

## TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND NATIONAL RESOURCE MOBILIZATION: DESIGN OF INDONESIA'S DEFENSE DOCTRINE TOWARDS 2045

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### Abstract

The changing geopolitical constellation and the emergence of multi-domain threats demand a transformation of defense doctrine that is able to adapt to contemporary strategic dynamics. This article examines the role of transformational leadership enriched with adaptive capabilities in mobilizing human and natural resources (HR-SDA) to design a responsive Indonesian defense doctrine towards Golden Indonesia 2045. The research objectives include: (1) analyzing the characteristics of transformational and adaptive leadership that are relevant to HR-SDA mobilization at the national scale; (2) comparing the implications of these leadership models on the defense practices of several countries to draw lessons that can be adapted; and (3) formulating a strategic leadership model design based on struggle, integrity, and Pancasila values. The method used is a descriptive qualitative approach based on literature studies and policy analysis, combined with comparative case studies to examine practices in several selected countries. Secondary data were collected from national policy documents, recent academic publications, and research institution reports. The analysis was conducted through thematic analysis and document analysis as well as cross-case comparison to identify patterns, mechanisms, and implementation risks. The study's findings demonstrate that transformational leadership with its strategic vision, role model influence, intellectual stimulation, and individualized attention combined with adaptive leadership creates the cross-sector orchestration capacity necessary for effective human resource mobilization. A case comparison reveals that elements of technology acceleration and military-civil fusion can accelerate capability modernization, but successful implementation depends on transparent governance and civilian control mechanisms aligned with Pancasila values. Based on this synthesis, a strategic leadership model is formulated, consisting of six operational pillars (integrated vision; civil-military orchestration; human resource development; industrial architecture; governance with integrity; adaptive decision-making) along with a framework for implementation phases. In conclusion, transformational-adaptive leadership is the foundation for Indonesia's adaptive defense doctrine; recommendations include developing a leadership transformation roadmap, strengthening industrial and human resource capacity, and further mixed-methods research to test causal relationships and validate the model's robustness in real-world scenarios.

**Keywords:** Defense Doctrine, Golden Indonesia 2045, Transformational Leadership, Struggle, Resource Mobilization.

## A. INTRODUCTION

Rapid changes in the global geopolitical and geostrategic constellation, marked by competition between major powers, the accelerated adoption of military-civilian technology, and the emergence of multi-domain threats (cyber, information, economic, and environmental), place strategic leadership as a determining factor in the direction of national defense policy. In a volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous (VUCA) strategic environment, defense institutions can no longer rely solely on bureaucratic structures and material capabilities. Leadership capable of formulating a vision, mobilizing resources, and encouraging organizational adaptation is a key requirement for maintaining national sovereignty and integrity (Burns, 1978; Bass, 1985).

Transformational leadership theory depicts leaders as agents of change who build a collective vision, inspire commitment, and stimulate innovation at all levels of the organization. This concept, developed by Burns and expanded by Bass, is relevant to the defense context because it emphasizes the moral, motivational, and cognitive dimensions necessary for mobilizing human resources on a national scale. Complementarily, the adaptive leadership approach emphasizes the leader's ability to address "unstructured" problems through collaborative learning and redistribution of responsibilities, which is crucial in addressing unconventional threats and technological disruption (Heifetz et al., 2009).

At the national level in Indonesia, the doctrinal and legal foundations of defense underscore the concept of total people's defense (Sishankamrata), which demands the comprehensive involvement of military and non-military components and the integrated management of national resources. The general defense policy and related regulations emphasize the goal of transforming human resources, natural resources, and infrastructure into a ready-to-use defense force (Presidential Regulation concerning the General Policy of National Defense; Law No. 23 of 2019 concerning Management of National Resources for Defense). Implementing these principles requires a leadership model that is not only effective in organizational management but also capable of internalizing the values of struggle, integrity, and Pancasila in the resource mobilization process.

Although global leadership literature has grown rapidly, particularly in the civilian realm, including several recent studies exploring transformational leadership practices in defense organizations, a research gap remains in the translation of leadership styles into operational and contextual defense doctrine designs for countries like Indonesia. Recent empirical studies demonstrate that transformational leadership behavior can improve military unit readiness, morale, and performance; however, few studies directly link this to national-level human resource mobilization mechanisms, domestic defense industry integration, and the formulation of a defense posture rooted in Pancasila and the spirit of struggle (Michaud et al., 2025) (Barfod & Clifton, 2025). Therefore, studies that bridge leadership theory and operational defense policy are needed. The urgency of this research is reinforced by the development of modern practices in defense resource management, such as the military-civil fusion strategy implemented by several countries to accelerate technological integration and industrial capacity, demonstrating the central role of strategic leadership in synergizing the public, private, and research sectors for defense purposes (McFaul et al., 2025) (Bitzinger et al., 2021). For Indonesia, adapting such a model must consider institutional characteristics, legal norms, and Pancasila values so that defense mobilization and modernization do not neglect the principles of sovereignty, independence, and public accountability.

Based on the above description, this research aims to bridge the gap between the study of transformational leadership and the design of an operational defense doctrine for Indonesia. Specifically, this article aims to: (1) analyze the characteristics of transformational and adaptive leadership relevant to the mobilization of human resources and natural resources at

the national scale; (2) compare the implications of these leadership models on the governance/defense practices of several countries and identify lessons that can be adapted; and (3) formulating a strategic leadership model design based on struggle, integrity, and Pancasila values that supports the adaptive defense doctrine towards Golden Indonesia 2045. This study uses a descriptive-qualitative approach based on literature studies and policy analysis so that the focus remains on the synthesis of theory and policy to produce applicable recommendations for the development of national defense doctrine.

## **B. LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **Transformational Leadership**

In 1978, Burns formulated transactional and transformational leadership. These were later refined by Bass (1985). This was a consequence of globalization, the application of new technologies, and the need to address an increasingly competitive environment. In the late 1980s, management researchers became interested in transactional and transformational leadership. These leaders are capable of transforming and revitalizing organizations (Insan, 2019).

Bass's leadership concept differs from Burns's, who argued that leaders should strive solely for transformational leadership. Bass argued that leaders can be both transactional and transformational, or a combination of the two is best (Bass & Riggio, 2006). Bernard M. Bass stated that "to sum up, we see a transformational leader as one who motivates us to do more than we originally expected to do" (Bass, 1985). According to Bernard M. Bass, a transformational leader is someone who can encourage people to work beyond what they initially expected. This means that to achieve employee performance that exceeds standard standards, a transformational leadership style is required. Superior leadership is essentially transformational, achieved when a leader can increase employee motivation, foster awareness, and instill organizational values. This encourages employees to prioritize the interests of the organization over their personal interests (Bass, 1990).

According to Bernard M. Bass, transformational leadership can be recognized through several key indicators, including: (1) the leader's ability to instill in followers the importance of task outcomes, (2) encouraging followers to prioritize the interests of the organization or team over personal interests, and (3) motivating followers to strive to fulfill higher-level needs (Bass, 1985).

According to Burns, transformational leadership is a mutually reinforcing interaction process between leaders and followers to achieve higher levels of morality and motivation. This leadership model occurs not only directly through a top-down pattern but can also emerge indirectly, either from the bottom up or horizontally. In this context, leaders are not limited to top management but can also come from formal or informal positions, regardless of their specific title. Burns describes transformational leaders as figures who can inspire and motivate their followers to achieve extraordinary results, while simultaneously developing their leadership potential. Transformational leaders help organizational members develop into leaders by meeting individual needs, empowering them, and aligning personal, team, and overall organizational goals (Suriagiri, 2020).

It can be concluded that transformational leadership can significantly improve organizational performance because it emphasizes intrinsic motivation, trust, commitment, and loyalty among members, thereby deeply ingraining these values.

### **National Resource Mobilization**

In the Law on the Management of National Resources for National Defense, Mobilization is the act of simultaneously deploying and utilizing National Resources and National Facilities and Infrastructure that have been prepared and developed as components of the National Defense force, to be used appropriately, in an integrated, and targeted manner to address any threats, whether foreign or domestic, that endanger national unity and the survival of the nation and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. National Resources include human resources, natural resources, and artificial resources (Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 23, 2019).

The resource mobilization theory was first introduced by Antony Oberschall. Oberschall criticized Kornhauser's mass society theory, which at the time was the dominant perspective in studying social movements. According to Oberschall, the mass society theory failed to explain what actually occurred in anti-democratic movements, such as the Nazi Movement in Germany (Locher, 1923). Resource mobilization theory focuses on the social processes that enable the emergence and success of a movement. Resource mobilization theory focuses more on economic and political factors, with less attention to the psychological characteristics of movement members. Resource mobilization theory is also not based on the assumption that individual motivation exists when joining a movement.

According to Klandermans, drawing on the ideas of Oberschall, Gamson, Marx and Wood, McCarthy and Zald, and Sow, resource mobilization theory emphasizes the importance of structural factors, such as the availability of resources to the group and the individual's position within the social network. This theory also emphasizes the rationality of participation in social movements (Locher, 1923). McCarthy and Zald (1977) concluded that dissatisfaction does not automatically lead to protest, because individuals are viewed as rational actors who weigh costs and benefits before acting (McCarthy & Zald, 1977).

### **Defense Doctrine**

The National Defense Doctrine is the basic principles that provide direction for the management of defense resources to achieve national security goals. These basic principles consist of six components of defense doctrine: (1) the nation's perspective on war; (2) the components of the state involved in war; (3) those who control the war; (4) accountability mechanisms; (5) war strategy; and (6) war termination. The six doctrinal components need to be structured in several consistent layers, from the political, military, and professional levels. At the political level, the doctrine's political principles address several issues related to the armed forces' duties in confronting armed military threats. At the military level, the doctrine addresses more questions about how military force will be used to confront threats. This use of military force can accommodate the need for early prevention strategies to prevent small-scale wars from escalating (Widjajanto, 2010).

## **C. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **Research Approach and Design**

This research uses a qualitative approach with a policy study and comparative case study design. The qualitative approach was chosen because the research objective was to gain an in-depth understanding of the characteristics of transformational leadership and the mechanisms of human resource mobilization within the context of national defense doctrine, rather than to test numerical hypotheses. Therefore, qualitative methods allow for the

exploration of nuances, meanings, and conceptual relationships between theory and policy. The policy study design was used to examine normative documents and defense policies, while the comparative study was used to compare transformational leadership practices across relevant state actors. This design approach is consistent with case study and policy analysis guidelines in contemporary social science research (Yin, 2018) and (Patton, 1990).

### **Rationale for Selecting a Comparative Study and Case Criteria**

The comparative study was chosen to identify general patterns and contextual variations that influence the effectiveness of transformational leadership in national resource mobilization. Three primary reasons underpin this strategy: (1) it allows for the identification of transferable leadership mechanisms; (2) it facilitates replicable testing across different contexts (replication logic); and (3) it adds depth to policy analysis by comparing examples of national practices with the experiences of other countries. Based on the relevance of the themes (human resource mobilization, defense industry modernization, technology integration), comparative cases were purposively selected with the following criteria: state actors demonstrating strategic resource mobilization practices and varying leadership styles (e.g., technocratic vs. charismatic/nationalist orientation), documented public policy linkages, and the availability of recent primary and secondary public sources (2021–2025). Case selection took into account the principle of reproducibility so that findings can be retested by other researchers in the future (Yin, 2018).

### **Data Sources and Inclusion Criteria**

The research data is secondary and drawn from: (a) official Indonesian policy documents (Law No. 23 of 2019 concerning the Management of National Resources for National Defense; Presidential Regulation No. 115 of 2022 concerning the Policy for Fostering National Defense Awareness; official Sishankamrata documents); (b) peer-reviewed academic publications (international and national journals) on transformational leadership, adaptive leadership, and defense resource mobilization (primarily focusing on publications from 2021–2025); (c) reports from credible think tanks and strategic research institutions; and (d) primary reference books on theory (Burns, Bass, Heifetz) that serve as the conceptual foundation. The inclusion criteria for the literature were: topical relevance (transformational/defense leadership), publisher credibility (peer-reviewed or official publications of public institutions), and temporal relevance (publication priority 2021–2025, but not excluding seminal sources prior to that period for foundational theory).

### **Data Collection Techniques**

Data collection was carried out through a systematic procedure: (1) electronic literature searches in academic databases and institutional repositories for publications from 2021–2025; (2) downloading and archiving policy documents, including copies of laws/presidential regulations and official ministerial documents, for content analysis; (3) recording metadata for each source in a spreadsheet to facilitate transparency and replication; and (4) final selection of sources based on inclusion criteria, resulting in a closed, replicable dataset. This approach follows recognized practices of document analysis and the READ approach in public policy research (Bowen, 2009) (Dalglish et al., 2021).

### **Data Analysis Techniques**

The main data analysis used thematic analysis and document analysis. The analytical steps were as follows: (a) familiarization, reading the full document to capture the general picture; (b) coding, identifying relevant units of meaning; (c) grouping themes, organizing codes into main themes such as human resource mobilization capacity, defense industry

integration, and internalization of the values of struggle; (d) inter-source triangulation, comparing findings from policy documents, academic literature, and research institute reports to verify consistency of interpretation; and (e) cross-case analysis, for comparative studies exploring similarities and differences in leadership mechanisms across cases. This technique utilizes Miles & Huberman's (1994) guidelines for systematic qualitative analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994) (Bowen, 2009).

### **Validity, Reliability, and Verification Efforts**

To ensure the internal validity and reliability of the findings, the study employed several strategies: (1) source triangulation, verifying each finding across at least three different types of sources (official documents, scientific journals, research institute reports); (2) documenting an audit trail of the entire collection and analysis process so that other researchers can trace the analytical steps; (3) peer debriefing of the draft analysis with one or two academic colleagues/defense policy researchers to identify potential interpretive biases; and (4) use of established methods using a thematic analysis framework and analytical documentation following practices recommended by Patton (2002) and Miles & Huberman (1994). This combination of steps increases the credibility and resilience of the findings to methodological criticism. (Patton, 2002)(Bowen, 2009)(Miles & Huberman, 1994).

## **D. RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS**

### **Characteristics of Transformational and Adaptive Leadership**

Transformational leadership, as formulated by Burns and developed by Bass, emphasizes four main dimensions: (a) idealized influence (the influence of role models and integrity), (b) inspirational motivation (the ability to build a collective vision), (c) intellectual stimulation (encouraging innovation and critical thinking), and (d) individualized consideration (attention to individual development). In the context of national defense, these dimensions serve as the foundation for mobilizing voluntary and sustainable human resources; leaders who practice them are able to enhance the moral commitment of soldiers and the defense community, so that participation in Sishankamrata is not merely administrative but also based on a deep sense of national consciousness (Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978).

Adaptive leadership, as outlined by Heifetz, emphasizes the organization's capacity to learn to address unstructured problems through experimentation, redistribution of responsibility, and collective learning. Its practical applications in the military environment include decentralized decision-making, the formation of multidisciplinary teams for cyber/hybrid threats, and rapid feedback mechanisms for adjusting operational doctrine. A transformational-adaptive combination enables leaders not only to articulate a grand vision but also to organize organizational processes to flexibly mobilize human and natural resources in VUCA situations (Heifetz et al., 2009).

From a resource mobilization perspective, four leadership capacities emerge as key determinants: (1) a strategic vision that clarifies long-term goals (e.g., Golden Indonesia 2045) to prioritize resource allocation; (2) a cross-sector orchestration capacity (public-private-academic) to integrate industry, research, and human resources; (3) a grassroots institutional empowerment capacity to accelerate operational responses; and (4) a capacity to maintain public legitimacy through integrity, accountability, and upholding the values of Pancasila. These four capacities interact to transform material and non-material capabilities into strategic advantages (Burns, 1978; Heifetz et al., 2009).

Practical implications: Leadership development for the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) and policymakers must include a curriculum that emphasizes strategic vision, technological literacy, inter-actor orchestration skills, and strengthening ethics and values of struggle. Programs such as transformational leadership education coupled with adaptive

training (hybrid simulations, cyber-defense exercises, and joint civil-military exercises) will accelerate readiness for human resource mobilization in times of crisis. Recent studies have shown a positive relationship between transformational leadership practices and the psychological readiness and readiness of soldiers.

### **Comparison of Leadership Practices and Implications for Resource Mobilization**

To explore empirical lessons for Indonesia, this article selects three examples of countries/actors that demonstrate variations in strategic leadership and resource mobilization outcomes: China (Xi Jinping), the Russian Federation (Vladimir Putin), and Turkey (Recep Tayyip Erdoğan). The analysis focuses not on moral and political judgments, but rather on the correlation between leadership styles, mobilization mechanisms, and their implications for defense doctrine.

#### **People's Republic of China: Integrated Visionary Leadership and Military-Civil Fusion**

Xi Jinping's leadership displays a combination of authoritarian and visionary leadership, with a strong emphasis on military modernization through the Military-Civil Fusion (MCF) concept. MCF directs national efforts to integrate civilian industrial capacity, academic research, and state programs to accelerate the adoption of military technologies (AI, semiconductors, cyber). Its primary advantages are accelerated technology transfer and production scale, allowing for faster implementation of capability modernization compared to models relying solely on the traditional state defense industry (CSET; CSIS; NBR). However, risks include high reliance on political instruments, potential corruption and misuse of resources, and issues of transparency and accountability. This pattern demonstrates that leadership capable of orchestrating the entire economy toward strategic goals can accelerate the mobilization of natural resources, but requires strong institutional oversight to prevent distortions (McFaul et al., 2025) (Jones, 2025) (Bitzinger et al., 2021).

Lessons for Indonesia. Adopting civil-military collaboration principles (research alignment, industry incentives, and digital talent programs) is relevant for accelerating domestic defense industrialization. However, adaptation must be guided by Pancasila principles and transparent public management principles, such as performance-based contracts, public audits, and limiting the role of political parties in defense industry management to maintain public accountability and legitimacy.

#### **Russian Federation: Mass Mobilization and the Limits of Organizational Adaptation**

Putin's leadership provides an example of resource mobilization under conditions of total war: calls for mobilization, industrial surges in certain sectors, and economic mobilization policies. However, the experience of the Ukrainian war revealed the limits of mobilization efficiency: issues with recruitment, logistics, personnel quality, corruption in procurement, and demographic/economic pressures hamper long-term reconstitution (Schwartz et al., 2024) (Grisé et al., 2025) (Kofman, 2024). This model demonstrates that large-scale mobilization without institutional transformation and institutional reform risks producing fragile and unsustainable capabilities.

Lessons for Indonesia. Mobilization must be planned based on national institutional and demographic capabilities. Indonesia cannot replicate a mass mobilization model that ignores quality and legitimacy; instead, a focus on voluntary readiness, professionalization of reserves (Komcad), and human resource development through systematic education and training is more appropriate for Indonesia's democratic and demographic context.

#### **Turkey: Nationalist Leadership Developing a Defense Industrial Base**

Under Erdoğan's leadership, Turkey has undergone a transformation in its defense industry: from a foreign customer to a supplier and exporter of defense products. Policies prioritizing domestic industrial incentives, initially protecting the domestic market, and supporting top political forces facilitated scale-up of production and practical innovation. The

strength of this model is its ability to promote technological independence in a relatively short timeframe through consistent policy orientation. Weaknesses include the risk of industry politicization, exporter priorities that sometimes sacrifice the quality of civilian regulations, and financial dependence on military exports to cover costs (Egeli et al., 2024).

Lessons for Indonesia. The defense industrialization strategy rests on clear incentive policies, encouragement of research and development (R&D), and the development of local supply chains (SME defense suppliers). However, a crucial lesson is ensuring strong governance, such as limiting conflicts of interest, independent technical evaluation standards, and enforcing export regulations, so that industrialization does not compromise the principles of accountability and national sovereignty.

From the above comparison, several lessons can be learned for Indonesia. First, accelerating technological capabilities can be achieved through structured public-private synergy (a lesson from the MCF), but this approach must be aligned with Indonesia's values of democracy, accountability, and the rule of law. Second, centralization (as in Russia) facilitates short-term resource mobilization but is vulnerable to external retaliation (sanctions) and risks suppressing domestic innovation. Third, personalized leadership (as in the Turkish model) is effective for promoting specific industrial projects but requires institutional continuity mechanisms to ensure strategic programs are not dependent on a single figure. In summary, the best model for Indonesia is to adopt positive elements (speed and technological integration) but moderate them through a strong legal framework, openness, and the instillation of Pancasila values. Human Resource and Natural Resource Mobilization Mechanisms: Practices, Challenges, and Lessons for Indonesia

Based on policy studies and mobilization literature, an effective mobilization mechanism contains the following key components: (a) a clear legal and policy framework (for legitimacy and coordination), (b) a resilient national industrial base and supply chain (defense industrial base), (c) trained human resources and an organized reserve (civil reserve/Komcad and total defense concept), (d) adaptive intelligence and logistics systems, and (e) interoperability between the public, private, and academic sectors. Successful countries (in the modern context) strengthen production capabilities through strategic policies and production localization while mitigating the risk of supply-chain fragility. For Indonesia, priorities are strengthening the domestic industrial base, clarifying the role of Komcad and recruitment/training mechanisms, and developing a national mobilization plan tested through exercises and scenarios (Department of Defense, 2023) (Devine, 2025).

Indonesia's contextual challenges, including limited strategic manufacturing capacity, R&D fragmentation, and the need to improve the quality of technical human resources (STEM, cyber), are major obstacles. From a legal-doctrinal perspective, Law No. 23/2019 and the Presidential Regulation on National Defense and National Defense (PKBN) provide a normative framework, but operational implementation (financing, industrial incentives, inter-ministerial coordination mechanisms) needs to be strengthened. This gap must be addressed so that the mobilization plan is not merely normative but can be realized when needed.

### **Relevance to Pancasila, the Value of Struggle, and Asta Cita 2045**

Strengthening defense doctrine and strategic leadership models cannot be separated from the context of national values. Pancasila and the value of struggle provide an ethical and social framework for mobilization: integrity, mutual cooperation, sacrifice for the common good, and national sovereignty. National policy documents (the Presidential Regulation on National Defense and the White Paper) place fostering national defense awareness as a crucial instrument for shaping national character, ensuring that human resource mobilization does not lose its moral foundation and public support. Furthermore, the Asta Cita 2045 vision

(eight missions to achieve Golden Indonesia 2045) emphasizes national development priorities closely related to economic independence, strengthening the Pancasila ideology, and developing technological capacity all elements relevant to the design of an adaptive defense doctrine based on transformational leadership. Therefore, the strategic leadership model must link the national vision (Asta Cita) with the operational defense strategy so that development and defense synergies strengthen each other (TNI, 2024).

### **Designing a Strategic Leadership Model for Indonesia's Defense Doctrine Towards 2045**

Based on a synthesis of theory and case studies, I formulated a conceptual model of strategic leadership oriented toward the mobilization of human resources and natural resources and aligned with the values of Pancasila. This model consists of six operational pillars:

1. Integrated Strategic Vision (Golden Indonesia 2045 as a Policy Compass). Strategic leaders must establish and communicate clear long-term goals, such as self-sufficient defense capabilities, cyber proficiency, and total citizen readiness, as the basis for prioritizing natural resource allocation. The vision helps harmonize economic, industrial, educational, and research policies (Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978).
2. Orchestration of Civil–Military Collaboration (democratically adapted MCF). Adapting the principles of military-civil fusion within an Indonesian legal and accountability framework facilitates collaboration between universities, industry, and state institutions through transparent contracts, R&D incentives, and technology transfer programs. This mechanism must be complemented by legislative oversight and public audits to safeguard national interests (Bitzinger et al., 2021; McFaul et al., 2025).
3. Structured Human Resource Development (talent pipeline & class-leading Komcad). Focus on STEAM education, cyber training, transformational leadership development programs at all levels (officers, NCOs), and a trained civilian reserve (Komcad) model designed as a strategic resource for the entire people. These programs require collaboration between the ministries of education, industry, and the Ministry of Defense (Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 23, 2019).
4. Layered Defense Industrial Architecture (SME up-skilling & supply chain integration). Industrial policies that encourage local added value, local supplier development, technical certification facilities, and ethical export incentives. The establishment of national defense technology competency centers (national defense technology hubs) can accelerate innovation capabilities (Egeli et al., 2024).
5. Governing with Integrity (accountability & civilian oversight). Strengthening oversight mechanisms (parliament, Supreme Audit Agency), transparent procurement standards, and enforcement of sanctions against corrupt practices. Strategic leadership must instill the values of integrity and struggle as an organizational culture to maintain public legitimacy.
6. Adaptive Decision-Making (mission command & intelligence technology). Implementing mission command principles that provide autonomy at the executive level, combined with data-driven intelligence systems (big data, AI) for rapid decision-making. Continuous evaluation and learning mechanisms (after-action review, wargaming) are essential components.

A pragmatic implementation framework has also been designed for these six pillars: (a) consolidation phase (policy & regulation), (b) capacity building phase (human resources & industry), (c) technology integration phase, and (d) national doctrine and training strengthening phase. Each phase is equipped with measurable performance indicators (KPIs), such as the percentage of the R&D budget to GDP, the number of certified cyber talent, the

production capacity of local critical components, and the readiness level of defense units as a means of measuring progress towards 2045.

### **Critical Discussion and Policy Implications**

First, the balance between accelerated modernization and accountability is non-negotiable. The examples of China and Turkey demonstrate that acceleration can occur with top political support, but without strong control, the risk of distortion and legitimacy arises. Indonesia needs to design management instruments that enable accelerated capability build-up while still respecting the principles of democracy and Pancasila.

Second, transformational leadership needs to be practiced within institutional boundaries. The ideal model is not to imitate a single figure, but to build collective leadership capacity through training, mentoring, and the formation of a network of leaders across ministries/institutions. The leadership curriculum must incorporate the values of struggle, public ethics, technological literacy, and crisis management skills.

Third, human resource mobilization must be based on volunteerism and quality, not forced mass mobilization. The Komcad approach and structured national defense education are more in line with Indonesia's democratic character and will produce high-quality reserves in the long term, compared to emergency recruitment, which poses logistical and legitimacy issues. (Law No. 23/2019; Presidential Decree on National Defense).

### **E. CONCLUSION**

This study finds that transformational leadership, enriched with adaptive capabilities, provides a strong foundation for effectively mobilizing national resources to build an adaptive defense doctrine for Indonesia towards 2045. Leadership that affirms strategic vision, stimulates innovation, prioritizes individual development, and maintains institutional integrity can strengthen collective commitment and facilitate cross-sector (public-private-academia) orchestration to accelerate defense capabilities. Comparative findings indicate that Indonesia can learn from elements of technology and industrialization acceleration, but their implementation must be balanced with strong accountability mechanisms and civilian oversight to align with Pancasila values and democratic principles. At the operational level, the proposed strategic leadership model, encompassing an integrated vision, collaborative orchestration, structured human resource development, a layered industrial architecture, integrity-based governance, and adaptive decision-making, offers an applicable conceptual framework for guiding defense doctrine reform and the national human resource and natural resource mobilization program. Based on the research findings, it is recommended that for the development of knowledge, future research employ mixed methods, combining primary data (in-depth interviews with military leaders/policymakers, unit ethnographic studies) and quantitative analysis (readiness surveys, R&D indicators) to empirically test the causal relationship between transformational leadership practices and human resource mobilization outcomes at various organizational levels. This recommendation is intended to ensure that defense modernization policies are implemented expeditiously while remaining accountable and grounded in national values.

This research has several limitations that are important to note when interpreting the results. First, the study design, based on literature and document analysis (secondary), limits

its ability to capture the nuances of leadership practices in the field. Therefore, inferences regarding organizational behavior and internal dynamics need to be verified through primary data. Second, the selection of comparative cases was purposive and limited to a limited number of actors; therefore, cross-national generalizations should be made with caution, given differences in political structures, industrial capacity, and demographics. Third, because of the focus on recent literature and policies, the analysis is susceptible to sudden policy changes or geopolitical events that could alter operational conditions. To address these limitations, further research is recommended to conduct longitudinal field studies, primary-secondary data triangulation, and simulations/scenario studies to test the resilience of the proposed leadership model in various crisis and peace conditions.

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