“WAWASAN BRUNEI 2035”: ANALYZING THE VISION OF BRUNEI DARUSSALAM ON NATIONAL SECURITY AND STATE WELFARE

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Abstract – Security plays an important role in creating peaceful condition in a country. By having a secure nation, the people of the nation may have freedom in the aspects of economy, politics, social interaction, religion, and other aspects. Unfortunately, threats may come from anywhere and various in forms. Terrorism and Cyber Attacks become two of the greatest concerns in term of security world widely and this may be troublesome to Brunei. This paper aims to analyze wawasan Brunei 2035 on national security and state welfare. This paper used qualitative method and the data is gained from documents, archives, journal and so on. The research result that in order to prevent and counter the threats, Brunei Darussalam formulates the Wawasan Brunei 2035 or the Brunei’s Vision 2035 as a means to create security and increasing the welfare of the state. In this paper, the author utilizes the synergy theory to analyze.

Keywords: Wawasan Brunei 2035, Security, Welfare.


Kata kunci: Wawasan Brunei 2035, Keamanan, Kesejahteraan

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Introduction

Although Brunei does not have a common enemy in the world which may lead to conventional warfare or disputes, Brunei must be aware of the threats which could be launched by Non-State Actors which consist of individuals or group networks. Non-State Actors attacks are considered more dangerous since they may attack using various form of methods such as terrorism, cyber-attacks, or insurgency. These three attacks are dangerous and may cause fatal damage if it targets a nation's critical infrastructures, since it may lead to the collapse of a state. Furthermore, these attacks do not have to follow the international law of warfare (Just War). In other word, these attacking methods could give the actors free movement and it is almost impossible to predict because the attack may occur randomly. These three methods of attacks are known as asymmetric attacks or asymmetric warfare. Asymmetric warfare is a type of war which consists of two or more nations or Non-state actors battling each other in which each has different levels in term of the number of forces, arms, strength, and support. The methods used may also varies and unpredictable. The methods used are considered to be a new method which is unfamiliar to adversaries. As we know, throughout history, the security of a nation is considered as the most important thing and become a priority since every aspects of life would not be able to be done according to its goals if the people do not feel secure. Besides, security plays an important role in maintaining peace and stability of the country in order to support many sectors in fulfilling their goals, which indeed may lead to civil welfare.

This research is important to Indonesia because by conducting this research, the researcher could give information to the Indonesian government, the people of Indonesia, and to Indonesia Defense University (IDU) that national security plays an important role as a means to support state welfare. As we know that the number of asymmetric threats in Indonesia keeps on increasing and had occurred in Indonesia’s history, mainly the threats of insurgencies. Nowadays, Indonesia still faces some similar threats
and also new types of threats such as terrorism which took place since the Bali Bombings, and also suffers from cyber warfare. So, the Indonesian government should give their attention towards these threats and have to strengthen their approaches in preventing and countering these threats. Furthermore, building good security increases the state’s welfare. Next, this research will give a sense of awareness for the Indonesian people on the asymmetric threats and the importance of national security. By being aware, people will react and support the government’s program on combating asymmetric threats. Finally, for Indonesia Defense University, this research will increase the literature on Brunei’s Vision 2035 as a means to increase their security level and state welfare.

In this research, the researcher used two main theories such as the theory of Security and the theory of welfare. This work uses the qualitative method. This method is used to obtain the data which is needed through literature study and online research. The basis of this research is the primary data taken from Wawasan Brunei 2035, Brunei’s Defense White Paper 2011, and several theories which are relevant to the research. This research also used secondary data which are taken from several resources which are related to Wawasan Brunei 2035, Brunei’s National Security, and State Welfare.

**Wawasan Brunei 2035**

As a means to increase the growth of economy, The Sultan of Brunei Darussalam actively promote the development its target sectors through the five year National Development Plans. Brunei also formulates its long-term development plan which is known as “Wawasan Brunei 2035”, or “Brunei Vision 2035”. The Wawasan Brunei 2035 have several goals such as creating well educated and highly-skilled people as measured by the highest international standard and qualification, top ten nations in life quality, being one of the top countries in the world recognize for its dynamic and sustainable economy with high income per capita. In fulfilling these goals, Brunei created several strategies as listed below⁴.

1) An education strategy that will prepare the youth for employment and achievement in a world that is

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⁴ http://www.bruneiembassy.org
increasingly competitive and knowledge-based.

2) An economic strategy that will create new employment for the people and expand business opportunities within Brunei through the promotion of investment, foreign and domestic, both in downstream industries as well as in economic clusters beyond the oil and gas industry.

3) A security strategy that will safeguard Brunei’s political stability and sovereignty as a nation which links the defence and diplomatic capabilities and its capacity to respond to threats from disease and natural catastrophe.

4) An institutional development strategy that will enhance good governance in both the public and private sectors, high quality public services, modern and pragmatic legal and regulatory frameworks and efficient government procedures that entail a minimum of bureaucratic “red tape”

5) A local business development strategy that will enhance opportunities for local small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) as well as enable Brunei Malays to achieve leadership in business and industry by developing greater competitive strength.

6) An infrastructure development strategy that will ensure continued investment by government and through public-private sector partnership in developing and maintaining world-class infrastructure with special emphasis placed on education, health and industry.

7) A social security strategy that ensures that, as the nation prospers; all citizens are properly cared for.

8) An environmental strategy that ensures the proper conservation of our natural environment and cultural habitat. It will provide health and safety in line with the highest international practices.

Brunei able to exploit lots of energy resources which makes them one of the wealthiest countries in the world in term of per capita income. Although, Brunei Darussalam is a wealthy nation, they find that giving attention to national security is important since they may be open to threats which may threaten its national security and prevent them to achieve their national interest. Due to this reason, it is important to understand Brunei’s national
security strategy which is based on their national interest, threats and challenges, means and instruments.

In order to understand Brunei’s National Security Strategy, it is important to understand and know about Brunei’s national interest.

Analysis of Brunei’s national security strategy should start with a review of the Brunei’s national interests and goals for the short term and for the long term. Brunei Darussalam has clear definitions of their national interests in their defense white papers:\(^5\):
1. The cohesion and stability of the nation and the preservation of the constitution and monarchy;
2. A stable regional environment that enables Brunei to pursue its own interests without outside interference;
3. The maintenance of defense capabilities capable of protecting Brunei’s sovereignty, territorial claims, and independence.

For many years, Brunei Darussalam tries to consummate their national interests by creating internal and external stability, either in the national level or in the regional level. Their effort of creating a stable nation is by increasing economic level, foreign cooperation with neighboring countries, especially with Malaysia, and strong bilateral and multilateral security arrangements with third parties.

**Threats and Challenges for Brunei Darussalam’s National Security**

Brunei Darussalam’s national interest is treated as guidance for them to determine the threats and challenges which they would face in the short and long terms national goals and objectives. Commonly, there are two types of threats categories dealt by Brunei, that is traditional and non-traditional security issues.

Geographically, Brunei is surrounded by large neighboring countries like Malaysia, Philippine, and Indonesia in the South. Since Brunei is surrounded by large countries, they find that it is important to increase their security awareness. Their threats may come from Non-State Actors from neighboring countries. For an example is the Abu Sayyaf Group in Phillipine. According to Robert Caplan, “A small state, Brunei is disproportionately vulnerable to the ongoing Asian military

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\(^5\) Brunei Darussalam Defence White Paper 2011. P. 47
modernization which threatens the current regional balance of power. A particular concern is Chinese military assertiveness”6.

Brunei Darussalam also has a concern in the non-traditional security threats in the region. Brunei with other ASEAN members stated these non-traditional threats which include natural disasters, transnational crime in the areas of piracy, drug trafficking, and cyber-crime, and environmental security threats such as forest fires and illegal which may create insecurity for ASEAN members including Brunei. In addition, food security also becomes an issue in Brunei because of the infertile land they have. Brunei Darussalam is dependent on oil and natural gas for its economic security to the extent that domestic economic stagnation, uncertainty in global energy markets, and instability in export markets.

In order to deal with those threats, Brunei Darussalam formulates the counter to those threats which is written in the Defense White Paper 2011. Brunei has several fields which become the priorities such as investing in military modernization, enhancing national counter-terrorism capabilities and developing method in dealing with great disasters. The Wawasan Brunei 2035 encourages good governance, economic diversification, and increasing food self-sufficiency, and encourages the nation to focus and build the capabilities in processing the energy and keeping it secure.

In addition, Brunei Darussalam focuses and enhances its diplomatic ability as a means in realizing their national interests. As an example, in the bilateral Exchange of Letters with 2009 which was held in Malaysia, Brunei created maritime boundaries and plans the resolution of the land border dispute in case it happen and also explained the importance of diplomacy as a means in reducing Brunei’s threat landscape.

In developing its military relationships, Brunei has made an investment in multilateral organizations with ASEAN countries and the United Nations. After Brunei’s independence, Brunei demonstrated and prefers to use soft diplomacy rather than the hard approach such as military aggression to achieve its national interest. As times goes on, Brunei shifted its strategy by using both

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6 Caplan in https://www.ethz.ch
the soft and hard approach by using its military force because they argue that it is more effective in fulfilling their goals and countering the threat they face. Besides making cooperation with ASEAN and the UN, Brunei also advanced their military technology in order to support their military strength. Although using the hard approach is considered effective in dealing with external threats, this approach will not be effective in dealing with long-term threats and internal threats.

**Method**

**National Security**

There are pros and contras in the academic world on the term security. Buzan stated that there are five explanations for the neglect of security. The first reason is the difficulty of the concept. But according to Buzan, this concept is as difficult to other concepts. Second, the overlapping concept between security and power. Because these concepts are similar, scholars are motivated to make clear distinctions between both concepts in order to understand. Third, is the lack of interest in security by various critics of Realism. Although critics do not state their reasons in the lack of interest. Fourth, security scholars find more interest in knowing more about the development of policy and technology, that is the reason the find less interest in security. It could be concluded that scholars pay less intention in the concept of security without giving logical explanation.

Values are earned by every individuals, groups, organizations, Non-states, and states in different aspects. The values may include physical safety, economic welfare, autonomy, mental health, and other values. According to the concept of national security, political independence and territorial integrity are considered to be the main values which have to be protected. In addition, Harold Brown also stated that the maintenance of economic relations with other countries is important to support the national security. Wolfers distinguished the difference between objective and subjective dimensions of security⁷.

Having a policy or strategy on national security is important. According to Bernard Brodie, not everyone sees security

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as a matter of degree. He quoted General Jacob L. Devers’ statement that “National security is a condition which cannot be qualified. We shall either be secure, or we shall be insecure. We cannot have partial security. If we are only half secure, we are not secure at all.” From this quote we could understand that national security should be given attention by the government and the citizen of the state. If they want to keep the state secure, they have to be serious on creating a policy on security and have to create a powerful military and police forces with the aid of the citizen. This statement also supported by Buzan that there is only one choice between secure or insecure. There is no choice in between, which means that choosing a third option may cause a country to collapse.

Security is divided into two types according to its period of time. There are security for short period of time, and security for the long period of time. Off course, both periods has its own method in keeping the nation secure and may differ from each other. The policies for security in the long run/long period differ greatly to security in the short run. In the short run/in the short of time, using hard approaches such as putting a fence, using a fierce dog, and a gun may be handy and useful because it could be used by the police anywhere and anytime. But in the long run, it is more effective to use the soft approach instead of the hard approach.

By the end of the Cold War, there are no changes in the dimensions of security, but there are changes in the substantive of the dimensions during the Cold War to the dimensions in the 1990s. According to Baldwin, Economic security, environmental security, identity security, social security, and military security are different forms of security, not fundamentally different concepts. Those security sectors could be divided more specific in their dimensions as stated above, and new concepts are not needed in creating new issues and changing world circumstances. For example: voting power, military power, economic power, and persuasive power are different forms of the same social phenomenon. They may differ in their adjectives, but they still show similarities in

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the noun. Besides, having security concepts in different levels below or above national security is not a new concept and it is still appropriate. Wolfers state that security is appropriate to be discussed in both higher and lower levels other than national security\textsuperscript{13}. This is considered important because not only the nation as a whole who needs to be securitizes, but more specifically individuals also need security since they sometimes feel insecure in their identities.

Welfare
The idea of 'welfare' refers to 'well-being', or what is 'good' for people. Specifically, it can be taken to refer to the act of social services such as health care, housing, social security, education and social work. The connection between both terms related to the role of social services as 'the provision of welfare'\textsuperscript{14}. It is important also to pay attention on social services. Fundamentally, it is places where individuals are valued for their potentials, so they should be facilitate in order to improve their potentials. In addition, these social services may also give protection to people and helps people by providing aids in their needs, protection due to the problems of old age, disability, and assurance from poverty. However, the term ‘welfare’ is not merely focus on the benefit of the people. According to Townsend, 'social services are those means developed and institutionalized by society to promote ends which are wholly or primarily social'\textsuperscript{15}.

The social services can give benefit and support the economic policy of a nation. They could be used as a means to achieve equality or social justice. They could be an instrument of social change. They can also be a bridge to maintain social order. The term welfare is considered quarrelsome, and there are many opinions on what is good for the individuals and the society related to welfare.

According to Spicker, “social services are social institutions developed to provide for those conditions of dependency which are recognised as collective responsibilities. The 'Welfare State' is based in a recognition of dependency as a normal element of social relationships. In theory, the welfare state offers protection to all its citizens at the best

\textsuperscript{13} Baldwin. Op cit
\textsuperscript{14} Spicker, Paul. 1988. Principles of social welfare an introduction to thinking about the welfare state. p. 63
\textsuperscript{15} Spicker. Op cit
possible level. In practice, though, 'welfare states' are defined historically, not by their closeness to an ideal. The state may provide services, in so far as state intervention is accepted as legitimate, but the role of the 'state' is complex; it also supervises the provision of welfare in the whole society, regulating, mandating, stimulating and supporting alternative channels of welfare provision.”

Welfare and Security

Security is a part of welfare because security support the welfare of a nation. It is important that not only the people able to receive and utilize goods and services, but the process should also be reasonable and predictable. Fundamentally, security is essential and needed for every individual. Neglecting the need of security could create problems to other aspects of an individual’s life. According to Spicker, one of the results in neglecting security is poverty. “chronic poverty results when the lack of basic security simultaneously affects several aspects of people's lives, when it is prolonged, and when it seriously compromises people's chances of regaining their rights and of resuming their responsibilities in the foreseeable future.”

The United Nations Development Program has made a definition in the term security, they stated that security cover several aspects such as economic security, food, health, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security. This is used as a means to broaden the focus of governments’ commitment on protecting the security of their citizens. The main point of the discussion of the term security is important not only for individuals and the state for the present time, but it is also related to the future of a nation. A stronger nation with massive power may have a greater chance in creating a better security for their nation. And this high-security may influence the prosperity of a nation.

In addition, giving attention on individual security is also important. Basically, individuals are at risk with their surroundings, because negative things may happen to them and cannot be predicted. Speaking of insecurity, individuals may feel insecure in dynamic changes in their

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16 Spicker. Op cit
17 Spicker. Op cit
environment, others may have the opposite feeling. Spicker also added that it is not just a question of subjective appraisal; in labour markets which require flexibility, a person with a stable work record may be more vulnerable than another person with wider employment experience and greater adaptability.

These issues relate not just to material conditions, but to expectations. One person reasonably may feel insecure in a relatively stable, unchanging environment; another may feel secure in shifting circumstances. This is not just a question of subjective appraisal; in labour markets which require flexibility, a person with a stable work record may be more vulnerable than another person with wider employment experience and greater adaptability.

Discussion

Brunei Darussalam’s National Security

National Security is important for a country in order to secure the nation from various threats internally or externally. Brunei had releases a Defense White Paper as a purpose to formulate the threats they will face. One of the threats Brunei must give attention is facing the threats of terrorism. Brunei Darussalam started to give their attention on terrorism after the occurrence of the 9/11 in the United States and the Bali bombings in Indonesia. These acts of terror were done by the same actor which is Al Qaeda. Al Qaeda is considered to be a threat to Brunei because this group had acted in Indonesia (Bali Bombings), which is one of Brunei’s closest neighboring countries. According to Brunei’s Defense White Paper 2011, transnational criminal activity, including people smuggling, arms and drug trafficking also are problems for Brunei’s security. Furthermore, the impact of the tsunami which occurred in Indonesia added more obstacles and heavy duty to Brunei’s non-traditional national security agenda. Separatist movements in several neighboring countries also became an interest for Brunei to increase its national security policy.

In order to cope with these threats, Brunei Darusalam builds their networks and cooperates with other countries. There are several steps done by Brunei’s government

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19 Spicker. Op cit
20 White paper. Op cit
21 White Paper. Op cit
22 White Paper. Op cit
in securing its countries such as information exchanges and shared capacity building to combating terrorism and transnational crime. Creates plans to cooperate as a response to natural disasters and humanitarian crises, The ASEAN-China Declaration on the Conduct of Parties In the South China Sea continues to provide a valuable framework for the peaceful management of overlapping maritime interests, The cooperative deployment of forces such as the International Monitoring Team (IMT) in Mindanao, ASEAN Political-Security Community includes strengthening cooperation in conflict prevention and resolution, and post-conflict peace building.

Brunei Darussalam’s interest in its National Security are to maintain its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, increase the prosperity, economic and social well-being of the country, preserve the political, cultural and religious identity of the country, help promote regional and global peace, security, and prosperity. These defense priorities are also reflected in Brunei Darussalam’s Vision 2035 (Wawasan Brunei 2035). It stated that Brunei's steps are to have coordination between diplomacy, defense sectors, and intelligence to ensure an integrated approach to national security, strengthening security forces such as the armed forces, police, and intelligence agencies in term of professionalism and high capabilities on technology, increase and improve cost effectiveness of defense (military infrastructure and procurement, developing the systems and organizations to respond quickly to threats from natural disasters, diseases, acts of terrorism and other emergencies, safeguarding cultural, social harmony, and good citizenship in the country, contribute to the security of international trade linking to the region and beyond).

Brunei Darussalam’s Vision 2035 in Creating Security and Welfare
Brunei Darussalam is a state which is considered to be a safe nation since the number of threats they face is small. Although, they do not find meaningful threats in their country, the range of security challenges which emerge in the

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23 White Paper. Op cit
24 White Paper. Op cit
25 White Paper. Op cit
region may be a problem they should pay attention on. The threats may cause problem and may hamper Brunei’s development in term of economy, peace, stability, and welfare. The Brunei Darussalam Defense White Paper stated that there are three pillars of its national policy. There are (a) the cohesion and stability of the nation guided by the MIB philosophy; (b) A stable regional environment in which its membership of ASEAN provides it to pursue national goals free from interference; and the maintenance of its defence capabilities including its armed forces to preserve the nation's sovereignty, protection of its territorial integrity and interests, and secure freedom and independence.

Brunei Darussalam’s threats may come from Non-State Actors from neighboring countries such as the threats of terrorism. For an example is the Abu Sayyaf Group in Phillipine. According to Robert Caplan, “A small state, Brunei is disproportionately vulnerable to the ongoing Asian military modernization which threatens the current regional balance of power. A particular concern is Chinese military assertiveness”.

Brunei Darussalam also has a concern in the non-traditional security threats in the region. Brunei with other ASEAN members stated these non-traditional threats which include natural disasters, transnational crime in the areas of piracy, drug trafficking, and cyber-crime, and environmental security threats such as forest fires and illegal which may create insecurity for ASEAN members including Brunei. In addition, food security also becomes an issue in Brunei because of the infertile land they have. Brunei Darussalam is dependent on oil and natural gas for its economic security to the extent that domestic economic stagnation, uncertainty in global energy markets, and instability in export markets.

In order to counter these threats Brunei has a guidance which is the Wawasan Brunei 2035 or Brunei’s Vision 2035. “Wawasan Brunei 2035”, or “Brunei Vision 2035”. The Wawasan Brunei 2035 have several goals such as creating well educated and highly-skilled people as measured by the highest international

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26 White paper. Op cit

27 Caplan. Op cit
standard and qualification, top ten nations in life quality, being one of the top countries in the world recognize for its dynamic and sustainable economy with high income per capita. In fulfilling these goals, Brunei created several strategies as listed below\(^{28}\).

1) An education strategy that will prepare the youth for employment and achievement in a world that is increasingly competitive and knowledge-based.

2) An economic strategy that will create new employment for the people and expand business opportunities within Brunei through the promotion of investment, foreign and domestic, both in downstream industries as well as in economic clusters beyond the oil and gas industry.

3) A security strategy that will safeguard Brunei’s political stability and sovereignty as a nation which links the defence and diplomatic capabilities and its capacity to respond to threats from disease and natural catastrophe.

4) An institutional development strategy that will enhance good governance in both the public and private sectors, high quality public services, modern and pragmatic legal and regulatory frameworks and efficient government procedures that entail a minimum of bureaucratic “red tape”

5) A local business development strategy that will enhance opportunities for local small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) as well as enable Brunei Malays to achieve leadership in business and industry by developing greater competitive strength.

6) An infrastructure development strategy that will ensure continued investment by government and through public-private sector partnership in developing and maintaining world-class infrastructure with special emphasis placed on education, health and industry.

7) A social security strategy that ensures that, as the nation prospers, all citizens are properly cared for.

8) An environmental strategy that ensures the proper conservation of our natural environment and cultural habitat. It provide health and safety with the highest international practices.

\(^{28}\) http://www.bruneiembassy.org
Based on the Wawasan Brunei 2035 as stated above, there are two points which are related to national security, the first point is security strategy that will safeguard Brunei’s political stability and sovereignty as a nation which links the defence and diplomatic capabilities and its capacity to respond to threats from disease and natural catastrophe. Second is social security strategy that ensures that, as the nation prospers, all citizens are properly cared for. By using these points as a guidance, Brunei Darussalam will find it easier to focus on their security strategy as a means in creating a wealthy and prosperous country.

There are several methods used by Brunei in fulfilling their goals. Aside from military and economic means, Brunei used diplomacy as a crucial tool in advancing its national interests. The 2009 bilateral Exchange of Letters with Malaysia, which established a final delimitation of maritime boundaries and set forth conditions for the resolution of the land border dispute, demonstrates the importance of diplomacy as a means of reducing Brunei’s threat landscape.

In multilateral organizations, Brunei has made significant cooperation such as ASEAN and the UN, alongside developing its bilateral military relationships. After independence, Brunei prefer to use soft diplomatic strategy rather than coercive military aggression to advance its national interests in the region; but, later in the future, it is likely that Brunei will move to strengthen its national security by improving both military and diplomatic capabilities. This will support the development of dispute resolution mechanisms within ASEAN, the further form of bilateral military cooperation with other nations and investing in net-centric military modernization. In addition, coercive methods also used in confronting (external) problems if the soft approach fails. These methods are used in order to secure Brunei from internal and external threats. By countering these threats, Brunei would have a better chance in creating state welfare.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, Brunei Darussalam as a Islamic nation which is based on Syariah’s law has an ideology which they use as a
guidance in their daily practice which is called Melayu Islam Beraja (MIB). MIB is described as "a blend of Malay language, culture, and Malay customs, the teaching of Islamic laws and values and the monarchy system which must be esteemed and practiced by all". Furthermore, The Sultan and the ministers in Brunei formulates a concept of Wawasan Brunei 2035 or Brunei’s Vision 2035 as a means to create a better nation in various aspects, one aspect is the security of Brunei. The Wawasan Brunei 2035 have several goals such as creating well educated and highly-skilled people as measured by the highest international standard and qualification, top ten nations in life quality, being one of the top countries in the world recognize for its dynamic and sustainable economy with high income per capita. In order to achieve their vision of having a high life quality, sustainable economy, and high income per capita, the government of Brunei must give attention to their national or state security from the threats which may come from Brunei or from other nations. By having a secure nation, Brunei will succeed in creating state welfare with high life standard.

Comparing to Indonesia, Brunei is more advance in term of life quality and income. It could be seen by the researcher’s observation that the people of Brunei have higher life quality and wealthy by seeing it from the belongings of the Bruneian which is high in quantity and quality. In the aspect of income, Bruneian has bigger salary than the Indonesian. An interview done by the researcher to one of the Bruneian could be concluded that a Brunei Civil Servant’s salary is ten times as Indonesian Civil Servant. The same condition also happen in different job positions.

If we relate this to the security level, we knew that Indonesia is less secure than Brunei Darussalam. It could be measured by the number of threats which had occurred in Indonesia starting from regular crime activities, until serious security issues such as insurgencies, terrorism, cyber-attacks, and disputes. This proves that security affected state welfare.
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