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Role of the Indonesian Mass Media as National Defense Element from the Perspective of Total War Strategy

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Abstract

Mass media as a means to disseminate news has independence in news publication regarding the company's target that depends on the latest news developments or trending topics. Total defense requires structuring a strategy that needs media involvement in delivering news to the public as part of the defense element in forming an opinion. This study aims to provide an overview of the critical role of media participation in supporting the government in various activities of disseminating information or actual news about the field of defense in the total defense strategy. According to Paul Long and Tim Wall (Paul Long, 2012), Media Power is associated with two aspects: the first is the power of control, which determines other parties' actions and is considered negative because it implies limiting the freedom of other parties. The other one is the power of self-determination, which is tied to the idea of liberty either to use power or from the superior's responsibility. The media tends to disseminate dynamic life-nuanced news that does not relate to defense, which is considered more favorable. The Ministry of Defense has created a media engagement program and has tried to measure information discussing security with positive, negative, and neutral sentiment. However, the results obtained are still unable to provide a comprehensive view because media respondents have not represented the media's opinion. This research used the descriptive qualitative method and attempted to discover data and facts from the media as an element of national defense in engaging the total war strategy. This study tries to increase the role of the media in strengthening the universal war strategy through reporting by forming public opinion.

Keywords: Strategy, Total Defense, Media, Public

Introduction

National defense has the essence of the involvement of citizens as a whole related to awareness of their rights and obligations and the belief in their own strength, universality has the nature of the involvement of various elements including the role of the media in its duties and functions as a news anchor to the public or the public. In the 2015 defense white book, it is stated that the order of the elements of force is carried out as a whole, integrated under one unit of command by combining a defense strategy, so that it is the totality of national defense. This contemporary war has a very broad battlefield with interconnective and interimplicative aspects with abstractive boundaries (Helda, 2018). In facing non-military threats, placing Ministries / Agencies outside the defense sector

is supported by other elements of the nation's strength. During the war, when it was still using conventional war strategies in the past, the media system relations were in an asymmetrical relationship which was considered less favorable for the state, because media resources were only used by the state as a means of war coverage (for example press conferences, press releases and interviews). War in the future requires us to learn and master defense technology that is more sophisticated than the current one (Saiful, 2015).

The media is not an institution that solves all problems, but in its criticism, the media must provide solution options, including providing opportunities for state officials to do their best for the interests of the nation and state (Suryopratomo, 2019), a senior journalist's stated about the importance of independence of the media that cannot be controlled by certain interests. Information Media about Defense Studies & Strategies that Promote Identity, Nationalism & Integrity (Midhio I Wayan, 2019).

The development of the current pattern of warfare is increasingly considering to reduce the impact of civilian casualties or destruction that possibly invite international reactions and is considered to require large budget support so that the strategy that is considered the most effective and efficient is using irregular warfare, namely the existence of efforts to form public opinion using media.

Theoretical Framework

Theory of media power

According to Paul Long and Tim Wall (Paul Long, 2012), media power is associated with two aspects: the power of control and self-determination. For the first aspect, the power of control is regarded as the ability to determine the other's actions, which are considered negative because it implies limiting the freedom of others. Meanwhile, the power of self-determination is liberty either to use power or from the authorities' responsibility. There are two ways of practicing power. First is through physical power that uses violence to achieve goals, which is to force other parties to obey what the authorities want. The second way is using the power of ideas, which is when support is considered to be the most successful, is when the other party accepts the idea naturally and without any constraint.

Theory of role

According to Soekanto (2001: 242), the role is divided into 3 such as follows:

1. Active role

An active role is a role appointed by the group members because of their position in the group as a group activity, such as administrators, officials, etc.

2. Participative role

A participatory role is a role appointed by group members to the member who provides beneficial contributions for the group itself.

3. Passive Role

The passive role is the passive contribution of group members, where group members refrain from giving opportunities to other functions in the group to run well (Syaron lantaeda, 2017).

The expert's statement or opinion is a representation of the pattern of an action that seeks to limit a person or an organization to carry out an activity based on mutually agreed objectives and conditions so that it can be done as well as possible.

The art of war theory

On the other hand, according to Sun Tzu in *The Art of War* (Gowrie Vinayan, 2013), a general is explained to require a good knowledge of his enemy, his strength, the terrain, and the weather. Victory is best assured through expertise and flexibility: in other words, understanding of the situation and then adaptation to it. Flexibility can be

related to the pattern of warfare that now tends to use the effectiveness of the information function by involving the media's role as an element of defense in its operations.

Public opinion theory

According to Ronald D. Asmus (2004), in his journal of *Power, War, Public Opinion*, the Government needs the formation of public opinion by the media during the war to legitimate support from the whole society (Asmus, 2004). Managing public opinion through the media is not a new way, but it will be influential in mobilizing the public to participate in responding to all threats through the media if it is done comprehensively by involving all levels of society.

Theory of total war

In a book entitled "*Konsep Perang Semesta: Dari Perang Gerilya ke Perang Asimetris*" (The Concept of Total War: From Guerrilla War to Asymmetrical War") by Iswandi Syahputra (2016) is explained that overcoming armed conflict is not the only strategy to win a war. However, to conquer hearts and minds or win over the community where the conflict occurs, and other communities can be a way to get support (Prabowo, 2016). Efforts to win the people's hearts involve mass media's role with its coverage to form opinions. Therefore, people are willing to play a role using all their abilities by responding to various negative news in multiple media, including alternative media such as social media, online, and other news platforms.

Methodology

This study is a descriptive qualitative research which is conducted by collecting data not in the form of numbers, but the data comes from interview manuscripts, field notes, personal documents, memo notes, and other official documents.

Bogdan and Taylor (Moleong, 2010), explain "a qualitative method as a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written and spoken words from people and observable behavior." This study aims to obtain a clearer, more complete, and possible and easy for researchers to carry out observational research.

The data collected in this qualitative research was using interviews, observation, and documentation. Through those three data collection activities, it is hoped that the researcher will get valid data.

Interview

The interview is a series of steps required in conducting a qualitative interview. The researcher got the data from sources persons, including five senior national media journalists (Kompas, The Jakarta Post, Antara, Rakyat Merdeka, Republika), through semi-structured interviews. Those senior journalists were chosen as resource persons based on their over five years of experience and educational background. Interviews are held in a discussion room in the form of a group discussion forum organized by researchers, aiming to get the broadest possible explanation with assumptions without imposing specific interpretations.

Observation

The author carried out the observation in this research on the role of mass media as an element of national defense in the perspective of total war strategy as an observer. The object of this research is the various roles of mass media in forming opinions regarding the defense sector, including various activities and policies in media management.

Documentation

According to Sugiyono (2015), documentation is a method used to obtain data and information in the form of books, archives, documents, written numbers, and images in the form of reports and information that can support research. Documentation is used to collect data as material to be reviewed (Sugiyono, 2015).

Research locus

The author determined the research location where the research would be carried out. The research location is at the Public Relations Bureau of the Secretariat General of the Ministry of Defense, Jalan Medan Merdeka Barat no 13-14 Nasution building, 9th Floor and at Wisma Antara Jl. Medan Merdeka Cell. No.17, Gambir, Kota Jakarta, Gambir, Central Jakarta, DKI Jakarta. Those places were chosen because Antara, as a state-owned company, has a network of representatives throughout Indonesia and some abroad supported by cooperation with various domestic and foreign news agencies.

Research focus

The research focused on the role of the mass media as an element of national defense in the perspective of total war strategy carried out by the media based on the report data from the Ministry of Defense and the press being the research object.

RESEARCH OUTPUT AND DISCUSSION

Research output

Media is seen as part of an overall social process used by dominant/powerful groups to instill their ideology. Meanwhile, in the book entitled *Cepat Majulah Bangsaku*, as the result of the Forum Group Discussion of senior Indonesian journalists for the 2019 Presidential Cup national media competition, Prof. Dr. Bagir Manan, SH.MCL emphasized the role of the media that first, to carry out the country's ideals. Second is to work based on capabilities and qualifications. The last one is contributing to the country's prosperity in maintaining peace and protecting the country from destruction.

At least, the press has a responsibility to the nation. In the same book and the same forum, the Managing Director of Metro TV, Suryopratomo, recalled what was conveyed by the late Jacob Oetama regarding journalists/media's attitude who has to question what the media has contributed to society. The press/media does not only have the responsibility to criticize and supervise, but also provide alternative solutions. The media is not an institution that solves all problems, but in its criticism, the media must provide solution options, including providing opportunities for state officials to do their best for the interests of the nation and state (Suryopratomo, 2019). As is known, often expressed by former Head of the TNI, Lt. Gen. TNI (Purn) Suryo Prabowo as the Total War system, because according to the Indonesian defense doctrine that the battlefield has an identity. Supporting and inhibiting factors for the formation of defense opinion by the media.

The role of the media in forming a public opinion in the defense sector, as the supporting and inhibiting factors for the Total War Strategy, the media as a black box in the middle need balanced and accurate input. Currently, the media is more comfortable conducting a review from various sources. The supporting and inhibiting factors in the Total War Strategy by the role of the media in the formation of public opinion in the defense sector are ourselves and the officials who have an interest there. It can be established by holding regular meetings that invite senior journalists who have sufficient understanding about defense and have been directly involved, such as the journalists who have been trained in Sanggabuana. Moreover, the inhibiting factor is the bureaucracy that hinders implementing a total war strategy that shapes public opinion in the defense sector. It is known that the defense sector is a partially closed and open field. However, the defense sector is currently too restricted in terms of information, so every defense issue is biased. There is no single source that journalists can immediately be referred

to. To win people's hearts by directing public opinion for defense interests is to put people's interests first because people still have a high patriotism spirit. As an agency that uses State Budget (APBN), the defense sector] should inform the public to attempt transparency and clear information flow.

The strategy of defense opinion formation with the media

Journalists need to be provided with an understanding of the Defense White Paper to get a frame to inform the external. The best strategy that can be used for framing is to gather mass media crews, as is currently done by the Palace that conducts a meeting with the Chief Editors of the mass media every 2 (two) weeks to discuss updates on news developments. The White Paper or any framework from the Ministry of Defense will be used as a source of understanding for the media in shaping public opinion on defense issues so that the direction of the information becomes more apparent. For example, in the defense sector, the journalist got limited information about Rantis Maung, so the information is naturally running wild. The Total War Strategy in shaping public opinion by the media can be applied in Papua related to the Food Estate program.

At this time, the information flow is not smooth from the stakeholders as if it was a wild ball. Bureaucracy is necessary but not to obstruct the mission itself. For media support in this universal war, there must be support from the Defense Ministry itself. Now we are a single source because it is difficult to get information from sources person.

Literature Observation of the 2019 Work Program Report of the Public Relations Bureau of the Secretariat General of the Ministry of Defense regarding the Formation of Defense Opinions.

The Public Relations Bureau of the Secretariat General of the Ministry of Defense also has the duty and responsibility to carry out guidance and network of State Defense opinions in opinion formation and counter-opinion activities.

The Opinion Division, led by the Head of Opinion Division, has the responsibility of carrying out the preparation of technical policy formulations and evaluation and technical guidance in opinion preparation, opinion formation, and cyber media. In carrying out its duties, the Opinion section carries out the function of forming opinions and preparing materials to prepare standards, norms, guidelines, criteria, and procedures. Furthermore, it is also implementing and evaluating policies in opinion formation, implementation of guidance, and technical supervision in opinion formation. The Subdivision of Opinion Formation is led by the Head of Subdivision, who has the task of preparing materials to formulate and implement technical policies and evaluation and technical guidance in opinion formation.

The Opinion Formation Subdivision activities that have been carried out in 2019 include; Public service broadcast / PSA (through TV media) related to the defense function, Public service broadcast / PSA (through printed media) related to the Defense Function. Another activity is Public service broadcast / PSA (through online media) related to the Defense Function, Implementation of talk show on the radio with official sources within the Ministry of Defense, Making banners with Defense's theme.

Activities of the Formation Subdivision that have been carried out throughout 2019 include; broadcasting public service / PSA (Public Service Announcement) through printed media related to the Defense function three times with details as follows:

- 1) March 11, 2019, in the Media Indonesia Daily with a resource person, the rector of Defense University (Unhan).
- 2) October 16, 2019, in the Republika Daily with resource persons from the Head of Education and Training Ministry of Defense.
- 3) December 4, 2019, in Kompas Daily with a resource person from the Ministry of Defense Director-General.

The Opinion Formation Subdivision also conducted ten talk show activities on the radio with official sources within the Ministry of Defense, with details:

- 1) Implementation on February 27, 2019, on Trijaya FM Radio with a resource person from Sesditjen Strahan with the theme of Socialization of the 2019 State Defense Policy.
- 2) Implementation on March 27, 2019, at Trijaya FM Radio, Karo Akademik, Defense University with the Promotion of New Student Admissions Program theme.
- 3) Implementation on April 10, 2019, at Trijaya FM Radio, Ditkomcad Associate Analyst resource person with the theme Getting to know more about the Draft Law on National Resources Management (RUUPSDN).
- 4) Implementation on May 15, 2019, at Trijaya FM Radio, with the Head of the Bekkomlek Research and Development Center for technical defense functionalist (Tekfunghan) as the resource person from the Research and development center (Balitbang) for the Ministry of Defense. The activity was conducted with the theme of Balitbang Policies in technical defense functionalist in 2019.
- 5) Conducted on June 19, 2019, on Trijaya FM Radio, a resource person at the Ministry of Defense Headquarters of the Ministry of Defense with the theme Social Service to Defend the State in the Context of I Anniversary
- 6) Implementation on July 24, 2019, at Trijaya FM Radio, a resource person for the Head of the *Kapuskod Baranahan Kemhan* with the theme Introduction to the Ministry of Defense's *Baranahan* Codification Center.
- 7) Implementation on August 21, 2019, at Trijaya FM Radio, a resource person from the Ministry of Defense *Kabainstrahan* with the theme Introduction to the Ministry of Defense.
- 8) Implementation on September 18, 2019, at Trijaya FM Radio, Resource Person for the Director of Veterans of the Directorate General of Medicine of the Ministry of Defense with the theme of the Main Policy of the Directorate General of Defense for Human Resources in 2019.
- 9) Implementation on October 23, 2019, at Trijaya FM Radio, Resource Person for the Head of Sub-Directorate for Education Development of the Ministry of Defense with the theme of Development of Defense Forces in the Human Resources Sector.
- 10) Conducted on November 20, 2019, on Trijaya FM Radio, a resource person from the Director of State Defense with the theme *Bela Negara, Semua Bisa* (Defend the State, Everyone is Possible).

The Opinion Formation Subdivision has also carried out public service broadcasts / PSA (Public Service Announcement) through TV media related to the defense function five times, with details:

- 1) February 20, 2019, in the 2019 National Defense Policy Principles program on Metro TV with Director-General of Defense Strategy.
- 2) April 24, 2019, in the 2019 National Defense Center's Role in National Defense program on iNews TV with Head of the rehabilitation center as a resource person.
- 3) July 31, 2019, in the International Cooperation and Defense Diplomacy program on Kompas TV with resource persons Secretary General of Defense Strategy.
- 4) October 22, 2019, in the Coffee Break program on TV One with Head of Education and Training Division as resource person.
- 5) November 27, 2019, in the Speak After Lunch program on iNews TV with a resource person from the Director of HR, Directorate General of Defense.

The opinion formation sub-division also carried out public service broadcasts/PSA (Public Service Announcement) through online media related to the defense function once for three online media with details; Media Kompas.com, Gatra.com, Media Indonesia.com.

Meanwhile, in fostering relationships with media crews, the News Section of Mass Media Sub-division has carried out several activities such as the implementation of the Chief Editor Meeting, Managing Editor Meeting, and conducting routine press conference with the direction of the Ministry of Defense, meetings with the media crew.

Activities of the Mass Media Relations Subdivision to build relationships with media crews in 2019 such as; 6 press conferences, 12 media crew meetings, 6 mass media Executive Editor Meetings, 1 Chief Editor Meeting, 1 Press Tour. On 3 - 4 July 2019, the Journalists Press Tour to Surabaya was held with PT PAL, *Pusdikhanudnas*, and *Koarmada II* as destinations. Throughout 2019, monitoring news regarding defense and military was compiled as many as 1,587 news items, shown in the table below.

Table 1: News Sentiment

No	Month	POSITIVE	NEUTRAL	NEGATIVE	TOTAL
1	January	109 74%	30 30%	8 6%	147
2	February	81 70%	31 27%	6 3%	118
3	March	80 75%	20 19%	6 6%	106
4	April	77 71%	28 26%	3 3%	108
5	May	61 66%	28 31%	4 3%	93
6	June	53 63%	25 29%	7 8%	85
7	July	89 65%	39 28%	1 7%	138
8	August	105 65%	46 28%	1 7%	163
9	September	71 62%	33 30%	1 8%	115
10	October	130 75%	40 23%	3 2%	173
11	November	129 69%	53 28%	6 3%	188
12	December	110 72%	38 25%	5 3%	153
	average	69%	27%	4%	132,25

Source: Public Relations Bureau Report of the Secretariat General of the Ministry of Defense, 2019

From the sentiment table above, it can be explained that each month there are 132, 25 news discussing defense and military news with an average positive sentiment at 69%, neutral news at 27%, and negative news at 4%.

DISCUSSION

Media could make someone powerful if seen from the ability of a person or group of people to control the media organization or those who use control of the media for power. The media acts as an agent of power, which begins with the understanding that media technology is compelling, sending messages to the wider community supported by several theories and research results. It can become a strategy in driving public opinion in totality.

1. Understanding of Media Power

Basically, in understanding the role of media as news broadcasters have their own agenda. According to Paul Long and Tim Wall's opinion about media power, the media has the ability to control other parties through the news that aims to limit certain parties and authority to determine themselves, from the opinion. Journalists stated that the media have independence, but in another view, the media are not an institution that solves all problems. In a critic, the press must provide solution options, including providing opportunities for state officials to do their best for the interests of the nation and state (Suryopratomo, 2019). They should cover the news design related to the orientation of the nation's interests. Therefore, the news is related to its strength in forming a public opinion to increase its

role in answering news problems that have a negative tendency both from within and outside of the country or increase positive sentiment on defense news.

2. The role of media in totality

The role of engaging the media can be understood through the opinion of Soekanto (2001: 242). The role of media is divided into 3, namely active, participative, and passive roles. From the data obtained by the media, they place themselves more as a control of the news to get a supportive role. The total war strategy requires an active role, not just a participative or passive role. An active role tends to involve its position and status in defense news coverage within the organization, such as administrators, officials, etc. Media involvement can be done through groups fostered by the ministry of defense or within its organization internally in certain sections to discuss specifically in defense reporting.

The formation of public opinion is an effort from various fields planned through certain concepts supported by parties who can convey messages to the public so that the goals to be achieved can be carried out as expected in the desired universal defense strategy.

3. Understanding of Media in the Art of War

War always demands the most effective strategy to defeat the enemy. Thus, according to Sun Tzu's opinion, a good knowledge of the enemy is needed to recognize them against their ability. Victory is best assured through expertise and flexibility; in other words, understanding the situation and then adapting to it. From the data obtained regarding the role of the media as an element of national defense in the perspective of a total war strategy, from the results of interviews with journalists and defense ministry staff, it was found that the media lacked support for information to make coverage. That happens because there is still a lack of media involvement in various events related to the defense sector, which sometimes have secret content. At the same time, news that must be reported is often constrained by a hierarchical system that is layered from the original concept to at least three levels. The media systematically do not carry out coverage regularly. They will directly quote through official sources, such as press releases and the Indonesian Ministry of Defense's official website.

News requires speed and accuracy because the speed of publishing has its prestige among the media. Social media as an alternative media is the most popular medium because of its speed, which is currently considered the fastest in conveying information. The trend of developing media management has now grown rapidly. As an organization, the media tends to build a corporation that combines mainstream media with alternative media by managing news originating from one source by dividing them into various versions. Based on the interest survey, they divided news into multiple versions and measured which one is preferred, and prioritized it to be covered. In some instances, the news's speed is sometimes not always beneficial for the object being reported because the speed sometimes makes verification less optimal. Therefore, it can lead to misinformation. In the defense environment, this is very sensitive because it involves various parties' interests, including foreign countries with their interests and information management patterns.

4. Opinion through the role of the media

The media, with its independence in making news, have a total role in various environments. It is beneficial in the realm of defense, especially in conveying opinions to the public. According to an expert, Ronald D. Asmus (2004), in his journal "Power, War, Public Opinion," explains that the government needs to build public opinion through the media during the war as a form of legitimacy for support from the entire community (Asmus, 2004). Shaping opinion is needed to have a positive impact and increase the legitimacy of particular interests aligned with the objectives to be achieved. Therefore, the media is required to disseminate the information referring to certain "frames" that are in line with the government's objectives. In this case, the ministry of defense, therefore, can gain support from the public. The media's involvement in responding to information warfare conditions between

countries is considered the most effective with asymmetrical conditions in terms of conventional combat capabilities because it is to maintain the state and save costs.

A war strategy using the media's role in conditions of asymmetry and in cost efficiency that involves the universe requires the support of facilities and infrastructure and human resources capable of disseminating news quickly and on target. The victory of the war in the information dimension requires planning and using the most effective strategy to achieve the expected goals. From the research results, which still need improvement due to the emergence of various news in the community, sometimes hoax about the defense sector will impact if it is not anticipated by the positive opinion.

5. The role of the media in the strategy of the Total War

Media coverage (objects and attributes) will influence the public, where these objects and attributes become important and dominant in the public eye. The issues that are considered necessary by the public are then used as a basis or reference in providing evaluation (priming). The framing attribute is then used to evaluate an issue. Priming and its attributes will determine a trend of public opinion.

Regarding the total war strategy, the role of the media as a defense element as stated in the book entitled "Konsep Perang Semesta: Dari Perang Gerilya ke Perang Asimetris" (The Concept of Universal War: From Guerrilla War to Asymmetrical War) by Iswandi Syahputra (2016) explains that overcoming armed conflict is not the only strategy to be able to win a war. However, winning people's hearts and minds where the conflict occurs and the external to get support (Prabowo, 2016).

Shaping opinion is carried out by various parties, either by the state or by non-state actors. They may intervene to achieve their goals and interests by using the media. Otherwise, parties who feel threatened or aggrieved by the opinion formed will also use the media as a means of anticipation accordingly to the context discussed. Sometimes getting opinion formation is carried out by taking objects in certain areas of a country, so a strategy is needed in dealing with the construction of these opinions. The method developed in the pattern of the media's role in dealing with wartime and peacetime is used as a deterrent or an effort to enforce specific state goals.

The issue of defense was raised as a prominent object in the discussion and PSA, which had been carried out in a planned and measured manner, was not continued as a second level framing or agenda-setting as discussed with the media and media crews to bring out prominent attributes. It could be simple defense issues that could be used as priming attributes. Therefore, it can reinforce and give direction to the opinion.

Conclusion and Recommendation

Conclusion

Total war is involving the overall potential power of resources both in combat and in peaceful conditions. The role of the media can be described as follows;

- a. Based on several theories and the results of interviews and other data obtained, it requires an active role from the ministry of defense concerning the pace in providing information coordinated with the media so that the total war strategy can be published optimally.
- b. Public opinion needs to be formed and directed through the media to benefit from a total war strategy, using agenda-setting, framing, and priming steps as opinion formation to help the national defense.
- c. The need for the socialization of the universal war strategy to the media as an element of defense and a special organization was formed to handle in building public opinion.

Recommendation

Based on the conclusions above, some recommendations can be offered to increase the role of media as an element of defense from the perspective of total war strategy;

- i. Regarding the total war strategy, the Ministry of Defense as an institution increases the role of mass media in an integrated, organized manner between the Ministry of Defense, in this case, the Public Relations Bureau of the Secretariat General of the Ministry of Defense and the media.
- ii. Both mainstream and alternative media use the power media pattern in the perspective of a total war strategy with real coordinated action involving the overall potential engaged in publishing.

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