

TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP MODEL BASED ON PANCASILA AND STRUGGLE IN MOBILIZING NATIONAL RESOURCES FOR INDONESIA'S ADAPTIVE DEFENSE DOCTRINE 2045

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Abstract

The dynamics of contemporary threats that move in the multi-domain realm including conventional, cyber, and information warfare force a shift in leadership paradigms and defense doctrine. This study aims to examine the relevance of transformational leadership and adaptive leadership in welcoming the needs of an adaptive Indonesian defense doctrine in the cyber era, as well as designing a strategic leadership model rooted in the values of Pancasila and struggle to mobilize human resources (HR) and natural resources (SDA) towards defense resilience 2045. The method used is qualitative with an instrumental case study design focusing on national defense doctrine relying on document analysis and thematic analysis to examine policy documents, doctrinal products, related regulations, and the latest academic literature. The results of the analysis show that transformational leadership that emphasizes vision, moral inspiration, empowerment, and the formation of collective commitment when combined with adaptive leadership that emphasizes organizational learning capacity and response agility is able to bridge the modernization of technical capabilities (especially cyber) with the strengthening of the national ideological foundation (Pancasila) and the ethos of struggle. The findings also underscore the importance of strengthening integrated mobilization mechanisms (HR-NR-industry) and establishing a digital defense ecosystem involving public-private collaboration and increasing the capacity of cyber talent. Based on these findings, the study formulates an operational strategic leadership model that combines five elements: (1) a Pancasila-based national vision; (2) ethical and integrity role models; (3) empowerment and education in the values of struggle; (4) adaptive capabilities for cyber threats; and (5) a coordinated resource mobilization mechanism. In conclusion, doctrinal transformation and leadership development rooted in national values are prerequisites for technical modernization to make Indonesia's defense forces both resilient and characterful. A limitation of the study is the nature of a desk study without field verification; recommendations for further research include empirical studies (interviews/surveys) to test the proposed model.

Keywords: Defense Doctrine, Struggle, Transformational Leadership, National Resource Mobilization, Pancasila.

A. INTRODUCTION

Today's global geopolitical and geostrategic dynamics are characterized by high uncertainty and shifting modes of competition, leading to multi-domain conflicts. Conflicts are no longer confined to conventional military confrontations; a combination of military operations, cyber operations, information manipulation, and economic pressure has become

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part of the ever-changing competitive landscape. The phenomenon of hybrid warfare and information warfare, which places narratives, data, and digital infrastructure as the battlefield, makes it difficult to delineate the boundaries between peacetime and wartime, demanding a more agile and multidisciplinary strategic response (Käihkö, 2021).

The development of the digital era has expanded the threat landscape: cyberattacks and disinformation campaigns can paralyze state functions without the need for large-scale physical deployment. Recent studies of the Ukraine conflict demonstrate how cyber operations and information campaigns have become integral to modern war strategies, and how state and non-state actors leverage technology to influence public opinion, damage critical infrastructure, and undermine adversaries' national cohesion. These impacts require strategic leadership that understands the digital dimension and is capable of designing defense policies that anticipate non-conventional threats (Kerr Jaclyn, 2023)(Reuters, 2024).

In the Indonesian context, this multidimensional vulnerability is crucial due to the strategic location of the region and the complexity of national resources. Hybrid threats ranging from cyberattacks, disinformation, supply chain disruptions, to the impacts of ecological disasters demand integration between traditional defense concepts and technology-based defense capacities. This is where doctrine and leadership play a crucial role: doctrine must reflect the reality of contemporary threats, while leadership must be able to mobilize human and natural resources effectively and ethically. National resource management policies for defense purposes are increasingly gaining a firm legal framework, as reflected in Law No. 23 of 2019 concerning the Management of National Resources for National Defense, which emphasizes the obligations and mechanisms for managing human resources, natural resources, and infrastructure for defense purposes (Law No. 23 of 2019).

Beyond technical and legal aspects, ideological foundations determine legitimacy and social resilience in the face of external pressures. Pancasila, as the foundation of the state, and the values of struggle (the spirit of devotion, sacrifice, and loyalty) constitute moral and cultural resources that must be internalized in defense leadership. Emphasis on Pancasila values is not merely symbolic; it guides policy values, strengthens national cohesion, and serves as a buffer against disinformation maneuvers that seek to divide the people. Therefore, developing a leadership model rooted in Pancasila and the values of struggle is relevant to ensuring that capability modernization, including cyber capabilities, aligns with national values (Wardhani et al., 2022) (Elizamiharti & Doly Andhika Putra, 2022).

A conceptual review of leadership demonstrates that the old paradigm relying solely on hierarchical control is insufficient to address today's complexities. Transformational leadership, emphasizing vision, moral inspiration, empowerment, and the formation of long-term commitment, along with an adaptive leadership approach that emphasizes the ability to navigate uncertainty and mobilize organizations to learn, are two theoretical pillars highly relevant to the formation of contemporary defense leadership. Recent academic literature and empirical studies indicate that the application of transformational and adaptive leadership in military environments can enhance organizational readiness to face hybrid threats and accelerate the adoption of technological innovation. Therefore, the discourse on strategic leadership, directly linked to the design of doctrine and human resource mobilization mechanisms, needs to be deepened (Barfod & Clifton, 2025).

Although numerous studies on global leadership styles are available, often focusing on personal analysis of political figures or historical case studies, there remains a gap in research that bridges these leadership styles with the formulation of operational doctrine applicable to the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) and Indonesian defense policy. In other words, the literature tends to focus on descriptions and typologies of leadership, while the country's practical need is to translate leadership styles into models capable of mobilizing national

resources in a structured manner to address the threats of the digital era. This gap is the focus of this research (Grigore, 2021).

Based on the description above, this research takes an interdisciplinary position that combines transformational and adaptive leadership theories with doctrinal analysis and defense policy. With a qualitative case study approach (bounded case: national defense doctrine), the research seeks to identify leadership principles rooted in Pancasila and struggle and formulate a strategic leadership model capable of managing the mobilization of human resources and natural resources in the cyber and information era towards Indonesia's adaptive defense resilience in 2045. In summary, the research objectives are formulated as follows:

1. Analyze the relevance of the concepts of transformational leadership and adaptive leadership to the needs of Indonesia's defense doctrine in the digital era;
2. Assess the extent to which the principles of Pancasila and the values of struggle are internalized in national defense resource management doctrine and policies; and
3. Design an operational strategic leadership model based on Pancasila and struggle to support the mobilization of human resources and natural resources within the framework of the adaptive defense doctrine toward Indonesia Emas 2045.

These objectives will be achieved through analysis of primary documents (doctrinal products and related regulations) and a review of the latest scientific literature, so that the research results are expected to provide analytical contributions as well as policy recommendations that can be used as references in developing doctrine and fostering national defense leadership.

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

Transformational Leadership

In 1978, Burns introduced the concepts of transactional and transformational leadership, which were further developed by Bass in 1985. These concepts emerged in response to the challenges of globalization, technological advancement, and increasing competition in the organizational environment. Toward the end of the 1980s, management researchers began to pay significant attention to these two leadership models, as they were considered capable of driving change and revitalizing organizational dynamics (Insan, 2019).

Bass's leadership concept differed from Burns's. Burns emphasized that leaders should focus solely on transformational leadership, while Bass argued that leaders can be both transactional and transformational, and that a combination of the two is even optimal (Bass & Riggio, 2006). Bernard M. Bass emphasized that a transformational leader is someone who can motivate individuals to do more than they initially expected (Bass, 1985). In other words, a transformational leadership style can drive performance beyond ordinary standards. Effective leadership is fundamentally based on transformational capabilities, namely when a leader successfully increases motivation, fosters awareness, and instills organizational values. This encourages employees to prioritize organizational interests over personal interests (Bass, 1990).

According to Bernard M. Bass, transformational leadership can be recognized through several main indicators, including: (1) the leader's ability to instill awareness in followers that the results of tasks have important meaning, (2) encouraging followers to prioritize the interests of the organization or team above personal interests, and (3) motivating followers to be driven to fulfill needs at a higher level (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. Leaders in this context are not

limited to top management but can also come from formal or informal positions, regardless of specific title. Burns describes transformational leaders as figures who are able to inspire and inspire 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 organizational goals as a whole (Suriagiri, 2020).

It can be concluded that transformational leadership is able to significantly improve organizational performance because it emphasizes intrinsic motivation, trust, commitment, and loyalty of members, so that these values are firmly embedded in them.

National Resource Mobilization

In the Law on the Management of National Resources for National Defense, mobilization is defined as the simultaneous deployment and utilization of all National Resources, including the facilities and infrastructure that have been prepared and developed as part of the national defense force. Mobilization is carried out in an appropriate, integrated, and targeted manner to face various threats, both from abroad and from within the country, which have the potential to disrupt the unity, integrity, and 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).

Resource mobilization theory was first introduced by Antony Oberschall. Oberschall criticized Kornhauser's theory of mass society, which at the time was the dominant perspective in studying social movements. According to Oberschall, 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 give rise to protest, because individuals are seen as rational actors who consider costs and benefits before acting (McCarthy & Zald, 1977).

The concept of Pancasila

The concept of Pancasila is essentially the philosophical, ideological, and legal foundation for national and state life in Indonesia. Philosophically, Pancasila embodies the fundamental values that serve as the nation's collective moral compass: belief in one God, just and civilized humanity, Indonesian unity, democracy guided by the wisdom of deliberation and representation, and social justice for all Indonesian people. Pancasila's position is not merely a set of normative values, but also the foundation of the state, guiding the goals and direction of state administration, ensuring that all public policy and legal systems must be consistent with these values.

Historically, the concept of Pancasila was formulated in the context of the process of formulating the state's foundation during the BPUPKI session and is most famously reflected in the speech of Ir. Soekarno on June 1, 1945. The initial formulation then underwent a process of debate, sharpening, and the influence of other figures until it became a formulation that was included and gained legitimacy through the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution. Therefore, the origins of Pancasila have strong roots in the process of the struggle for

independence and the political consensus of the era of the founding of the nation (News, 2023).

From the perspective of philosophy and state theory, Indonesian thinkers such as Notonagoro and other scholars of Pancasila philosophy emphasize that Pancasila serves a dual function: as a way of life (*weltanschauung*) that shapes the character of the nation, and as an open ideology that allows for contextual interpretation without losing its normative essence. Notonagoro's approach, for example, emphasizes the function of Pancasila's principles as the fundamental principles of the state that provide a logical framework for the legal system and public policy; this positions Pancasila not merely as a symbol, but as a conceptual basis for the development of state ethics and policy (Hidayatullah, 2006).

Struggle Value

The value of struggle refers to a set of cultural and moral values formed in the collective experience of the struggle for independence and the nation's survival: patriotism, sacrifice, solidarity, mutual cooperation, and resilience in the face of adversity. These values serve as social capital, enabling the moral and practical mobilization of citizens during times of crisis. In Indonesia, the value of struggle is a distinctive historical asset, inherited from the practices of the people's struggle, relevant to the development of modern *Sishankamrata* (defense and security) (Hanafi et al., 2024).

To transform the value of struggle into a strategic competency, a systematic education and development program is required: a contextualized history of struggle curriculum (connecting the past with present threats), community training (resilience drills), development of reserve organizations (Komcad, Linmas), and cultural activities that strengthen collective identity. Internalization is not sufficient through symbolic rituals; it must be measured through changes in collective behavior, a willingness to work together, a willingness to cooperate across sectors, and a readiness to support the state's efforts in emergency situations. Empirical research shows that structured value-building programs are more effective in shaping pro-resilience behavior than short, sporadic campaigns (Fathun et al., 2023).

Hybrid threats and information warfare target not only infrastructure but also collective spirit and national narratives. Therefore, the value of struggle plays a dual role: it not only increases physical mobilization capacity (reserve units, civil aid), but also strengthens the narrative resilience of community cohesion in resisting disinformation and moral attacks. When communities have a strong historical understanding and collective pride, attempts to divide identities or face psychological attacks become less effective. Therefore, developing the value of struggle is an element of soft defense that must be aligned with the development of hard capabilities (Hoffman, 2007).

To make the value of struggle a useful aspect in policy, operational indicators need to be established: (1) the level of citizen participation in preparedness training; (2) the level of literacy about the history of struggle in schools and public institutions; (3) the readiness and capacity of reserve organizations; and (4) indicators of social cohesion (intergroup trust surveys). Periodic data collection and program evaluation will assess the effectiveness of value internalization and adjust policy interventions.

Defense Doctrine

The National Defense Doctrine is a set of basic principles that serve as guidelines for managing defense resources to achieve national security goals. This doctrine encompasses six main aspects, namely: (1) the nation's view of war; (2) the components of the state involved in war; (3) war control authorities; (4) accountability mechanisms; (5) war strategies; and (6) how to end the war. These six aspects are structured in a layered and consistent manner, starting from the political, military, and professional levels. At the political level, the doctrine contains principles related to the role of the armed forces in facing military threats.

Meanwhile, at the military level, the doctrine focuses on how military power is utilized to face threats, including efforts to implement early prevention strategies so that small-scale conflicts do not develop into wider wars (Widjajanto, 2010).

C. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Types of research

This research uses a qualitative approach with an instrumental case study design as developed by Creswell & Poth, namely an approach to explore and understand social phenomena in depth within a bounded system. The choice of a qualitative approach is based on the need to explore the meaning, values, and patterns of action inherent in the construction of transformational leadership and how defense doctrine accommodates the values of Pancasila and struggle. According to Creswell's guidelines, the case study here is positioned as a research strategy that allows for focusing on one central case, namely national defense doctrine, with intensive data collection from various types of documents and literature to obtain a rich contextual understanding (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

Unit Analisis

The unit of analysis in this study is the national defense doctrine (formal doctrine/defense policy product) as a bounded case. The selection of doctrine as the unit of analysis is based on the research objective of designing a strategic leadership model that has direct implications for the design of the TNI's operational doctrine and policies. Therefore, what is analyzed is not just figures or institutions, but how doctrine absorbs and structures leadership values, mobilization of human resources/natural resources, and their components in the cyber and information era. The case is limited to official national documents (doctrines, implementing regulations, ministerial regulations, and laws related to PSDN/Komcad) that serve as sources of doctrinal legitimacy and defense policies in the current policy range (relevant primary documents include the National Defense Doctrine, Permenhan No. 38/2015, the Law related to PSDN, and the latest PP/implementing regulations). Focusing on doctrine facilitates in-depth analysis of value structures, strategic assumptions, and policy implications without obscuring the national context that is the target of recommendations (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Yin, 2018).

Data source

The data sources for this research are divided into two main groups. First, primary data in the form of official documents and policy products that form the doctrinal framework and its implementation, for example the National Defense Doctrine (a product of the Ministry of Defense), Regulations of the Minister of Defense (including Regulation of the Minister of Defense No. 38/2015 concerning the National Defense Doctrine), Laws and Implementing Regulations related to the National Defense and Security System / PSDN (e.g., relevant Laws/PPs/Ministerial Regulations), and implementation documents of the Reserve Component (Komcad). These documents were selected because they represent normative and operational doctrinal content, and serve as the primary reference for the formation of defense posture and policies. Second, secondary data consists of academic literature (scientific articles from 2021–2025, scholarly books, policy studies, and official reports) that provide theoretical frameworks (transformational leadership theory, adaptive leadership, resource mobilization theory), empirical research findings related to military leadership and digital transformation in the defense sector, and international comparative studies. In collecting and selecting sources, the following inclusion criteria were used: substantive relevance to the theme (transformational leadership and doctrine), credibility (peer-reviewed articles), and recency (priorities 2021–2025 for secondary studies), as recommended in document analysis

procedures in qualitative research (Bowen, 2009). All primary documents and literature were recorded in a data inventory (digital files, metadata, access dates) for audit trail purposes.

Analysis Techniques

Data analysis was conducted using a case study approach according to Creswell & Poth (2018) and document analysis procedures as formalized by Bowen (2009). In brief, the stages of analysis are as follows (Creswell & Creswell, 2018) (Bowen, 2009). First, document collection and mapping (inventory) identification of primary and secondary documents, determining the relevance of content to the research question, and electronic archiving with metadata labels. Second, initial data reduction through repeated readings to understand the overall doctrinal context; creation of reflective memos to capture the researcher's initial assumptions (reflexivity). Third, open coding of document content: pieces of text containing key themes. For the coding and theme formation procedures, thematic analysis guidelines were used (Braun & Clarke, 2006): (1) data familiarization, (2) initial code creation, (3) theme search, (4) theme review, (5) theme naming, and (6) preparation of analytical reports, all carried out iteratively so that the final themes represent strong patterns of meaning across the documents. Fourth, document triangulation cross-checking between primary sources (policy documents) and secondary sources (academic studies, reviews) to test the consistency of the narrative and reveal gaps in interpretation (source triangulation) as recommended by Bowen (2009) and Yin (2014).

D. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Transformational and Adaptive Leadership

Transformational leadership emphasizes changing values and inspiring a shared vision. Transformative leaders are able to inspire, motivate, and build trust in subordinates, fostering creativity and initiative in achieving organizational goals (Sendi & Kurniawan, 2025). This is crucial for defense institutions, which must innovate amidst the dynamics of modern threats. Research by Putri & Purwanto (2023) confirms that transformational leadership is crucial in fostering a culture of innovation through long-term vision and strong moral examples within the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) (Putri & Purwanto, 2023). Research within the Indonesian Navy (TNI AL) also shows that transformational leadership, combined with digitalization, accelerates readiness for modern warfare (Dehocman, 2025). Conversely, conventional hierarchical leadership styles are no longer relevant in the face of global complexity; military leaders must be flexible, adaptive, and innovative.

Adaptive leadership (Heifetz) needs to be implemented to address complex, unconventional challenges (Heifetz, 1994). Military leaders are required to be facilitators, motivators, coaches, and teachers, all at once, capable of reacting quickly to internal and external changes (Wardhani et al., 2022). For example, facing cyber threats requires adaptive leadership: raising personnel awareness, accelerating cyber training, and building civil-military cooperation in the field of digital security. Findings suggest that innovative-adaptive leadership can accelerate organizational transformation toward a more modern defense (Dehocman, 2025). Therefore, reforming organizational culture (becoming more open to innovation) and enhancing technology-based training are important recommendations for aligning TNI leadership with the Society 5.0 Era.

Pancasila Values and Struggle

Pancasila values serve as the primary ethical foundation for formulating strategic leadership. According to Wardhani et al. (2022), Pancasila values are crucial to the national defense system as a key component of the nation's defense foundation (Wardhani et al., 2022). Leaders with Pancasila character integrate spirituality, humanity, nationalism, democracy, and social justice into their policies. Concrete implementations, for example,

emphasize the neutrality of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), respect for pluralism, and honesty and responsibility in every action. The government requires members of the Reserve Component (Komcad) to be "loyal and obedient to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution," and to demonstrate integrity and exemplary behavior in their attitudes, words, and actions. This emphasizes that integrity and alignment with Pancasila values are the primary requirements for a defense leader.

The value of struggle (the spirit of struggle of 1945) serves as a moral filter and motivation in the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI). As expressed by Defense Minister Ryacudu, the TNI, as the successor to the nation's founding generation, is "imbued with an extraordinary spirit of struggle, devotion, and sacrifice" (Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, 2018). These values must be maintained as the soul of the military organization. This ethos of struggle is embodied in the Sapta Marga (Sword of Honor) and the Soldier's Oath, which bind soldiers to uphold the nation's integrity based on Pancasila. The spirit of struggle of 1945 emphasizes loyalty and devotion above personal interests, which in the military context strengthens the collective spirit in facing threats (Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, 2019). Thus, transformative leadership in Indonesia should be rooted in the values of struggle and Pancasila, combining national morality and innovation for national defense.

Mobilization of National Resources (Human and Natural Resources)

Indonesia's national resilience concept (Universal Defense System) demands that all components of the nation be involved in defense. The National Defense Doctrine emphasizes the need to integrate primary, reserve, and supporting components by mobilizing non-military resources to strengthen core strength. The PSDN Law further defines mobilization as the simultaneous use of all prepared national resources to confront threats that threaten national integrity. In other words, superior human resources and strategic natural resources (energy, defense industry, technology) must be transformed into a ready-to-use defense force.

This is where the role of strategic leadership is crucial: defense leaders must be able to consolidate and effectively implement this mobilization. Visionary leadership will design policies for the development of military and civilian human resources (e.g., the formation of reserve units) and encourage synergy between institutions (the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Defense, strategic state-owned enterprises, research universities) within the defense framework. For example, commitments to procure the latest defense equipment and technology require leaders who can mobilize support from domestic industry and international cooperation. Adaptive leaders also need to anticipate material shortages or disruptions to the global supply chain (pandemics, embargoes, conflicts) with strategic reserve policies. Thus, a strategic leadership style must include mastery of holistic resource management.

The Digital Era and Technology Management

Digital transformation demands that defense doctrine incorporate cyber and information domains as key areas of operation. Several literatures emphasize that without doctrinal reform, Indonesia risks becoming a soft target in global cyber warfare. Therefore, leadership must be proactive in developing a distinctly Indonesian cyber defense doctrine. Visionary leadership can transform technological resources into a "digital defense shield." This strategy includes investment in cyber early detection systems, public-private partnerships in digital security, and cyber talent development (e.g., establishing a Cyber Defense Academy) in accordance with Pancasila values (transparency and accountability) (Priatno et al., 2025).

Strategic Implications for Indonesia's Defense Doctrine

The development of future defense doctrine must internalize the above findings. First, the doctrine must accommodate transformative military leadership that builds a culture of

innovation and continuous learning. This means changing organizational values (cultural reform) to be more responsive and creative in tactical/strategic innovation. Second, the doctrine needs to reinforce the principle of Sishankamrata (Universal Defense) by emphasizing the integration of human resources and natural resources: not only soldiers and defense equipment, but all citizens and national assets function as components of the defense force through national defense programs and reserve mobilization. For example, the PP PSDN requires Komcad (Regional Military Reserves) to swear allegiance to Pancasila and be ready for mobilization. Third, adaptive doctrine requires flexibility in the defense structure (force development and readiness) that prioritizes high-tech posture and intelligence/artificial intelligence capabilities.

Overall, leadership that integrates the values of struggle, Pancasila, and technological adaptation will shape an effective defense policy. For example, combining the concept of economic mobilization (industrial base) with military readiness and emphasizing defense diplomacy that supports alliance strategies. Lessons learned from global practice demonstrate the importance of total defense integration (such as Israel and the United States integrating the private sector and the military). Indonesia can adopt a similar approach: maximizing its geographic advantages (the paradox of the Indonesian Sea) and natural resources as part of its defense strength.

E. CONCLUSION

Transformational and adaptive leadership rooted in the values of Pancasila and struggle is key to designing an adaptive national defense doctrine. The values of Pancasila (unity, social justice) and the struggle of 1945 (loyalty, devotion) must be internalized in the character of military leaders. Leaders who encourage innovation and prioritize integrity will be able to optimally mobilize national human resources and natural resources. This study confirms that through such leadership, technological resources can be transformed into a formidable "digital defense shield" for Indonesia. The development of an adaptive defense doctrine should emphasize organizational culture reform (to enhance innovation) and strengthening technology training and knowledge management. As a recommendation, defense institutions are advised to increase simulations and training based on cyber and grey-zone threats, and strengthen military-civilian integration mechanisms with principles of transparency and accountability in line with Pancasila values.

A limitation of this research is the qualitative approach of desk research without direct field data. The study is still limited to literature and open policies; interviews or surveys could enrich the findings in the future. Nevertheless, this analysis still provides a comprehensive picture of how a strategic leadership model that combines the values of Pancasila and struggle can become the foundation for developing an Indonesian defense doctrine that is adaptive and relevant to the challenges towards Golden Indonesia 2045.

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