

Comparison of Indonesian Military Strength with Southeast Asian Countries and Probability for an Open War

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The security conditions in Southeast Asian region are relatively safe and peace. There have never been direct confrontations or head-to-head wars between countries in the region, if ever there had been a confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia, but that did not happen. During the cold war era, security in Southeast Asia was guaranteed by the two super powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Something bias happen in this region, when the cold war ends European countries are committed to reducing their military budget, and the opposite is true in Southeast Asia. The focus of discussion in this research is to discuss about Indonesian military strength in the Southeast Asian region and how the possibility of an open war toward Indonesia. In quantity, there are fewer types of defense equipment owned by Indonesia than neighboring countries, but that does not mean that Indonesia's military strength is below those countries, according to GFP (Global Fire Power) Indonesia is the strongest in Southeast Asia. The research method used is descriptive qualitative research by describing all the phenomena of the research problem empirically. Analysis is done through literature studies from various journals, books, research reports and other sources. Based on the processing of these data, the



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authors then mapped the Indonesian military strength and make comparisons with the military strength of the countries of Southeast Asia. This military theme is very interesting to discuss because a country's military strength will reflect the strength of the country itself.

Keywords: Indonesia, military strength, open war, Southeast Asia.

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The threat of global war is slow but sure becoming apparent. Some facts are increasingly visible. Since 2010, only two years after the 2008 world economic crisis, the tension of the global geopolitical arena has increased sharply. Starting from the series of regional conflicts and wars in Europe, Middle East and Asia Pacific, the return of arms competitions era, dramatic increases in military spending and defense, the destruction of diplomatic relations, to the threat of open warfare among fellow superpowers that is increasingly being heard. For example, the tension of Russian vs. European-US relations was initially triggered by a Crimean dispute between Russia and Ukraine in 2014. The tension continued with economic sanctions on Russia. Russia is increasingly labeled a "bad boy" for being accused of interfering in the 2016 US Presidential Election and attempting to assassinate Russian double agents in the UK, which led to the expulsion of diplomats from each country.

Furthermore, conflict and war in the Middle East after the Arab Spring (end of 2010) and counter-Arab spring (mid-2013) have not shown signs of ending. The conflict and war have devastated the entire political, economic and social order in the region. Death and refugee rates have been too dire. However, even more dangerous in the conflict was the involvement of world military forces: the US, Europe, Russia and China, also large regional powers such as Turkey, Iran and Saudi Arabia, as well as "non-state" forces with their various streams. Even in recent times, open direct clashes between US and Russian forces began to occur. Many observers say, triggers that can cause a global war are likely to originate from the Middle East. In Asia Pacific, we witnessed a heated situation in the South China Sea involving five countries, which are China, Vietnam, Brunei Darussalam, Philippines and Indonesia. Another hotspot on the Korean Peninsula is a proxy for two old rival forces, the US and Russia, which represent two different ideological interests. In addition to inter-state conflicts, the region is also torn apart by local conflicts such as the Rohingya, and the potential of ISIS in the Philippines.

One of the main functions of military presence in a country is to fill the role of defense and maintain national sovereignty. Located right in the middle of two Oceans and two continents, Indonesia is a country full of threats. A bit of history about ASEAN's past security. The Philippines and Malaysia have disputes in northern Borneo. Malaysia and Thailand have border issues. Indonesia's relations with Malaysia and Singapore are even worse to the extent of what we are familiar with confrontation, although this confrontation then ended before the formation of ASEAN. Meanwhile, Vietnam's civil war escalated and the United States began to interfere, Laos and Cambodia were also caught in a similar situation. With such a bleak geopolitical background, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines and Thailand declared the establishment of ASEAN in 1967 (Rahakundini, 2007).

As we know since this regional association was established, there has never been an open conflict between ASEAN countries. Different to the situation before ASEAN was formed, various tensions, conflicts and confrontations colored the region. In this case, ASEAN has experience in managing good neighborly relations among its members. However, changes in regional security configurations do not necessarily reduce tension and potential conflicts in the region. The security situation in Southeast Asia after the Cold War is considered uncertain. Unlike in Europe, the main arena of the Cold War, where the end of the Cold War was accompanied by pressures about the need for a reduction in the military budget and demands for the benefits of peace, in Southeast Asia and generally in the Asia-Pacific the opposite development occurs. The Economist newspaper in its February 20, 1993 edition noted that Asian countries were now involved in the process of building military power. Military analyst Klare (1993) has predicted that the arms race will take place intensively in the Asia Pacific. Likewise, in the 1998-1999 edition of the Institute for Defense and Strategic Analysis (IDSA) report on military expenditure and weapons acquisition, Asian countries experienced an increasing trend. Specifically for Southeast Asian countries, the results of a study conducted by Acharya in 1994 also showed the same symptoms.

Increasing the ability to purchase weapons for the defense of each ASEAN country, if it remains within the framework of regional cooperation, will certainly have a positive influence on regional defense as a whole. However, if on the contrary, each ASEAN member country increases its own defense system without consulting among fellow

member countries, it will instead trigger an arms race. This clearly threatens the stability and regional security conditions in the future. When viewed further both historically as mentioned above and regionally geopolitically today, between ASEAN member countries with each other and with other countries around ASEAN there are still various potential conflicts. On the other hand, it can be recognised that ASEAN has been able to manage the vast diversity of Southeast Asia and reduce various bilateral disputes. Although many of those bilateral disputes are only damped and can at any time come back to the surface, especially around the resolution of border conflicts, which sometimes takes time of decades (Asrudin, 2009, p. 61).

However, it cannot be denied geopolitically and geostrategically that Indonesia is located in a strategic and decisive position in world and regional relations. With the potential threats that are not light and diverse social, economic, and cultural conditions, Indonesia needs strong national defense capabilities to ensure the upholding of the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. However, after the outbreak of the crisis, the development of defense capabilities was relatively neglected, resulting in the overall decline in the country's defense capability. Therefore, with the increase in the defense budget each year, it is hoped that the rise of the Indonesian military can truly run so that Indonesia is able to face a variety of threats both actual and potential.

History records at least twice in the history of the Republic of Indonesia, the TNI is counted as an armed force that cannot be mocked in defense and its impact on our foreign policy bargaining position. First, the period 1960-1962, when President Soekarno encouraged the Indonesian Armed Forces (APRI) to prepare to seize West Irian with military force. Although the national economic situation was not very good, Bung Karno allowed large-scale arms purchases. In less than two years, APRI was transformed into the largest war force in the southern hemisphere, including the Navy having 12 submarines capable of patrolling to the west coast of Australia without being detected by the country. Meanwhile, the Indonesian Air Force has two TU-16 long-range bombing squadrons, which easily reach the entire Southeast Asia and Australia region, drop bombs, and return safely to their bases.

Second, the 1980-1988 eras, at the leadership of General M. Jusuf (1978-1983) and General L.B. Moerdani (1983-1988), the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia were built into a modern, professional and non-political military institution. General Jusuf started his pro-

gram in a simple way, reviving the soldier's self-esteem by increasing welfare, repairing dormitories, and retraining troops who had been in the process of "refinement" because they rarely exercise, weapons are outdated, and neglected their welfare. In the following era, General Moerdani was able to ingeniously see the opportunity to buy a major weapon system that was not new (such as the six Van Speijk frigates from the Netherlands), repair and modernize it so that it could be operational again. In the era, ABRI also bought 10 F-16 Fighting Falcon fighters. Now, with Indonesia trying to strengthen its defenses again, it is hoped that Indonesia's bargaining position in all fields of politics, economy and culture can also be improved.

Security conditions in the Southeast Asian region are relatively safe. There has never been a direct confrontation or head-to-head war between countries in the region. After the end of the cold war and the absence of security guarantees from both countries, practically the countries of Southeast Asia must develop their military power to ensure security for their respective countries. Even though countries in this region are friendly enough and more inclined to collaborate, the potential for conflicts in this region is very large, especially regarding border issues, Southeast Asian countries still face many border conflicts between one another. Some sort of bias can occur in this region, when the cold war ends European countries are committed to reducing the military budget, and the opposite is true in this region. After the end of the cold war and the absence of security guarantees from the two countries, Southeast Asian countries began aggressively increasing their military budgets and increasing the capabilities of their military forces, resulting in a Security Dilemma in this region.

Literature Review

The author uses a realist approach that has the theme Struggle for power and security. International relations are marked by anarchy; all means are done to achieve national interests. Morgenthau states that super power is the focus of international relations; power is a tool to achieve national interests¹. The Realist perspective has three basic assumptions. The main assumption is that the state is the main actor. In this case, international relations are identified with relations between sovereign states, thus the security factor is seen in the context of national interests.

1 Hans Morgenthau. *Politics Among Nation: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. 1973. New York: Knopf. Hlm 25.

The second assumption is from a political and security approach that is by assessing the function of power as an instrument of foreign politics. The third assumption is that there is a clear hierarchy of issues that dominate international politics. The level of analysis used is the nation state because the main object in international relations is the behavior of the nation state, assuming that all decision makers, wherever they are, behave the same when faced with the same situation. Thus, to analyse diplomatic maneuvers and other diplomatic actions seen because of political pressures, ideology, public opinion or domestic economic and social needs². Domestic conditions determine foreign policy that will be achieved through diplomacy.

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The level of analysis comes from the assumption that the behavior of each country actually depends on the behavior of other countries in an international system. To explain this abstract system, a simpler analogy can be used, it is the human body's circulatory system, which consists of pulse, arteries, organs and cells that as a whole must work and function properly to smooth the system and ultimately produce a healthy body and good performance. Likewise internationally, he also has sub-systems that are interconnected with one another³. Each country in the international political system is responsible for its own security and independence (Struggle for power), the position of other countries is considered as a threat that can endanger its fundamental interests. So in general, countries feel insecure so that they feel fear and mistrust of one another. They became very focused on their respective strengths with a view to preventing attacks from other countries.

To be able to analyse the problem above, the author uses some of references and previous research relating to the Security Situation of the Southeast Asian region, and the possibility of an open war toward Indonesia. This research is different from previous research because the focus of the discussion in this research is to compare the military strength of the countries of Southeast Asia and discuss how the possibility of an open war toward Indonesia. In contrast to previous studies, which have focused a lot on cooperation between countries in the Southeast Asian region and have almost forgotten the potential for conflicts that could erupt in this region at any time. To make it eas-

2 Mohtar Mas'oe'd, *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional dan Metodologi*. LP3ES, Yogyakarta. 1990. Hlm 45.

3 Holsti, K. J. *Politik Internasional, Suatu Kerangka Analisis*. 1992. Binacipta. Bandung. Hlm. 16.

ier to understand the differences and the relationship of this research with previous research will be explained as follows.

Several studies have focused on the security situation in Southeast Asia in general and only describe the dynamics of conflict between regional countries, likes border disputes, theft of marine products, peoples and drugs smuggling, Terrorism, and the seizure of natural resources, but do not really study the other potential conflicts such as the Arm Race in the Southeast Asian region. Increased military power and the development of the defense industry in each regional country are a tangible form of the Arms Race, and this could be a potential conflict if not managed properly by regional countries. (Some of these research are: Sudirman and Sari, 2017; Prasetyo and Berantas, 2014; Ningsih, 2017; Dewitt and David, 994; Mathews and Tuchman, 1988; Ayoob and Mohammed, 2002; Capie and Taylor, 2010; Hasibuan and Rosmi, 2005; Setyawan and Sumari, 2016; Ramírez and Tan, 2014; Klare, 1993; Saicheua, 2012; Cheng and Kuik, 2016; Brewster, 2013; Sharpe, 2010; Rathus, 2011; Garovano, 2002; Askandar, 2003; Hadiwinata, 2004; Osborne, 2008; Rafter, 2010; Dunlap & Charles, 2011; Oliver, 2009). Most of these research only describe the general security conditions in the Southeast Asian region, but none have discuss the comparative military forces of Southeast Asian countries and the possibility of an open war toward Indonesia.

Research Method

The method used is descriptive in nature that aims to make a description of a situation or event systematically and factually following the phenomenal approach. The most important thing from events, phenomena, and social phenomena is the meaning behind these events can be used as valuable lessons for the development of theoretical concepts. In order to collect the data needed, which has links with this research, the writer uses bibliography research in the form of secondary data arranged in the form of books, journals, related documents, websites and newspapers.

This study used qualitative research methods. The method is widely used in the social science, such as anthropology, sociology and psychology. Political science and international relations are also part of the group of knowledge that uses the most qualitative research methods as an option in conducting research. Some generic definitions of qualitative research methods are qualitative research approaches that

explore and understand the meaning (meaning) which is considered by a number of individuals or groups of people to originate from social problems (Cresswell, 2014). Anyone involved in this form of research must apply an inductive perspective of research, focus on individual meanings and translate the complexity of a situation (Bakry, 2016).

Based on this explanation, this study uses a qualitative approach that aims to uncover the main issues related to the Comparison of Indonesian military strength with countries in Southeast Asia and the probability for the Open War toward Indonesia. A qualitative approach is used for the following reasons:

1. To find out the specific meaning in the context of this study and to determine the extent of the comparison of Indonesian military strength with the countries of Southeast Asia. Does Indonesia deserve to be called the strongest country in the Southeast Asian region?
2. To find out the extent of the possibility of an open war toward Indonesia from neighboring countries.

The approach is considered very appropriate to conduct research on the Comparison of Indonesian military strength with the countries of the Southeast Asian region and the Probability for the Open War toward Indonesia. This is because the purpose of this research is to make a comparison of the military strengths of the countries of Southeast Asia and draw conclusions that Indonesia is the strongest country in the region based on its military strength.

Discussion

C.1. Comparison of Indonesian Military Strength with Southeast Asian Countries

One of the main functions of the military presence in a country is to fill the role of defense and maintain regional sovereignty. Located right in the middle of two oceans and two continents, Indonesia is a country full of threats. In the form of the largest archipelago, Indonesia is a country where most of the defense gaps are in the sea. How is Indonesian military forces compared with neighboring countries? Following the review to provide a comparison of military power in the Southeast Asian region, military power encompasses all aspects of state equipment and resources found in a country, which can be used immediately for war purposes. The ranking of military forces conducted by Global Fire Power is based on an assessment of eight indicators of mil-

itary strength, there are: 1. Personnel 2. Armaments System 3. Maritime Power 4. Logistics Strength 5. Natural Resources 6. Geographic Strength 7. Financial Strength 8. Others (Supporting). Each indicator has several sub-indicators that will form the core strength of the battle. Interestingly enough, maritime power is separated from the power of defense equipment (point number 2). This is actually related to the political background of defense in a country in the form of offensive or defensive in which the entire surface of the earth is more covered by territorial waters. Military and defense strategies will later combine all of these elements to become a force to support political attitudes, including if it is decided to declare war with another country.

Of the 8 key military forces of a country, then made into 8 elements that will directly affect war decisions, there are: 1. Personnel Strength 2. Air Power 3. Land Strength 4. Naval Strength 5. Logistics Strength 6. Strength of Natural Resources 7. Financial Strength 8. Geographic Superiority. Air, Naval and land power is the most important thing because it will play a role in the recovery of military decisions and strategies in the short term (Sudden War). The comparison of military strength to be reviewed below is based on 8 key military forces that have a role in making war decisions.

C.I.I. Personnel Strength

With the support of the largest population, Indonesia seems to be superior enough to sustain the strength of personnel. This is evident in all sub personnel having quite a significant dispute with neighboring countries. Indonesia still has considerable opportunities to realise guerrilla warfare, including city battles, if the outer defenses are successfully penetrated and controlled by the enemy.

C.I.2. Air Power

There are 3 sub-air power, which are total military aircraft (all types of military aircraft), number of helicopters, and airfields. Based on many military aircraft, Thailand looks superior to the number of military aircraft, which reaches 568 units. Thailand is also quite superior for the most number of helicopters, 304 units. Indonesia can be said to be quite superior by having more airfields that function as military bases or can function as military bases. The description of air power is still too abstract, because the military aircraft itself consists of warplanes, bombers or blackheads, reconnaissance aircraft, and transport aircraft.

Table 1. Comparison of Personnel Strength

	Indonesia	Malaysia	Thailand	Singapore	Philippines	Vietnam
World Rank	16	41	26	59	64	23
T. population	262.787.403	31.809.660	68.615.858	5.995.991	105.852.030	97.840.000
Available manpower	130.868.127	15.201.837	35.543.014	4.255.902	51.649.196	51.645.430
Fit for service	108.620.545	12.587.121	35.490.939	2.691.973	42.570.733	41.503.949
Reaching military age	4.540.339	526.142	1.043.204	67.466	2.127.388	1.635.084
Active military manpower	438.410	110.000	360.860	72.500	125.000	482.000
Active reserve	400.000	321.300	245.000	312.000	180.000	5.000.000

Source: Global Fire Power (2019)

The indicators that are written down still allow bias in giving a description of air power, because the calculation of the strength is not solely in terms of the number of aircraft but also the expertise of the flight crew and pilots.

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Table 2. Comparison of Air Power

	Indonesia	Malaysia	Thailand	Singapore	Philippina	Vietnam
World rank	16	41	26	59	64	23
Air power						
Total aircarft	451	187	568	236	171	318
Helicopters	192	71	304	78	97	140
Serviceable airports	679	114	101	9	247	45

Source: Global Fire Power (2019)

C.1.3. Land Power

There are 10 keys to measuring or knowing the (potential) ground forces in a battle. It contains all forms of land weapons systems, including logistical vehicles. Overall it will be very much needed in a ground battle that will face both land enemies and enemies from the air. Uniquely, Singapore, which is the country with the smallest area, is quite dominant with elements of land strength, except for logistical vehicles. But what's interesting in terms of land strength is Vietnam with the highest number of tanks, reaching more than 2000.

C.1.4. Naval Power

Naval power is the key to every battle victory that determines the course of history. 10 elements make up naval power according to the GFP version as seen in the image below. As the largest archipelago country with the largest sea area in Southeast Asia, Indonesia seems to realise how important the defense of the sea, and that is shown by the superior marine assets compared to neighboring countries. Almost all aspects and indicators of Indonesia's naval strength are superior to others. Starting from a total of military ships, submarines, patrol vessels for the border region. Overall, the strength of Indonesia's marine defenses is quite respected by the large number of new ammunition that has been bought in this year.

Tabel 3. Comparison of Land Power

	Indonesia	Malaysia	Thailand	Singapore	Philippina	Vietnam
World rank	16	41	26	59	64	23
Land power						
Total land weapons	1.577	2.465	4.392	8.001	2.379	3.432
Tanks	315	74	805	190	18	2.575
APC/IFVs	1.300	1.460	1.551	3.585	530	
Tower artillery	356	211	700	138	286	350
Self-propelled guns	141	29	44	48	0	120
MLRSs	50	36	30	18	0	1.104
Mortar	3.350	1.200	1.200	100	1.070	2.000
Anti-tank Weapons	11.000	329	2.150	4.000	1.400	1.600
Anti-aircraft weapons	100	733	378	1.000	200	
Logistical vehicles	11.100	13.200	8.100	2.100	3.400	5.600

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C.1.5. Logistic Strength

The logistic Strength included in the following list is all kinds of resources that can be immediately prepared to support direct combat. Indonesia can be said to have an advantage in the aspect of logistical strength by looking at the highest number of labor forces. The length of access to roads and railways is not always significant in size, because it depends on the area and condition of the island or archipelago. By having a workforce that can be turned into a military or paramilitary force, at least Indonesia will still have the strength to carry out the most difficult urban guerrilla and war strategy, when the enemy has entered the defense territory on land.

Table 4. Comparison of Naval Power

	Indonesia	Malaysia	Thailand	Singapore	Philippina	Vietnam
World Rand	16	41	26	59	64	23
Naval Power						
Total Navy Ships	221	61	81	40	119	65
Merchant Marine Strength	8.782	1.690	781	3.558	1.508	1.818
Major Ports and Terminals	14	7	5	1	6	6
Aircraft Carries	0	0	1	0	0	0
Destroyers	0	0	0	0	0	0
Submarines	5	2	0	0	0	6
Frigates	8	6	7	6	3	9
Amphibious Assault Craft						
Patrol Crafts	139	41	42	11	39	26
Mine Warfare Crafts	11	4	7	4	0	8
Amphibious Assault Craft	26	1	17	4	11	20

Source: Global Fire Power (2019)

C.I.6. Natural Resources Strength

Every battle will require natural resources (energy), especially for the needs of everyday community needs. The war situation will cause the orientation of meeting the energy needs of civil society to be diverted for military purposes. This is where one of the key strengths in battle, which is the power of the state in controlling its natural resources. Even though Indonesia is said to have the most oil reserves, the population is quite large, reaching over 260 million people with daily

Table 5. Comparison of Logistic Strength

	Indonesia	Malaysia	Thailand	Singapore	Philippina	Vietnam
World Rand	16	41	26	59	64	23
Logistical						
Labor Forces	126.100.000	14.940.00	38.900.000	3.237.000	44.000.000	56.230.000
Roadway Coverage (km)	437.759	98.721	180.053	3.356	213.151	180.549
Railway Coverage (km)	5.042	1.849	4.071	0	995	2.632

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Source: Global Fire Power (2019)

consumption above 1 million barrels. But if calculated, Indonesia will survive long enough if there is a war situation with abundant natural resources and enormous oil reserves.

Table 6. Comparison of Natural Resources Strength

	Indonesia	Malaysia	Thailand	Singapore	Philippina	Vietnam
World Rank	16	41	26	59	64	23
Resources	982.900	603.400	378.200	0	26.640	318.000
Oil Production (bbl/day)	801.700	647.900	239.700	0	15.000	271.500
Oil Consumption (bbl/day)	31.660.000	625.000	1.005.000	1.300.000	300.000	415.000
Proven Reserves (000 bbl)	3.230.000.000	3.6000.000.000	396.400.000	0	138.500.000	4.400.000.000

Source: Global Fire Power (2019)

C.1.7. Financial Strength

War or its preparation requires many costs, and requires adequate national financial management capabilities. There are 3 elements in financial strength, there are the defense budget foreign exchange reserves and gold, and purchasing power. The elements that need the most attention are foreign exchange reserves and defense spending. Of these two elements, Singapore is superior by having the largest foreign exchange reserves and defense spending. This means that Singapore has a greater chance to prepare for a war or finance a war. Indonesia has the greatest purchasing ability among the countries compared here. This means, from a financial standpoint, Indonesia has the greatest opportunity to transform its economic assets in financing and preparing for war. Even so, purchasing power requires time and political mechanisms that are not as easy as transferring financing such as foreign exchange reserves and defense spending.

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C.1.8. Geographic Superiority

One of the military strength needed in warfare is geographical superiority. These advantages can be a defense gap or otherwise used as a defense base. As the largest archipelago in the world, Indonesia is superior in having a wide area of waterways and coastline. As for here there are 3 countries that have a land border area (shared border), Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand.

Military strength data released by the GFP is based on data compiled by the CIA Fact and Statistics. It is still too abstract to know a concrete picture of strength, because it is only based on a quantitative approach. All the elements that make up military power in a country are not just about the quantitative aspects, but the qualitative aspects. For example, for the main weaponry system or weapon system currently has developed technology, each of which is divided into periods of 10-15 years (1 generation). Other problems regarding the accuracy of the data is ;for example, in the group of helicopters, which are currently divided into several functions, such as logistical/army transport helicopters and attack helicopters. Another fact that cannot be ignored is the experience of war in the past that shaped the way of thinking in developing military strategy in the most urgent times.

C.2. The Probability for an Open War Toward Indonesia

With all the possibilities and potential of military power, there are only 3 countries that have great opportunities for war with Indonesia, they

Table 7. Comparison of Financial Strength
Numbers are in millions.

	Indonesia	Malaysia	Thailand	Singapore	Philippina	Vietnam
World Rank	16	41	26	59	64	23
Financial (USD)						
Defense Budget	6.900	4.700	5.390	9.700	3.000	3.365
Reserve of Forex&-Gold	130.200	102.400	202.600	279.800	81.300	49.050
Purchasing Power	3.402.500	977.500	1.278.200	543.900	931.100	686.000

Source: Global Fire Power (2019)

are the United States, China, and Russia. They are not only favored by elements of military power, but are also supported by all possible economic resources in the country. It takes months to be able to conquer the Indonesia through open warfare, if done in the near future. Indonesia, with its archipelagic characteristics, has the advantage of a defense aspect, especially when guerrilla warfare is carried out. To only conquer Iraq aided by Britain and its allies, the United States must bear long-term economic losses at home.

An open war option is almost impossible to realise with Indonesia. Modern battle strategies have now begun to shift from physical war-

Tabel 8. Comparison of Geographic Seperiority

	Indonesia	Malaysia	Thailand	Singapore	Philippina	Vietnam
World Rank	16	41	26	59	64	23
Geographic (KM(
Waterways	21.579	7.200	4.000	10	3.219	17.702
Coastline	54.716	4.675	3.219	193	36.289	3.444
Square Land Area	1.904.569	329.847	513.120	697	300.000	331.210
Shared Border	2.958	2.742	5.673	0	0	4.639

Source: Global Fire Power (2019)

fare to political and intelligence wars. They will tend to use their foreign political power to dominate public officials, political parties, academics, journalistic institutions, and social institutions to secure their interests in Southeast Asia. Other forms of modern warfare can be in the form of cultural claims as was recently done by Malaysia. Cultural transition and way of thinking is actually a form of modern war, which aims to eliminate national cultural identity. There are still many forms of modern warfare involving international intelligence organizations to enter into the political and governmental systems as well as into the social and social system.

In the Hankamrata doctrine it is stated that if one of threat to regional sovereignty will take into account regional threats or regional threats. Indonesia is located in the Southeast Asian region, which is also adjacent to Australia. In this case, there are at least 5 countries that have the potential to become sovereign threats, they are Australia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines. This is because Indonesia still has problems in the form of border disputes with neighboring countries. Border disputes will be very possible to trigger friction (at the border) which can lead to war.

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Australia, in fact is not a serious threat, but this country is considered the most ready to conduct direct confrontation with Indonesia compared to other neighboring countries. Judging from the data of military power above, even had to fight with Indonesia, Australia would not be able to control the entire region (island), but only prioritised to control strategic islands such as Java and Papua. For this alone, Australia will face the risk of losing most of its defenses within its own country. Australia also will not risk at the expense of all its citizens who are ready to fight (manpower fit for service) to engage in battle with Indonesia. Only around 10 million military personnel are available, which is not enough to reduce 129 million military personnel or additional paramilitaries in the event of a guerrilla war. In history, Australia has never had a confrontation alone with Indonesia. Last time Australia helped in the Indonesia-Malaysia confrontation, but that too with British involvement. In 1999, Australia's involvement in East Timor (now Timor Leste) was also behind the cloak of the peace-keeping force (UN) which of course was also supported by the United States and Britain. That is, if only his position was threatened to make a war decision with Indonesia, Australia would not be alone to face Indonesia.

Malaysia, in history Malaysia has never brave head-to-head battles with Indonesia, without the involvement of other countries. Confrontation with Indonesia in the Soekarno era, Malaysia was openly assisted by Britain and Australia. On paper, based on data released by the GFP above, Malaysia also does not have superiority in any field to fight with Indonesia. Malaysia might only excel in a few days of fighting less than a week. To conquer Indonesia at least it would take more than 1 month of direct battle. Another issue concerns the problem of ethnic Malay similarity, which will psychologically affect the course of the battle. Even if they had to fight with Indonesia, Malaysia would not be alone in facing Indonesia. Even so, Malaysia could be a trigger for the entry of large battles involving many countries.

Singapore, is a small country in the Southeast Asia region, but can be said to have sufficient defense equipment strength for war. The country, which is famous for its lion statue, has superiority in a land army and is supported by its financial strength, including superior in a technology such as air and naval power. Next year, as many as 2 F-35 squadrons will strengthen Singapore's air power. Even so, with the least number of personnel available, it is doubtful that the whole weap-

ons system will be used against Indonesia. In this case, it is very likely that Singapore, which entered the British Commonwealth group, will be used by other parties in conducting open battles with Indonesia.

Thailand, is the only country in the Southeast Asian region that currently operates aircraft carriers. Even though they are old, the GFP still notes that the aircraft carrier has an active status in which carrying a type of tactical attacker such as Super Entendart (made in France). Thailand actually does not have a history of certain conflicts with Indonesia, except only the issue of water borders. Nevertheless, Thailand has joined the Southeast Asian defense pact, namely SEATO, which contains the names of Southeast Asian countries (minus Indonesia), and Australia. At present, Thailand can be said to be quite dependent or have economic interests with Indonesia, especially to supply industrial raw materials and components. Indonesia is also a market for Thai industry, so it is also possible if in the future it will be in alliance with the defense pact to face Indonesia.

Philippines, Indonesia actually still has several waters border disputes with the Philippines. Even so, the Philippines is more concerned with the boundary waters with China than Indonesia. The history of the Philippines it self has a relatively good relationship with Indonesia even in the Soekarno era. Among the neighboring countries mentioned earlier, the Philippines has a relatively small threat to Indonesia. The Philippines also actually participated in a water border dispute with Malaysia, which is not far from the border of Indonesian waters. If you look at data on Philippine military power released by the GFP, the Philippines is considered superior in personnel strength (after Indonesia). But this country is very unlikely to open confrontation with Indonesia. Seeing the current condition of the Philippine economy, it will be open to the possibility that this country might be affiliated with a great power to face Indonesia. As events in the past by making his country as a military base.

Conclusion

At present, the anxiety, fear, uncertainty, and anger are emotional combinations that coloring the psychological nuances of global society. The Great War in history is usually never planned, but always erupts in the middle of a collective psychic atmosphere or a bad and uncontrolled public mood. In the midst of emotional turmoil, radicalisation usually occurs at the community level and can damage the emo-

tional balance of the elite in making important decisions. The public mood will continue to deteriorate as the conflict and war drag on, then accelerate into collective frustration and can lead to fatalism.

Global war, of course cannot be certain to happen, moreover the time to happen. In fact, none of the forces in the world today wants that war to happen. However, linking various factors, such as the accumulation of a series of conflicts and regional wars that drag on and involve more and more parties, military spending continues to swell, a touch of increasingly sophisticated technology to the war machine, the malfunctioning of international institutions effectively such as The United Nations, the increasing number of hardliners who hold key positions in the super powers, and of course the global economic crisis that has not yet recovered, leads us to an acute anxiety that a small incident could immediately trigger a major war. In recent years, the dynamics of global geopolitics have shown that the threat of global war is increasingly apparent.

The implications of the arms race, of course are the increased defense and military spending. China's total military spending in 2000 was still around USD 10.3 billion, and this year it is estimated to reach around USD 231 billion. Not just a matter of numbers, China is changing its weapons configuration by reducing land strength but increasing air and sea power, and increasing joint operation capability, which in war literature is called theatre-level command. That is, China modernised its army into a modern force, ready for war and offensive oriented. Data from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) shows the total military spending of all countries in the world in 2016 reached USD 1.69 trillion, equivalent to 2.2% of world GDP. The ten countries with the largest proportion are America (36%), China (13%), Russia (4.1%), Saudi Arabia (3.3%), India (3.3%), France (3.3%), United Kingdom (2.9%), Japan (2.7%), Germany, (2.4%), and South Korea (2.2%).

Indonesia's military strength in the Southeast Asia region post-Cold War has practically declined. Indonesia, which in the old order era was dubbed the Asian tiger, could no longer roar the defense equipment of the national defense, which began to be consumed by time. The welfare of the soldiers was very alarming, and funding for drastic defense was very small so that it all resulted in this Asian tiger no longer being able to roar on the continent of the biggest part in this hemisphere. Nevertheless, that is all before, now day and has been passed

by a rich, prosperous country Indonesia. Indonesia's military strength is currently still not meeting the minimum essential force, in terms of military technology and a number of Indonesian defense equipments, which are lagging behind some countries in the Southeast Asia region. However, that does not mean that the overall Indonesian military of these countries, because the military strength of a country is not only calculated from military technology but there are still many other aspects that must be considered. Indonesia has the highest number of personnel and combat units among ASEAN countries, calculated from the three dimensions that Indonesia has the most headquarters and military units.

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We must believe and recognise that Indonesia is the strongest country in Southeast Asia. We realise that there are many who are pessimistic and trivial about the Indonesian military strength. This is in addition to the frequent occurrence of military defense equipment accidents during training due to aging, inadequate allocation of funds, and the development of the defense industry, which tends to decline. However, all these phases we are working on pass through and in the process towards improvement and we must realise we have felt the good impact of the process. Indonesia firmly raises the military budget every year and develops a rapidly growing defense industry. Indonesia also has a lot of international cooperation in the military field; Indonesia has a lot of cooperation with developed countries in order to increase military power, one of which is cooperation with South Korea in the manufacture of warplanes and submarines.



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