic potential. As is known, that the province has Sam Ratulangi international airport in Manado which has the potential to be used as one of the subperhub airports. The airport is an export point for the East Asia region and serves international flights to China. Thus, North Sulawesi has the potential to make a major contribution in terms of international trade and tourism in the country. In addition, in accordance with the national economic development target proclaimed by the government, the development of the Bitung Special Economic Zone/Industrial Zone (SEZ/KI) is currently being made as a national priority. The development of the SEZ/KI will certainly make North Sulawesi one of the important areas that are expected to boost the national economy.

As far as the literature search has been carried out by the author, no previous research has been found that raises the issue of defense in the border areas of North Sulawesi and efforts to develop defense forces in the region. Previous research that has relevance to this topic, among others, was conducted by [11], with the title *Implementation and Impact of Spatial Planning Policy on Defense Areas on the West Kalimantan Border (Study in Sambas Regency)*. The research aims to analyze the process of implementing the policy on the spatial planning of the defense area, the performance of policies related to the spatial planning of defense, and the impact of policy implementation on the security and welfare of the community. The approach used is qualitative with data in the form of secondary data obtained from literature studies. The results of the analysis state that the process of implementing the spatial planning policy of the defense area in Sambas Regency is directed to build integration between welfare and security aspects. Other results state that there are several factors that influence policy implementation, namely integrated area management, policy integration in institutional arrangement, budget support, and the quality of human resources. The impact of policy implementation that has been identified is in the form of an increase in stability, security and public welfare. Research [11], and this study have similarities in terms of the focus of analysis on efforts to develop defense forces in border areas. However, there are fundamental differences between the two in terms of the object of study and the direction of the study. The object of research [11], is the border area of West Kalimantan, namely in Sambas Regency, while this study analyzes the development of defense forces in the border area of North Sulawesi. Previous research was then carried out by [12], with the title *Development of Defense and Security for Law Enforcement in Indonesia: The Authority of a State*. The purpose of the research is to analyze the development of

national defense and security along with various solutions that can be applied to overcome problems in the law enforcement process. The approach used is normative juridical using doctrinal studies. The results of the study stated that the development of the defense and security sector in fact has a close relationship in terms of law enforcement caused by: the occurrence of territorial boundary violations and violations of law in the jurisdiction of Indonesia; security and safety of shipping in Indonesian archipelagic sea lanes; terrorism; a growing trend of serious crimes; drug abuse and distribution; the country's information security is still weak; and inadequate early detection. The similarity between this study and research [12], is the focus of the study on the defense building, the difference between the two lies in several points, namely 1) using a normative juridical research approach, while this research is qualitative; 2) examines the relationship between defense development and law enforcement, while this study examines methods of defense development in the border areas of North Sulawesi as part of the implementation of the big islands strategy [12]. Based on the entire explanation above, this research was carried out with the aim of analyzing the development of defense forces in the North Sulawesi Border Region which needs to be implemented in the context of implementing the defense strategy of the big islands. The results of the research are expected to provide an in-depth description of the conditions in the border area of North Sulawesi which are vulnerable to being used as a gap for foreigners to enter and various other potential threats to Indonesian sovereignty. In addition, this research is also expected to be useful for formulating a strategy for developing Indonesia's defense forces in accordance with the defense orientation of large islands, especially in the border area of North Sulawesi.

## II. RESEARCH METHODS

The research approach used is a qualitative approach, namely a research approach that prioritizes analysis of data in the form of language descriptions without involving data in the form of numbers, and does not use statistical procedures in the analysis process. The qualitative approach can also be understood as a research approach that prioritizes the role of the researcher as the main research instrument to interpret research data to produce a description that answers the research objectives [13]. A qualitative approach is used in this study to obtain an explanation of the development of defense forces that can be applied in the border areas of North Sulawesi. The data analyzed in this study are secondary data obtained from the study of literature. Secondary data can be interpreted as data that is not collected through a survey to the field, so there is no direct interaction between researchers and respondents. Secondary data was obtained by researchers from literature studies, namely by collecting data that explained the conditions in the border area of North Sulawesi and the factors considered in the development of defense in the region with reference to the defense strategy of the big islands. Data analysis in this study used a qualitative descriptive analysis technique. According to [14], there are

three steps of analysis after the data has been collected, which begins with data reduction, followed by data presentation, and drawing conclusions. The stage of data collection and data analysis is carried out in an interactive cycle, which is continuous between steps and allows it to be repeated as needed in order to obtain in-depth interpretation results and can answer the research objectives.

### III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

#### 3.1 Overview of National Defense in North Sulawesi

An understanding of national defense can be obtained by referring to the meaning of the words that form it. According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary, the word defense means a matter of defending (defending); defense of one thing (the state or another); a place (in the form of a fort or stronghold) that is used to defend oneself or against attacks that come from outside. The meaning of the word national is national in nature, relating to or originating from one's own nation, or matters that include a nation. Thus, national defense is an effort to defend or defend a nation from attacks or threats originating from outside the country. According to Article 1 paragraph 1 of the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense (hereinafter referred to as the Law on National Defense), national defense is all efforts to defend the sovereignty of the state, the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the entire nation from threats and threats. disturbance to the integrity of the nation and state. The essence of national defense which includes all defense efforts is universal, the implementation of which is based on awareness of the rights and obligations of citizens and belief in one's own strength.

The law also explains several objectives of national defense, namely: 1) Ensuring the integrity and upholding of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution; 2) Supporting the implementation of state government functions as one of the functions of state government which is an effort to realize a unified national defense in order to achieve national goals, namely to protect the entire nation and the entire homeland of Indonesia, promote public welfare, educate the nation's life and participate in implementing world order based on freedom, eternal peace and social justice; 3) Provide opportunities for every citizen to carry out their rights and obligations in an effort to defend the country as a reflection of national life which guarantees the rights of citizens to live in an equal, just, safe, peaceful and prosperous life; 4) Build, maintain, develop, and use the national defense force based on the principles of democracy, human rights, public welfare, the environment, provisions of national law, international law and international custom, as well as the principle of peaceful coexistence; 5) Maintaining state sovereignty, territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the entire nation from threats and disturbances to the integrity of the nation and state; and 6) Realizing and

defending the entire territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia as a defense unit.

Defense can be implemented optimally if it is supported by its three constituent components consisting of main components, reserve components, and supporting components. In accordance with the explanation in Article 1 of Law Number 3 of 2002, the main component refers to the Indonesian National Army (TNI) which is a special unit prepared to carry out defense tasks. Reserve components of national defense are national resources that have been prepared to be deployed through mobilization in order to enlarge and strengthen the strengths and capabilities of the main components. The supporting components of national defense are national resources that can be used to increase the strength and capabilities of the main components and reserve components. Article 3 mentions the principles of drafting and implementing national defense, namely the principles of democracy, human rights, public welfare, the environment, provisions of national law, international law and international custom, as well as the principle of peaceful coexistence. All of these principles are used as a reference so that the implementation of national defense can achieve its various objectives, primarily to safeguard and protect the sovereignty of the state, the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the entire nation from all forms of threats. Along with the development of the global, regional and national environment, the management of Indonesia's national defense will also continue to be developed so that it can continue to have superior strength against all emerging threats. One of the references for this development is the defense policies formulated and implemented by the Ministry of Defense (Kemenhan) of the Republic of Indonesia, one of which is stated in the Decree of the Minister of Defense Number Kep/104/M/I/2020 concerning National Defense Policy Year 2020.

According to the policy, there are two types of threats which are taken into consideration for the development of national defense forces, namely actual threats and potential threats. Actual threats include violation of border areas/foreign intervention, armed separatism and rebellion, piracy, piracy and hostage-taking of Indonesian citizens, terrorism and radicalism, cyber threats, threats of intelligence or espionage, threats of psychological warfare, biological weapons attacks, natural and environmental disasters and theft of natural resources. , disease outbreaks, drug trafficking and abuse, as well as the impact of the birth of the industrial revolution 4.0 and the social revolution 5.0. The types of potential threats include conventional war or open conflict (foreign invasion), the threat of nuclear weapons, the economic crisis, the threat of a pandemic and foreign immigrants.

Based on these various threats, four strategic objectives of national defense have been set, namely:

1. Maintaining the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia and protecting the safety of the entire nation from all forms of threats.
2. The development of an integrated and modern universal people's defense and security system (Sishankamrata).
3. The realization of national resource management (PSDN), for national defense.
4. Implementation of the management of the defense area.

In accordance with the context of this research, the discussion related to national defense needs to be specific to the national defense in North Sulawesi. The national defense force in the region can be said to be quite strong because of the three command points for land, sea and air defense. On the land side, North Sulawesi is part of the Regional Military Command XIII/Merdeka (Kodam XII/Merdeka) with the Korem 131/Santiago area unit in Manado which includes Kodim 1301/Sangihe, Kodim 1302/Minahasa, Kodim 1303/Bolaang Mongondow, Kodim 1309/ Manado, Kodim 1310/Bitung, and Kodim 1312/Talud. In the air dimension, there is the Sam Ratulangi Air Base which is located 13 km from the city of Manado. The airbase is directly under the TNI AU II Operations Command with the main task of preparing and implementing the development of aerospace potential. On the marine dimension, there is the TNI AL VIII Main Base in Manado which has three main tasks, namely providing logistical administrative support, combat support, special support for elements of the Navy who carry out operations; carry out law enforcement and maritime security operations; and carry out control of marine defense areas. Based on the map of defense forces, the North Sulawesi region, which is located in the border area, actually has a strong defense force. However, the defense force is still concentrated in the central region of North Sulawesi, so that the outermost parts still do not have defense support with the equivalent strength of the central region.

### 3.2 Implementation of the Big Islands Defense Strategy

In accordance with the mandate from the President of Indonesia as outlined in Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 8 of 2021 concerning General Policy of State Defense for 2020-2024, there are seven directions to increase the country's defense capability, namely:

1. Implementation of the state defense system on land, sea and air forces by realizing the development of reserve components and supporting components;
2. Development and implementation of the concept of defense of large islands;
3. Implementation of accountability, transparency, and free of corruption in defense budget management;
4. Development of a TNI posture that has strategic deterrence capability and high mobility to be projected inside and outside the jurisdiction of the

- Republic of Indonesia in the context of upholding sovereignty and protecting national interests;
5. Revitalization of the defense industry as a manufacturer of advanced, strong, independent and competitive defense and security equipment in order to meet the needs of national defense;
6. Increasing international cooperation in the field of defense and involvement in world peace missions under the auspices of the United Nations and other international institutions in the context of participating in maintaining world order and peace; and
7. Enhancement of non-military defense capabilities carried out by ministries outside the defense sector, institutions, and local governments by optimizing the utilization of national resources for the benefit of national defense.

Based on the seven directions of increasing the country's defense capability above, and considering the latest threat situation facing Indonesia, it can be said that the implementation of a defense strategy in the big islands is an urgent need that must be realized immediately. The meaning of defense of large islands is a defense strategy that emphasizes the ability of each major island in Indonesia to realize national defense independently[5].

The strategy is also explained in the Decree of the Minister of Defense Number: Kep/487/M/V/2020 concerning the State Defense Policy of 2021, namely a defense strategy that relies on all large islands that are able to carry out national defense independently and can contribute maximally to the war. drag on. The core of the strategy include:

1. Preparation of the area as a defense mandala in an Integrated Tri-Matra to carry out war independently on the outer mandala, the main mandala, and the inner mandala to organize a protracted war;
2. To prepare defense areas for large islands independently by preparing reserves of food, water, energy, and national infrastructure, in order to realize defense logistics centers spread throughout the Unitary Republic of Indonesia; and
3. Realizing effective command and control capabilities as well as improving inter-island transportation means for all compartments.

If referring to the strategic management proposed by[15]. then the strategy implementation stage has three main activities, namely the implementation of the strategy itself, the identification of factors that influence the implementation of the strategy, and the functional strategy. The implementation of the strategy must also refer to the large concept of managing defense areas as described in the Decree of the Minister of Defense Number: Kep/487/M/V/2020, namely by realizing the construction of defense logistics depots and

leading to independence in strengthening the strategic defense compartment.

Each border area is a vulnerable point for a country, so it is necessary to ensure that there are solid defense points to monitor various events in the intersection area between these countries. For a country like Indonesia, border control is a fairly complicated problem because based on its geographical characteristics, Indonesia has very many and wide borders, one of which is the border area of North Sulawesi. Based on the data contained in the North Sulawesi Periodic Report in Figures for 2021, it is known that the province in the northern part of Indonesia has an area of 13,892 km<sup>2</sup> which includes 4 cities and 11 regencies. The western boundary of North Sulawesi is Gorontalo Province, the eastern border is the Maluku Sea, the southern part is bordered by Tomini Bay, while in the northern part it is bordered by the Sulawesi Sea, the Pacific Sea, and the Republic of the Philippines. The northern boundary is a vulnerable point because it is part of the border with areas outside Indonesia, as well as the characteristics of the northern part of the archipelago. Furthermore, it can also be seen from the report, that North Sulawesi has as many as 294 large and small islands scattered in the northern region. This illustrates the condition of the border area of North Sulawesi which is in the form of an archipelago that is mostly uninhabited, making it difficult to locate control posts. As a result, as explained earlier, North Sulawesi is often the entry point for foreigners illegally because it takes advantage of such geographical border conditions as well as gaps in national defense due to difficulties in carrying out supervision. Based on this, the development of defense in the border areas of North Sulawesi needs to focus on the development and provision of facilities to improve the implementation of border area supervision.

If it is associated with a large island defense strategy, then the development and provision of facilities in the context of strengthening defense in the border areas of North Sulawesi needs to lead to the target of making Sulawesi independent as one of the large islands that becomes the center of defense for the surrounding area. The independence in question is in accordance with what is described in the Decree of the Minister of Defense Number: Kep/487/M/V/2020 concerning the State Defense Policy of 2021, namely being independent in meeting military logistics needs because of the construction of food, water, energy, and infrastructure reserve facilities. national. In addition, in accordance with the condition of the border area in the form of islands, as well as findings in the field that the supervision carried out by the TNI is still not optimal because there are no control posts on small islands and there is no fleet to reach islands that do not have a post. supervision, it is also necessary to provide inter-island transportation means intended for the implementation of the border control function. In an effort to achieve the goal of strengthening defense in the border area of North Sulawesi, there are four important aspects that must be considered, namely the budget aspect, setting practical targets, improving the quality of defense soldiers, and increasing deterrence[16].

Regarding the first aspect, namely the defense budget, according to data held by the Center for Budget Studies of the Secretariat General of the House of Representatives for 2020, it can be seen that Indonesia's defense budget in 2020 increased by 17.9% compared to the previous year, which was from Rp108.36 trillion in 2019 to Rp127.35 trillion in 2020. Even when compared to previous years, the 2020 defense budget is the largest. The following is a breakdown of defense budget data from 2015 to 2020[17].

Table 1: Changes in the Defense Budget for the 2015-2020 Period

Year	Budget (Trillion Rupiah)	Enhancement (%)
2015	101,7	17,8
2016	96,2	-3,4
2017	117,5	19,6
2018	106,8	-9,1
2019	108,36	1,5
2020	127,35	17,9

Source: Zahara & Rizky

Based on the data above, it can be seen that Indonesia's defense budget actually has an increasing trend until 2020. However, when viewed according to the percentage of the defense budget to national GDP, the defense budget is only around 0.7%. This portion is considered still far from the defense budget target of 1.5% of GDP and still below the average defense budget of other ASEAN countries, such as the Philippines and Malaysia at 1%, Thailand at 1.3%, Singapore at 3.2%, Cambodia by 2.3%, and Brunei Darussalam by 3.3% (Finance.detik.com, 2020). Therefore, in order to support the development of defense forces in border areas, especially in North Sulawesi, the value of the defense budget needs to be increased to a minimum of 1.5% of GDP as the target set by the government in 2020. The next aspect that must be considered is the setting of practical targets for TNI soldiers guarding the border area of North Sulawesi. These targets are evaluated on a daily basis and implemented with reference to the minimum available resources. The setting of practical targets that must be met on a daily basis is used as a producer of important information for the development and development of defense forces in border areas. The next aspect is improving the quality of defense soldiers through the implementation of mandatory training and military service. The combination of these two methods can not only produce quality soldiers, but also be able to meet the needs of the number of soldiers guarding the defense area. The compulsory training and military service programs are basically not only oriented to the creation of military forces, but also to build the character of a society that has close ties to its nation. The last aspect is the increase in deterrence or deterrence effect. This can be realized if the development of defense forces in the border area of North Sulawesi is carried out optimally, by referring to various military technologies and the latest weapons. As the defensive offensive theory developed by Stephen Van Evera, then along with the increasing defense forces that are oriented to protect

(defensive), it will create a global environment that is safer from the potential for conflict between countries. This is because there is mutual trust between countries that the defense forces built will not be used to achieve expansive goals, but only to maintain the sovereignty of each country. The existence of a higher deterrent force will also create a picture of the strength of defense in the border area of North Sulawesi, so as to reduce the potential for encroachment on territorial boundaries and other potential threats from abroad.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

The border area of North Sulawesi consists of a group of islands causing the implementation of supervision to be less than optimal. This is a gap for foreigners to enter illegally and various other potential threats to state sovereignty. Therefore, it is necessary to develop a defense force in the region that is oriented towards a defense strategy for large islands as mandated by President Joko Widodo as outlined in Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 2021 concerning General Policy of State Defense for 2020-2024. The development of defense forces in the border areas of North Sulawesi must refer to the orientation to self-reliance of Sulawesi as a whole as one of the big islands which is the center of national defense. This can be realized by building food, water, energy reserves and national infrastructure facilities. In addition, in accordance with the condition of the border area in the form of an archipelago, it is also necessary to procure means of inter-island transportation that is intended for the implementation of the border control function. The development of defense forces also pays attention to four important aspects that must be considered, namely the budget aspect, setting practical targets, improving the quality of defense soldiers, and increasing deterrence.

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