Analysis of the Roles and Capabilities of the Indonesian National Armed Forces in Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic as a Non-Military Threat

Heri Wiranto[1], Muhadjir Muhammad Darwin[2], Agus Heruanto Hadna[3], Djokosantoso Moeljono[4]
[1,2,3,4]Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia
Email: heriwiranto@mail.ugm.ac.id

Abstract

The spread of COVID-19 has been declared a non-natural national disaster, and it is recognized as a genuine non-military threat that necessitates collaboration among various institutions, particularly within the context of non-military defense, which falls under the purview of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI). Responding to COVID-19 falls under the government's responsibility, which includes the establishment of the COVID-19 Response Acceleration Task Force. The collaboration between civilian institutions and the TNI as elements of the unit is expected to demonstrate a streamlined and effective command line, aiming to uphold and safeguard the nation's security effectively. This paper aims to analyze the role and capacity of TNI in addressing the COVID-19 Pandemic as a non-military threat by measuring the impact of various determinants on the implementation of the role and capabilities of TNI. The research employed a mixed methods approach, incorporating both sequential and concurrent models. Additionally, it involved an in-depth qualitative analysis of each determinant utilized in handling the COVID-19 pandemic. Generally, the primary elements in the COVID-19 Response Acceleration Task Force are civilian institutions based on the category of disaster and its societal impact. Nevertheless, the involvement of TNI through Military Operations Other Than War (OMSP) can expedite COVID-19 management through aid and humanitarian operations. Non-military defense operations strategically establish control command between ministries/agencies and local governments. The optimization of TNI's capabilities in crisis management involves deploying personnel across Indonesia, with a central command under the TNI Commander and the establishment of command centers in crisis-affected areas. The success of TNI's performance can be evaluated by examining its strategic leadership and patterns of civil-military cooperation in a systematic and deliberate manner.

***Keywords**: TNI, OMSP, Covid-19, Non-Military Threat, Cooperation.*

– – – – – – – – – – ◆ – – – – – – – – – –

A. INTRODUCTION

With the issuance of Presidential Regulation Number 48 of 2023 regarding the Termination of COVID-19 Pandemic Response, Indonesia has officially transitioned the factual status from responding to the Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic to the COVID-19 Endemic phase. The pandemic, which lasted for almost three years from February 27, 2020, to December 30, 2022, resulted in the loss of 160,612 Indonesian citizens (Task Force for COVID-19 Handling, 2022a). During the pandemic in Indonesia, there was an average of 156 deaths per day attributed to COVID-19 infections.

Although the number of deaths is relatively large, the recovery percentage of 97.43% (6,549,332 people) is considered a success in reducing the death rate due to COVID-19. The World Health Organization (WHO) regarded President Joko Widodo's leadership as the best accomplishment when compared to other nations worldwide. This is evidenced by vaccination rates surpassing 80% of the population, resulting in the establishment of collective immunity (herd immunity).

In its development, the COVID-19 pandemic has raised global awareness that safeguarding citizens' lives is integral to security. This implies that a sense of security has transformed into a public good that every citizen, whether as an individual, group, or nation, is entitled to experience. Since the initial case of COVID-19 infection emerged in Indonesia on February 28, 2020, President Joko Widodo's administration has managed the pandemic in accordance with the World Health Organization's guidelines. However, the lockdown measures were adapted with a less stringent regulation referred to as regional quarantine.

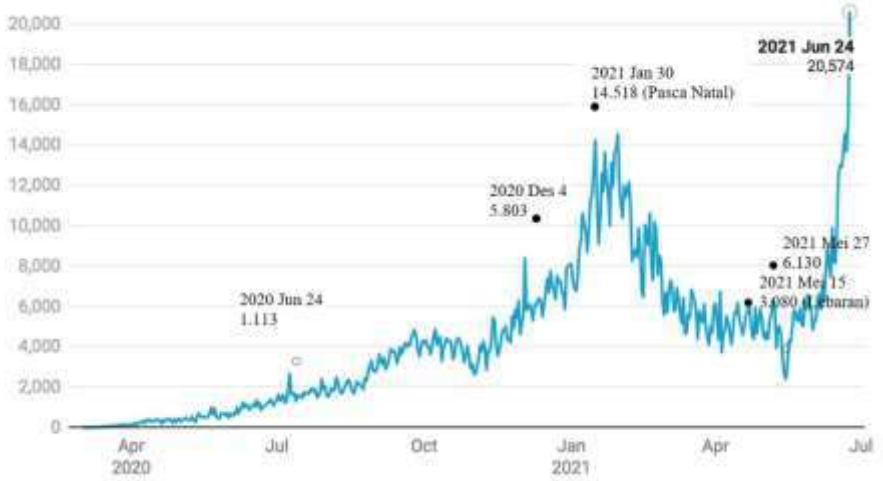


Figure 1. Trends of COVID-19 Cases in Indonesia from January 2020 to July 2021
Source: Gunawan (2021)

As can be seen in Figure 1, the initial surge in cases in Indonesia occurred in January 2021. It was attributable to the unregulated mobility of citizens during the extended holidays encompassing Christmas 2020 and New Year 2021. The government exhibited a relatively effective response by curbing the peak of daily cases in January 2021 to 6,130 cases per day during the Eid al-Fitr holiday in May 2021. However, the subsequent surge in cases following the stricter measures implemented after the Eid holiday on May 27, 2021, indicated a progressively less controlled approach.

Apart from inducing widespread panic, the second surge of COVID-19 infections in Indonesia has necessitated the government to increase their efforts by allocating a substantial amount of IDR 1,035.2 trillion from the 2020 budget (Putri, 2020). In the following year, the government again disbursed IDR 627.9 trillion with the aim of averting the loss of lives among citizens and preventing a standstill in the national economy (CNN Indonesia, 2021). In June 2022, the budget realization for COVID-19 Response and National Economic Recovery (PC-PEN) reached Rp.118.2

trillion, or 25.9% of the budget allocation (Task Force for COVID-19 Handling, 2022b). Considering the aforementioned, effectively addressing the global sweep of the COVID-19 pandemic as an infectious disease requires the government's reliability in overcoming actual threats to national security.

In reality, the trajectory of the global security system has transitioned from traditional state-centered security to a non-traditional security concept that focuses on human welfare and freedom against diverse threats (referred to as people-centered security), commonly recognized as the concept of human security.

Table 1. Matrix of Security Concept

Aspect	Traditional	Non-Traditional
Object	State	Humans (and humanity)
Principle of Organization	State and National Security	Globalism and connectivity
Agenda	National independence, territorial integration, sovereignty	Economic welfare, human rights, environmental protection
Strategy	Self-reliance by the State	Collective, integrated, and multi-perspective involving diverse actors
Intended Results	Domestic order and interstate stability	Global social justice
The Envisioned Future	Global conflict and instability, utilization of unsustainable resource	Justice and sustainable development

Source: Aning & Lartey (2019)

The shift in the concept of security has positioned the COVID-19 pandemic as a form of non-military threat. The declaration of the emergency status of the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia, as stipulated in Presidential Decree (Keppres) Number 12 of 2020 concerning the Stipulation of Non-Natural Disasters of the Spread of COVID-19 as a National Disaster, has empowered the President to rally all sectors of the nation, including the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), through the mission of Military Operations Other than War (OMSP). The involvement of the TNI in responding to COVID-19 is influenced by three key parameters, including the level of disease transmission, the ability of civil institutions to cope, and the impact of the pandemic on socio-political stability (Indonesian Ministry of Defense, 2022). In a study conducted by Sari, Sulistyani, and Pertiwi (2020), which emphasizes the contributions of defense institutions such as the Ministry of Defense and the TNI in addressing the COVID-19 pandemic, it was concluded that the TNI's involvement holds significant strategic importance in various aspects encompassing health, security, and socio-economics throughout the pandemic. The Ministry of Defense is also considered to play a strategic role both internally and externally through cooperation with other

Ministries and Institutions, domestic private companies, State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN), and with other countries in tackling the Covid-19 pandemic.

However, the public response to the involvement of TNI in non-military affairs is viewed as a form of intervention into the civilian matters, potentially leading to social apprehensions such as heightened tension, concerns about human right violations, and potential abuse of power (Anggraini, 2020). TNI's involvement in responding to the COVID-19 pandemic is undeniable given the command structure of TNI that extends to the grassroots level of society in order to maintain compliance, obedience, and public discipline in adhering to health protocols during the pandemic. This is further reinforced by the issuance of Presidential Instruction Number 6 of 2020 on Maintaining Self-Discipline and Law Enforcement of Health Protocols in the Prevention and Control of COVID-19, which requires the Force Chiefs of Staff to mobilize their command elements for the purpose of instilling discipline among community members in adhering to health protocols for COVID-19 prevention and control. This responsibility is then cascaded down to lower units as a form of support to local governments.

Delving deeper into the military's role in addressing the COVID-19 pandemic, Tuser and Hoskova-Mayerova's (2020) study examining the involvement of the Army of the Czech Republic (ACR) concludes that no breaches of national security protocols have occurred. Thus, any notion of military intervention in civilian affairs is considered non-existent. The task at hand necessitates a display of military preparedness in handling diverse emergencies. In the case of COVID-19, this entails the military's capabilities to swiftly and massively provide emergency services to the community. As an integral part of the state apparatus, the military must also be poised to respond to emergency situations, which then direct the endeavors aimed at fortifying military prowess, not only for safeguarding territorial integrity but also for undertaking non-military duties, such as life-saving measures for citizens in the midst of a crisis.

Departing upon the aforementioned, this article will analyze the involvement of the TNI in addressing the COVID-19 pandemic, with a primary inquiry: "What factors determine the success of the TNI's role in responding to the COVID-19 pandemic as a non-military threat?" This inquiry will be addressed by focusing on the analysis of the determinant of leadership, organization, and management of power deployment, as well as collaboration undertaken by the TNI, representing a form of policy innovation in handling emergencies within the national security system.

B. METHODS

The research methodology employed in this study combines both sequential and concurrent models by collecting and analyzing problems in the research, particularly the important factors that influence (determinants) the success of the TNI's role in responding to the COVID-19 pandemic as a non-military threat. In the current study, an evaluation was conducted to gauge the influence of determinants on the implementation of TNI roles and capabilities. Following this, a thorough

qualitative analysis of each determinant in the context of addressing the COVID-19 pandemic was undertaken. The current study measured the influence of determinants on the implementation of TNI roles and capabilities, which will then qualitatively examine in depth each determinant implemented in the task of handling the COVID-19 pandemic. A mixed-method model was also employed in this research. It is a sequential model with an explanatory approach, in which the collection and analysis of quantitative data is carried out in the initial stage, which entails the collection through qualitative data reduction from interviews in the second stage. This approach was carried out to enhance the findings of the initial quantitative research. The quantitative approach involved conducting a survey using a structured questionnaire as the survey instrument. This questionnaire was administered to respondents with the aim of gathering specific information through closed-ended questions. As this approach involves merging data gathered from another method, the subsequent strategy for acquiring qualitative data was carried out through in-depth interviews.

C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. The COVID-19 Pandemic and Global Security System Change as a Non-Military Threat

Throughout history, pandemics resulting from viral outbreaks have recurred over centuries, challenging human resilience, such as the Spanish Flu, Smallpox, Ebola, Rabies, SARS, MERS, Zika, Bird Flu, and now COVID-19 (Nurhasanah, Napang & Rohman, 2020). The emergence of these various viruses then raises world awareness of the importance of shifting the global security paradigm towards Human Security; this perspective emphasizes that the implementation of national security must prioritize the well-being and safety of individuals as well as their role within society, which underscores the significance of multidisciplinary understanding in interpreting the concept of security (Ataman, 2020). Issues such as environmental degradation, political instability, social unrest, economic breakdown, and biological weapons incidents wield an equally profound impact on security systems, as opposed to solely fixating on the State's survival (Afolabi, 2016).

Following the airplane hijacking attacks on the World Trade Center (WTC) in New York City on September 9, 2001, which claimed nearly 3,000 lives, the focus on global security has been primarily centered around discussions on counterterrorism. This approach often adopts a realist or even hawkish stance, envisioning the adversary in tangible forms while overlooking other potential threats that are non-traditional and imperceptible (McInnis, 2020). Governments around the world subsequently invested and spent huge resources in implementing various anti-terrorism strategies, including surveillance tactics, detainment, interrogation, and personal data collection, until then emerged an imperceptible yet lethal adversary in the form of COVID-19, where even simple acts like shaking hands or sharing the same room could lead to fatal consequences (Nurhasanah, Napang & Rohman, 2020).

Confronted with COVID-19, it appears that governments worldwide are unprepared to develop COVID-19 crisis management guidelines and measures, which

are more inclined to trial-and-error endeavors rather than the ones that are measurable and clear (Mas'udi & Winanti, 2021). Furthermore, the lack of strategic efforts to curb the rapid, boundary-crossing transmission of the virus, leading to its global pandemic status, highlights the multi-party involvement with the foremost emphasis is on addressing the health repercussions, followed by tackling the economic, social, and psychological impacts of the pandemic.

The emergency situation of the rapid and invisible spread of COVID-19 requires the involvement and cooperation of all stakeholders, including the military. In principle, military involvement in humanitarian activities and post-disaster recovery is the last resort that can be done. In practice, however, the military often takes on the role of first responder in the midst of a crisis, referring to the aspect of adeptness and readiness in aiding the health emergency responses. This was evident during the COVID-19 peak period through the enforcement of health protocols, the construction of emergency hospitals, and the provision of logistical and transportation support, particularly vaccine distribution in remote areas (Nanthini, 2023).

The military involvement in handling health emergencies is also carried out in various countries. For instance, Liberia deployed the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL), and Sierra Leone assigned the Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces (RSLAF) in 2014 to address the endemic Ebola virus in the West African region, given the inadequacy of the health system and infrastructure in the two countries to cope with large-scale health emergencies like Ebola (Kamradt-Scott, 2014). Similarly, the surge in Zika virus cases in Brazil in 2016 prompted the largest military mobilization in the country's history to tackle the virus, involving 22,000 Brazilian Armed Forces (BAF) soldiers under the coordination of the National Centre for Risk and Disaster Management (Watts, 2016).

In light of various cases of civil-military cooperation in responding to health emergencies, the World Health Organization (WHO) released the National Civil-Military Health Collaboration Framework in 2021 which regulates military involvement in strengthening the implementation of the 2005 International Health Regulation (IHR), which requires five key steps: (1) establishing a strategic cooperation plan for preparing for health emergencies; (2) understanding the differences between the public/civilian health sector and military health services; (3) identifying technical areas of cooperation based on the country's health emergency capacity; (4) establishing/authorizing civil-military health cooperation; and (5) establishing a mechanism for civil-military development and training in dealing with military emergencies (World Health Organization, 2021).

In the Indonesian context, infectious disease outbreaks have been classified as one of the threats with a public safety dimension in the non-military threat architecture as stipulated in the Regulation of the Minister of Defense Number 19 of 2006 concerning Strategic Guidelines for Non-Military Defense. It regulates the non-military defense, which is carried out through three stages of strategy: deterrence, prosecution, and recovery. At the deterrence stage, policy actors stem from ministries/agencies outside the defense sector and local governments as the principal

component, with the military serving as a supporting element. In the prosecution stage, it involves leveraging national resources, encompassing both civilian and military, through a graduated response approach, including Attention Response, Rapid Response, and Emergency Response. Furthermore, the recovery stage is carried out by re-inventorizing capabilities and strengths as well as potential future threats that may reoccur. Within this framework, the government then declared the COVID-19 pandemic as a national disaster through Presidential Decree Number 12 of 2020 concerning the Stipulation of Non-Natural Disasters of the Spread of COVID-19 as a National Disaster, which gave legitimacy to Emergency Response efforts carried out by all stakeholders, including the TNI.

2. Factors Determining the Effectiveness of TNI's Leadership Role in Responding to the COVID-19 Pandemic as a Non-Military Threat in Indonesia

To enhance TNI's involvement in addressing COVID-19, there are variable indicators of leadership patterns related to vision, motivation, decisive and innovative orders, creativity and a good learning culture in the field. Based on Article 5 of Law Number 34 of 2024, the vision of TNI organization is grounded in its function as a state instrument in the sphere of defense. TNI is recognized as the state's apparatus responsible for duties and responsibilities related to defense. This implies that in overcoming COVID-19 as a non-military threat, TNI is considered an integral state resource. In implementing this vision, the TNI Commander engaged in coordination and conducted visits to various regions to elucidate the TNI's participation in various mitigation endeavors. These included evacuating Indonesian citizens (WNI) from abroad, distributing Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) nationwide, safeguarding border entry points, and enforcing health protocols.

Furthermore, in their capacity as a commanding unit, the TNI Commander not only instills motivation for the execution of TNI duties in the field but also commends the leaders of military units in various regions for their innovative efforts in responding to COVID-19.

The motivation was conveyed while placing particular emphasis on the TNI's unwavering support for the government across the sector of healthcare, social safety nets, and economic recovery. In addition, the TNI remains vigilant to dynamic shifts in the strategic environment, accounting for other potential threats. It is well acknowledged that the extensive and perilous spread of the COVID-19 virus necessitates rapid response through a large deployment of power. This becomes the basis that personnel need creativity in anticipating times of crisis. One of the President's initiatives involves establishing Herd Immunity, wherein to develop population-wide immunity, it is necessary to administer vaccinations in order to train the immune system to create proteins capable of combating the disease.

TNI's leadership pattern in the COVID-19 countermeasures is closely linked to the establishment of the learning culture. The effectiveness of transformational leadership requires the ability to swiftly adapt and learn, particularly in response to

the rapidly changing circumstances during the pandemic, all with the ultimate goal of ensuring public safety. Evidence of this swift learning capability can be exemplified through the deployment of troops during the surge in cases in mid-2021. This involved the establishment of Field Hospitals (Rumkitlap) strategically positioned around the Gatot Subroto Army Hospital (RSPAD) area in Jakarta and RST dr. Soepraoen in Malang, East Java. These Rumkitlap collaborated effectively in addressing the surge in COVID-19 cases. The mobilization of power for Rumkitlap operations is carried out by drawing resources from each land component. Subsequently, when the Rumkitlap mission concludes, the personnel will be redeployed to their respective units.

The leadership pattern of the TNI Commander, serving as the highest authority in mobilizing TNI personnel for swift and responsive action, demands strategic decision-making. This is particularly crucial in light of the extensive efforts involved in combating COVID-19, which necessitate the collaboration of various stakeholders, including civil-military cooperation within the task force unit. Managing the TNI's flexibility in coordination is a challenge in itself. The factors contributing to the success of TNI's role in responding to the COVID-19 pandemic as a non-military threat include the following:

a. Managing TNI Organizational Management in Responding to the Crisis of the COVID-19 Pandemic

Presidential Decree Number 7 of 2020 concerning the Task Force for the Acceleration of Corona Virus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) designates the TNI institution as an operational member of the Task Force for the Acceleration of the COVID-19 Handling. In its day-to-day operations, TNI serves as an Operation Assistant. The participation of TNI personnel in the COVID-19 response in Indonesia was presented during a TNI Hearing Meeting with Commission I of the House of Representatives (DPR) on April 15, 2020. During the hearing, the TNI leaders reported to Commission I that TNI personnel were involved in nearly every facet of the COVID-19 response efforts in Indonesia. The TNI's involvement in addressing the COVID-19 pandemic from the outset has encompassed a spectrum of tasks, including supplying medical aid, offering logistical and transportation assistance, and ensuring stringent security measures for the distribution of essential supplies and the dignified handling of COVID-19 patient remains.

In his role as the highest-ranking authority within the command structure, TNI Commander makes strategic decisions to create four Integrated Joint Task Commands (Kogasgabpad*)* within the TNI organization, each corresponding to a specific geographic area. These *Kogasgabpads* are ad-hoc task commands created in response to the nature of the disaster (Gindarsah, 2023). *Kogasgabpad* I, under the leadership of Pangdam Jaya, is responsible for providing assistance in treating infected patients at the Wisma Atlet Emergency Hospital in Jakarta. Meanwhile, *Kogasgabpad* II, led by Air Force Operational Command (Pangkoopsau) I, is entrusted with the evacuation of Indonesian citizens from Wuhan and providing support for the isolation and treatment from the TNI personnel at the military base. *Kogasgabpad* III, commanded by *Pangkoarmada* I on Sebaru Island, is responsible for supervising the quarantine of

188 Indonesian citizens who served as crew members on the Japanese Diamond Princess. On the other hand, *Kogasgabpad* IV, led by Military Area Command Commander-in-Chief (Pangdam) I/Bukit Barisan on Galang Island (Kepulauan Riau), oversees operations in an area that once provided refuge for Vietnamese citizens from 1979 to 1996 who were affected by armed conflict in their country. The *Kogasgabpad* organization's leadership can be headed by the Commander of the TNI Operation Main Command (Kotamaops) in regions identified as pandemic epicenters. The determination of *Kogasgabpad* locations was carried out through capacity assessments, which involved evaluating the TNI's strength as the primary defense component at the forefront, along with considering the command system and personnel loyalty from the central to regional levels.

To ensure the impactful contribution of TNI's strength in curbing COVID-19 cases in Indonesia, the TNI implemented a dual approach involving both external and internal strategies. These efforts are conducted simultaneously. External measures were directed towards public safety and civil institutions. In contrast, internal measures were focused on maximizing internal strength, which includes maintaining the well-being and health of personnel through regular health check-ups and providing necessary logistical support, particularly for personnel deployed in the field.

To address the crisis and expedite the interruption of COVID-19 transmission chain, the government mandated initiatives to establish Herd Immunity (population immunity), leading to the development of antibodies. The success of TNI's endeavors in navigating the crisis is evident in the enhanced support for the accelerated COVID-19 vaccination program. There have been several noteworthy instances of troop deployment for vaccination. Firstly, *Kodam Jaya* spearheaded the COVID-19 booster vaccination campaign with a goal of reaching 70,000 residents. Additionally, the innovative *Kodam Peduli* program, as a form of TNI creativity, successfully administered approximately 54,000 booster shots by establishing numerous vaccination centers. Secondly, achieving the target of 2.4 million COVID-19 vaccinations through the strength of Community Health Centers (Puskesmas) alone would be challenging. It necessitated the support of TNI forces. To expedite the process, directives were issued for Military Sub-District Command (Koramil) to administer 250 doses per day. This message was conveyed to government officials at the sub-district and village levels through mass vaccination efforts.

Ultimately, TNI's involvement in OMSP in responding to the COVID-19 Pandemic proved effective in upholding public trust in the humanitarian operations conducted. The TNI's swift and unified command structure ensured reliable health responses, encompassing health aid and the enforcement of community discipline, all while respecting human rights and prioritizing community safety. In a democratic state facing a national disaster, it is the exclusive duty of the civilian government to take charge. It is crucial for the military to function under civilian authority and in strict accordance with presidential directives for proper implementation. The establishment of Task Force management makes the military leadership, in this case,

the TNI, an assistant to operations by emphasizing that all decisions are rooted in civilian leadership, with military support during peacetime. It also emphasizes transparency and accountability in order to minimize disproportionate military involvement.

b. Enhancing the Performance and Role of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) in Dealing with the COVID-19 Pandemic Crisis

1). Clear Vision and Mission

In the initial stages of carrying out their duties, the Commander of TNI conducted numerous visits to various regions to foster collaboration and cooperation in extraordinary efforts, as directed by President Joko Widodo of the Republic of Indonesia in the battle against COVID-19. Having a well-defined vision and mission during the COVID-19 pandemic is crucial for offering guidance and maintaining focus amid the dynamic strategic environment. Precision and accuracy play a pivotal role in establishing national security and stability, safeguarding the health and well-being of the people, and supporting the government's efforts in effectively and sustainably managing the pandemic. A clear vision and mission are grounded in the principles of humanity, justice, and national interests. When executing their responsibilities in response to COVID-19, TNI Commander must be proficient in leveraging the TNI's resources to swiftly implement medical interventions aimed at saving lives from COVID-19 infections.

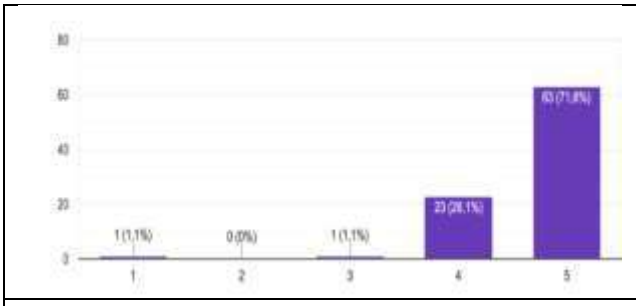


Figure 2. Respondents' Answers on Clear Vision in Dealing with COVID-19
Source: Primary Data, processed in 2023

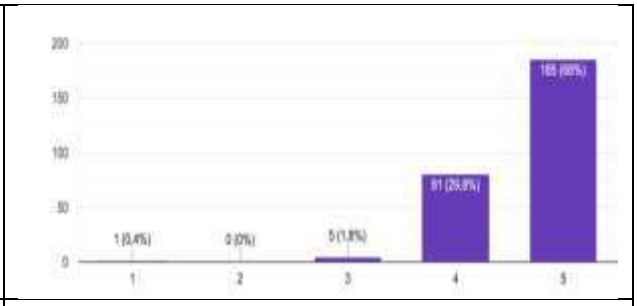


Figure 3. Respondents' Answers on a Clear Vision in Dealing with COVID-19
Source: Primary Data, processed in 2023

The charts above clearly indicate that respondents from Java-Bali Island and other regions outside Java-Bali Island hold the believe that TNI Commander possesses a strong and well-defined vision for managing COVID-19. The capacity to effectively communicate this vision underlines the transformational leadership trait exhibited by the TNI Commander in fulfilling their role, duties, and responsibilities, particularly in deployment of power to personnel and units within Java-Bali Island and in regions beyond.

2). Team Motivation

Motivation from the TNI Commander to personnels is crucial and significantly impacts complex strategic environments. To motivate personnels, it is essential to enhance their enthusiasm, dedication, performance, ability to anticipate uncertainty, and efforts to increase social care, especially for all personnel across their assignments.

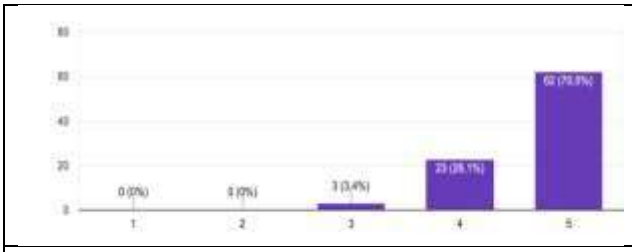


Figure 4. Respondents' answers regarding motivating the team in COVID-19 handling task
Source: Primary data, processed in 2023

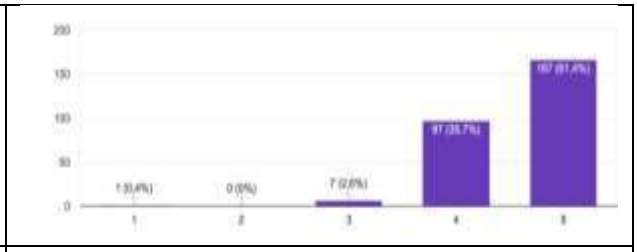


Figure 5. Respondents' answers regarding motivating the team in COVID-19 handling task
Source: Primary data, processed in 2023

The charts show that the motivation given by TNI Commander to all personnels, both online and in person, has been highly effective. This is evident in the substantial agreement among respondents from Java-Bali Island and regions outside Java-Bali Island, especially in the Joint Task Force Commander area, that the TNI Commander has succeeded in motivating the team for the COVID-19 response operation.

3). Creative and Innovative Leadership

The constraints on movement and program implementation during the COVID-19 pandemic necessitate TNI Commander, the highest-ranking authority, to issue directives encouraging creativity and innovation among personnel across the operational area. TNI Commander plays a pivotal role in utilizing information and communication technology to enhance monitoring, reporting, and coordination. This involves devising logistical solutions, such as the utilization of drones or specialized transportation for the distribution of medical equipment. Additionally, online training and education are being extended to all personnel, and collaborative efforts are underway with the civil sector, including local governments. The TNI Commander's instructions to regional leaders have yielded positive results, as evidenced by unit activities like expediting vaccinations through the involvement of the police, regional agencies, and civilian health workers.

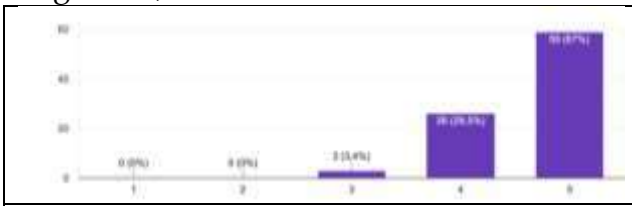


Figure 6. Respondents' answers about creative and innovative leaders in COVID-19 handling task
Source: Primary data, processed in 2023

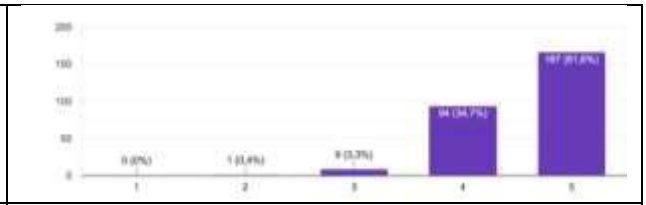


Figure 7. Respondents' answers about creative and innovative leaders in COVID-19 handling task
Source: Primary data, processed in 2023

According to the charts above, respondents in both the operational regions of Java-Bali and those outside of Java-Bali are in agreement that the TNI Commander possesses qualities of creativity and innovation in leadership. This is exemplified by their adept use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) to issue

guidance and directives as the commander for execution within the designated areas of responsibility.

4). Support for Logistic Needs

TNI Commander's support for logistic requirements in the operational areas of COVID-19 management is pivotal to ensuring the effectiveness and well-being of the personnel engaged in these efforts. Through TNI Headquarters, TNI Commander offers logistic support, which encompasses the provision of medical equipment and protective gear for the personnel, enforcement of health protocols among the staff, the availability of food and medications, accommodation, as well as operational support facilities.

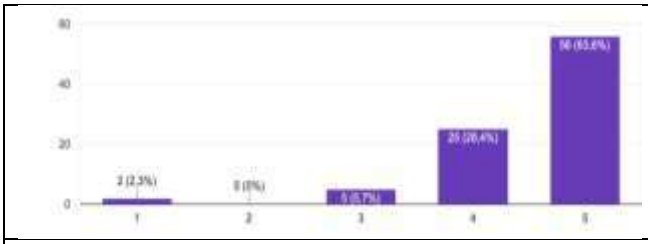


Figure 8. Respondents' answers about logistical support in COVID-19 handling task

Source: Primary data, processed in 2023

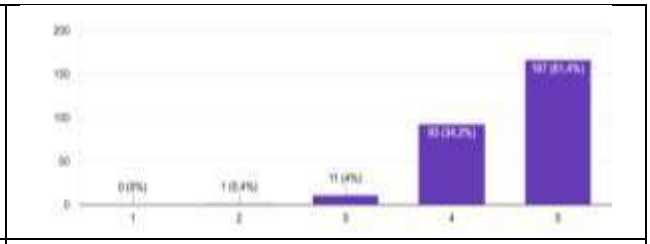


Figure 9. Respondents' answers about logistical support in COVID-19 handling task

Source: Primary data, processed in 2023

As illustrated in the charts above, as the chief of the COVID-19 Response Acceleration Task Force, TNI Commander ensures satisfactory logistic support and budget allocation for both Java-Bali Island and regions outside Java-Bali Island. TNI Headquarters remains committed to addressing the protection requirements of personnel involved in the humanitarian operation, including initiatives to save COVID-19-infected patients.

c. Establishing Cooperation between the TNI and Ministries/Agencies in COVID-19 Pandemic Handling Duties

President Joko Widodo issued directives to combat the transmission of COVID-19, urging all Ministry and Institution leaders to take immediate control using any available means. In accordance with Presidential Decrees (Kepres) No. 7 and 9 of 2020, Lieutenant General Doni Monardo, the head of BNPB, was appointed as the Chief Executive of the COVID-19 Response Acceleration Task Force, with TNI Commander assigned as the Chief of Operational Staff Division (Vice-Chief Executive). In alignment with Presidential Regulation (Perpres) No. 66 of 2019 on the TNI Organizational Structure, the roles of command in OMSP during the pandemic are exclusively designated to be held directly by the TNI Commander or delegated to the Deputy Commander. The various forms of cooperation are as follows.

Tabel 2. Forms of TNI Cooperation in COVID-19 Response through Delegation of Authority

No	Stakeholders Categorization	Stakeholder Identification	Respondents	Sample		Authority (Task/Function)
				Quantitative	Qualitative	
1	Central Level	Coordinating Ministry for	1 person	-	1	Ensure cooperation through

		Maritime and Investment Affairs				international diplomacy in terms of information exchange, vaccination and international assistance
		Ministry of Health	16 people	15	1	Formulating development of health policy, supervision and control of virus spread, planning and procuring medical devices, vaccination and development research
		Ministry of Defense	16 people	15	1	Carrying out cooperation with the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), border areas monitoring, logistical support, medical logistics and support assistance to local governments that experience a spike in cases
		Ministry of Internal Affairs	15 people	15	1	Distribution of social assistance, supervision of health protocols, mass activities licensing, disaster preparedness and community counselling
		Ministry of Communication and Information	21 people	15	1	Official information dissemination related to the development of COVID-19, monitoring hoaxes and disinformation, development of digital applications and services (Peduli Lindungi),

						telecommunications regulation, data reporting and monitoring and personal data safety
		TNI Headquarters	24 people	20	4	Logistics and transportation distribution support, medical assistance, regional surveillance, especially the implementation of health protocols, support for regional quarantine operations, humanitarian assistance to remote areas and cooperation with Local Government Organizations (OPD)
		National Police Headquarters	16 people	15	1	Law enforcement on Health Protocol violations, public safety surveillance, enforcement of regional quarantine rules, logistics security and epidemiological investigations
		National Agency for Disaster Countermeasure (BNPB)	16 people	15	1	National coordination, policy planning and development, data analysis of pandemic development, emergency monitoring and international cooperation
2	Regional-level clusters in Java and Bali	Jaya Jayakarta Military Regional Command and Metro Regional	21 people	20	1	Coordination of the implementation of policies for handling and monitoring the

		Police, Central Jakarta				spread of COVID-19 in Central Jakarta
		Metro Regional Police, East Jakarta	21 people	20	1	Coordination of the implementation of policies for handling and monitoring the spread of COVID-19 in East Jakarta
		West Java Province, Military Regional Command III, West Java Regional Police, Bandung City	21 people	20	1	Coordination of the implementation of policies for handling and monitoring the spread of COVID-19 in Bandung City
		West Java Province, Military Regional Command III, West Java Regional Police, Bekasi City	21 people	20	1	Coordination of the implementation of policies for handling and monitoring the spread of COVID-19 in Bekasi City
		West Java Regional Police	21 people	20	1	Coordination of the implementation of policies for handling and monitoring the spread of COVID-19 in West Java Province
		Bali Regional Police	21 people	20	1	Coordination of the implementation of policies for handling and monitoring the spread of COVID-19 in Bali Province
3	Regional-level clusters outside Java and Bali	North Sumatra Regional Police	21 people	20	1	Coordination of the implementation of policies for handling and monitoring the spread of COVID-19 in North Sumatra province
		Asahan Regency Police	16 people	15	1	Coordination of the implementation of

						policies for handling and monitoring the spread of COVID-19 in Asahan Regency
		Balikpapan City Resort Police	21 people	20	1	Coordination of the implementation of policies for handling and monitoring the spread of COVID-19 in Balikpapan City
		Samarinda City Resort Police	16 people	15	1	Coordination of the implementation of policies for handling and monitoring the spread of COVID-19 in Samarinda City
		Military Regional Command XIV/Hasanuddin	16 people	15	1	Carrying out the task of securing and enforcing Health Protocols, securing health facilities, logistical and distribution assistance, and investigating and reporting on the development of the COVID-19 situation in South Sulawesi Province
		Bone District Police	16 people	15	1	Coordination of the implementation of policies for handling and monitoring the spread of COVID-19 in Bone Regency
4	Community Cluster	Health Academics	16 people	15	1	Conduct research and development through scientific research related to the Sars-Cov-2 virus, development of health protocol guidelines,

						epidemiological data analysis, participation in expert committees and evaluation of government policies related to COVID-19 handling
		Politics/Security	15 people	15	1	Communicate with the community regularly regarding accurate information on the progress of the COVID-19 handling, strategic decision-making related to the impacts of pandemic, resource allocation and policy implementation in coordination with Local Government Organization (OPD)
	4 Clusters	**22 Groups**	**385 Respondents**	**360 Questionnaire**	**25 Interviews**	

Source: Researcher (2022)

In practice, the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), in cooperation with BNPB and other civil institutions, has assumed seven critical roles. These include the early mobilization of forces during the pandemic's onset, the enforcement of health protocols by 91,817 soldiers, and the deployment of 9,176 military healthcare personnel, with a particular focus on vaccination efforts in collaboration with healthcare professionals from health centers and hospitals. Additionally, the TNI has deployed military equipment to aid in vaccine distribution, engaging 738 TNI healthcare facilities for both vaccination and patient care.

The era of the COVID-19 pandemic offers an opportune moment to assess civil-military relations in Indonesia. The TNI's steadfast commitment, primarily through its participation in the Task Force, involves coordinating and synergizing functions with various ministries and institutions. This includes attending coordination meetings organized by the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime and Investment Affairs (Kemenko PMK), the Ministry of Health (Kemenkes), Executive Office of the President of the Republic of Indonesia, and BNPB through both online and in-person sessions. Additionally, TNI Commander consistently conducts visits to various regions in Indonesia to evaluate the optimization of TNI's deployment in alignment with Task Force directives.

The success of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) is intricately linked to its management of COVID-19 containment. This management comprises, first, the TNI's loyalty, especially that of TNI Commander to the President and collaboration with the Task Force Commander of the BNPB. The responsive organizational structure of the military effectively translates orders into solutions for preventing virus transmission. Second, the TNI's consistency which is reflected in the legality of its assistance tasks as part of Military Operations Other than War missions. To ensure compliance, obedience, and discipline among the public regarding the implementation of health protocols during the pandemic, Presidential Instruction Number 6 of 2020 mandates the Chiefs of Staff of TNI to deploy their units, assisting local governments to enforce discipline among the public. Furthermore, in addition to the involvement of TNI Commander, the Army Chief of Staff (KSAD) General Andika Prakasa was appointed as the Vice-Chief Executive of the Committee for Handling of COVID-19 and National Economic Recovery (KPCPEN) on August 9, 2020, and the Minister of State-Owned Enterprises, Erick Tohir, was appointed as the Chief Executive of KPCPEN. KPCPEN strives to save the Indonesian people from the COVID-19 pandemic and promote national economic recovery through a unified command structure known for its speed, precision, and efficiency. Third, TNI's organizational respect is demonstrated by its successful execution of previous tasks, serving as performance indicators and demonstrating accountability for the use of state funds. One of TNI's notable successes was the two-week effective lockdown of areas, which significantly reduced the peak of virus transmission cases during the enforcement of the Emergency Public Activity Restrictions (PPKM) due to uncontrolled public mobility.

The handling of the COVID-19 pandemic represents not just a triumph for the TNI but also the outcome of effective civil-military collaborations, assessed through their collective achievements. The TNI's command hierarchy, extending from the central level to the district and sub-district levels with a unified command principle, significantly influences the speed of program implementation for pandemic containment. With an estimated number of active TNI personnel for 2023 hovering around 400,000 (international.sindonews.com), this data highlights the highly effective nature of the unified command structure in reaching all corners of the country. One of TNI's significant achievements is the collaborative vaccination effort, which includes administering one million vaccines per day. In the Special Capital Region of Jakarta alone, the TNI Commander deployed 1,355 vaccination personnel.

The involvement of TNI in non-combat missions in handling non-natural disasters is not explicitly mentioned in TNI Law Number 34 of 2004. However, the President has authorized their involvement in response to emergency situations. As a military organization, collaboration is carried out within the framework of civil mission execution, specifically in the role of assistance as part of the COVID-19 Countermeasure Task Force supervised by the National Agency for Disaster Countermeasure (BNPB).

D. CONCLUSION

To expedite the response to COVID-19 and shield against non-natural disasters, it's crucial to take swift, precise, accurate, integrated, and synergistic measures involving cooperation between ministries/agencies and local governments. The establishment of the COVID-19 Response Acceleration Task Force includes TNI due to its widespread presence across the entire Indonesian territory. In this setup, TNI Commander assumes the role of Vice-Chief Executive/Operations Assistant of the Task Force, with the Chief Executive position belonging to BNPB. In non-military defense operations that involve civil-military cooperation, roles are divided, with BNPB serving as the central command center and TNI acting as the state apparatus for providing assistance and conducting humanitarian operations. Leveraging TNI's significant capabilities, the optimization of the response program can be rapidly implemented, starting from enforcing adherence to health protocols, providing healthcare support, and meeting vaccination targets. Leadership patterns, as a key determining factor, directly influence performance, illustrating the effectiveness of command deployment in COVID-19 response. The success of TNI is closely linked to the leadership and strategic role of the TNI Commander, reflecting the quality of the forces. The ability to mobilize forces is complemented by civil-military collaboration with ministries/institutions according to their respective roles and functions. This ensures that the effectiveness of the response involving civilian populations remains on course, with the role of TNI in the field being overseen through coordination, in line with the considerations and recommendations of the central government. Furthermore, the recovery process during the COVID-19 endemic period, encompassing economic, social, and healthcare aspects, continues to necessitate collaboration across all sectors, taking into account the global changes underway while simultaneously upholding public protection and advancing national security through the Total People's Defense and Security System.

REFERENCES

1. Ajayi, K. (ed). *Readings in Intelligence and Security Studies*. Abuja: Afe Babalola University.
2. Anggraini, H. (2020). *Keterlibatan Militer Menuju Fase New Normal Tuai Tanda Tanya*. Retrieved from: https://www.dw.com/id/keterlibatan-militer-menuju-fase-new-normal-tuai-tanda-tanya/a-53823336
3. Aning, K., & Lartey, E. A. (2019). Governance Perspectives of Human Security in Africa. *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding*, 7(2), 219-237.
4. Ataman, M. (2020). *Coronavirus: A Human Security Issue*. Retrieved from: https://www.setav.org/en/coronavirus-a-human-security-issue/
5. CNN Indonesia. (2021). *Rincian Anggaran PEN 2021 Sebesar Rp 627,9 T*. Retrieved from: https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20210207080615-532-603221/rincian-anggaran-pen-2021-sebesar-rp6279-triliun
6. Di Liddo, M. (2021). *The Impact of Covid-19 on Human Security*. Roma: Centro Studi Internazionali.

7. Gunawan, A. (2021). *Bangun! Gelombang Kedua Covid-19 RI Sudah Menyapu*. Retrieved from: https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20210626085118-4-256149/bangun-gelombang-kedua-covid-19-ri-sudah-menyapu
8. Kamradt-Scott, A. (2014). *Saving Lives: The Civil-Military Response to the 2014 Ebola Outbreak in West Africa*. Sydney: University of Sydney.
9. Kementerian Pertahanan RI. (2022). *Kebijakan Peran Kemhan dan TNI dalam Menghadapi Pandemi Covid-19*. Retrieved from: https://www.kemhan.go.id/2022/03/18/kebijakan-peran-kemhan-dan-tni-dalam-menghadapi-pandemi-covid-19.html
10. Law Number 34 of 2004 on the Indonesian National Armed Forces.
11. Mas'udi, W., & Winanti, P. S. (2021). *Tata Kelola Penanganan COVID-19 di Indonesia: Kajian Awal*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
12. McInnis, K. J. (2020). COVID-19: National Security and Defense Security. *U.S. Congressional Research Service* IF11525, 30 April.
13. Minister of Defense Regulation Number 19 of 2006 on the Strategic Guidelines for Non-Military Defense.
14. Mulyana, C. (2020). *Pelibatan TNI Keseriusan Perangi Covid-19*. Retrieved from: https://mediaindonesia.com/politik-dan-hukum/335086/pelibatan-tni-keseriusan-perangi-covid-19
15. Nanthini, S. (2023). Public Health Emergencies: Moving Beyond Ad Hoc Military Responses. *IDSS Paper*.
16. Nurhasanah, S., Napang, M., & Rohman, S. (2020). Covid-19 as a Non-Traditional Threat to Human Security. *Journal of Strategic and Global Studies, 3*(1), 54-68.
17. Presidential Regulation Number 48 of 2023 on the Termination of COVID-19 Pandemic Response.
18. Presidential Regulation Number 12 of 2020 on the Stipulation of the Non-Natural Disaster of the Corona Virus Disease 2019 as a National Disaster.
19. Putri, C. A. (2020). *BPK: Anggaran Penanganan Covid-19 RI Tembus Rp 1.000 T*. Retrieved from: https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20201230095755-4-212468/bpk-anggaran-penanganan-covid-19-ri-tembus-rp-1000-t
20. Sari, M. I., Sulistyani, Y. A., & Pertiwi, A. C. (2020). The Role of the Defense Institutions in Handling the Covid-19 Pandemic. *Jurnal Pertahanan dan Bela Negara*, *10*(2), 175-194.
21. Sari, V. Y. (2020). Analisis Respons Pemerintah Tiongkok dalam Upaya Penanganan Covid-19. *Sentris: Academic Journal of International Relations*, *1*(2), 173-186.
22. Satgas Penanganan Covid-19a. (2022). *Situasi COVID-19 di Indonesia (Update per 31 Desember 2022)*. Retrieved fromL https://covid19.go.id/artikel/2022/12/31/situasi-covid-19-di-indonesia-update-31-desember-2022
23. Satgas Penanganan Covid-19b. (2022). *Realisasi Anggaran Penanganan COVID-19 dan Pemulihan Ekonomi Nasional (PC-PEN) (24 Juni 2022)*. Retrieved from: https://covid19.go.id/artikel/2022/07/02/realisasi-anggaran-penanganan-covid-19-dan-pemulihan-ekonomi-nasional-pc-pen-24-juni-

2022#:~:text=Realisasi%20Anggaran%20Penanganan%20COVID%2D19,)%20%7C%20Covid19.go.id&text=Hingga%2024%20Juni%202022%2C%20total,%2C9%25%20dari%20alokasi%20anggaran

24. Tuser, I., & Hoskova-Mayerova, S. (2020). Emergency Management in Resolving an Emergency Situation", *Journal of Risk and Financial Management*, *13*(11), 1-12.
25. Wahono, S., & Kosandi, M. (2020). Military Reform in the Post-New Order Indonesia: A Transitional or a New Subtle Role in Indonesian Democrary?. *Asian Politics & Policy*, *12*(2), 224-241.
26. Watts, J. (2016). *Zika Virus Command Center Leads Biggest Military Operation in Brazil's History*. Retrieved from: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/30/brazil-zika-war-virus-military-operation
27. World Health Organization. (2021). *National Civil-Miltary Health Collaboration Framework for Strengthening Health Emergency Preparadness: WHO Guidance Document*. Geneva: World Health Organization.