China's Military Presence in the South China Sea and the AUKUS Alliance on Indonesia's Defense Strategy: A Review of the Land Defence Aspects

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Introduction

The existence of contemporary dynamics in the strategic environment in the global, regional, and national strata always develops from time to time. It is known as VUCA, a situation full of volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity in the current period. Today's global constellation has triggered rapid and exponential changes in science and technology, one of the main driving forces that revolutionized the characteristics of conflict and warfare (Ryacudu, 2021). The waters of the South China Sea have strategic value from an economic and military aspect. Judging from its geographical location, the South China Sea borders the Philippines, Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, and the PRC. In some parts, there is a jurisdictional overlap between claimant states (the Philippines, Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, and the PRC), causing the potential for conflict in these regions to be quite high. Due to unilateral claims to the territorial waters, China's presence in the South China Sea has created new tensions in the Southeast Asian region. As one of the countries in it, Indonesia is also affected by regional tensions, from security and economic aspects, especially those related to the waters of Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone in the North Natuna Sea (Tandy et al., 2019).
The development of security issues is heating up, creating threats that cause regional instability, including conflicts in the South China Sea. As a result of the emergence of these phenomena and issues, in response, there was a re-establishment (Reborn) of the quadrilateral security cooperation of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QSD) group covering Japan, the United States, India, and Australia in 2017. The Quad is a response to China's actions that have included the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in the Communist Party Act (statute) in 2017 (Nurhasya, 2018).

The heated conflagration in the SCS has encouraged conflict-involved countries to increase military strength and combat capabilities by conducting military exercises, either unilaterally or jointly with other (bilateral) countries in the south China Sea waters, and such activities have increased tensions and triggered an escalation of conflict in the region (Poltak Partogii, 2013). Currently, China has been willing to compromise with its neighbors in the face of border cases onshore, but in disputes over maritime features and ownership of oil and gas reserves offshore, China is using a more coercive approach (The Secretary of U.S. DoD, 2021). This led to the countries involved in the dispute seeking to improve their military combat capabilities and the domestic military industry to create a balance of power in the region.

China has claimed sovereignty over the Spratly and Paracel islands and other mainland features depicted in the "nine-dash line", in addition to which China has also created two new administrative districts to take control of the Paracels and Spratlys. The PLA Navy, China's coast guard and maritime militias have been deployed to carry out patrols in the SCS area, as well as interfere with the implementation of oil, gas, and natural resources exploration of the claimant country. In response to the unilateral and ongoing actions of PRC fishing vessels, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Vietnam have publicly rejected Beijing's nine-dash line claim and used the force of international law to support their country's right to maritime sovereignty (The Secretary of U.S. DoD, 2021). Since 2014, the Spratly Islands have become a large construction site, turning coral islands into permanent artificial islands. In less than a year, it was able to create a new land of more than 10 Km2, and Fiery Cross Reef, which was submerged at high tide, is now a 3,100-meter-long airstrip and a new port of 63 hectares (Vuving, 2016).

China is a powerful and independent country where its rise did not involve or mobilize a coalition to help it fight the United States, and today China has risen with its military equipment industry (Nayan, 2007). In military activity, China is determined to take a more active role in advancing the armed forces to support its foreign policy goals. In the 2020 revision of China's national defense law, China commissioned the PLA to strengthen national interests abroad and empower the PLA in global economic and diplomatic activities, as well as carry out military capacity development for operations tasks outside China's border areas, in the interests of security and support its global development (The Secretary of U.S. DoD, 2021).

Since 1990, the Chinese military has been rapidly developing and making it a sophisticated and optimized combat force to keep pace with American strength, in all aspects of key capabilities, in the areas of missile technology, fighter jets, attack submarines, and surface ships (Townshend et al., 2019). On the other hand, the U.S. strategy seeks to build partnerships with other countries, which serve as a bulwark against China. One of them is known as "The Quad," which consists of the US, Japan, Australia, and India. The Quad was formed in addition to cooperating in the economic and technological fields and cooperating in the military to deal with Chinese aggression (Ward & McIary, 2021).

China's aggressiveness in the region is predicted to surpass the United States economically by 2027, where the economic progress will take place gradually, escalatively and
collaterally, thus successfully increasing military capabilities (military buildup) in line with the support of its country's military budget. It is estimated that by 2050 China's billionaire capabilities will be on par with the United States. Currently, China has an Anti-Access/Acreage Denial (A2/AD) defense strategy, focusing on Long-Range Precision Strike, Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD), Surface and Undersea Operations, Information Operations (IO), Space and Counterspace, Cyber Operations, Integrated Air Defense System (IADS) capabilities (Risman, 2021). With the strategy that can be seen in the image below:

![Figure 1. Theater Rivalry of China versus the US and allies](image)

In 2021 the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia announced a trilateral security alliance to deal with 21st-century threats under the name AUKUS. The alliance combines the military capabilities of the alliance countries so that it has greater capabilities. AUKUS also assists Australia in acquiring technology and producing nuclear-powered submarines in order to fulfill its submarine fleet. To date, only six countries in the world own and operate nuclear-powered submarines, including America, Britain, China, France, India, and Russia (Anggraeni, 2021). The AUKUS alliance agreements and agreements cover key areas such as artificial intelligence, cyber warfare, underwater capabilities, and long-range strike capabilities, and cover nuclear components and nuclear defense infrastructure on a limited basis (Ward & Mclary, 2021). The existence of nuclear-powered submarines will add to the strength of the Royal Australian Navy's submarine fleet, all of which are currently still diesel-powered. There is an increase in military power in the region to block China's growing influence in the region (Muhammad, 2021).

The Australian government announced plans to add upcoming United States troops to its country to develop defense projects. After the statement, the United States increased the strength of its military personnel in Australia, including bombers. Here is the data of U.S. forces in the Australia Region: Darwin 2,200 US Marine, in Palau 100 US Marine and 100 US Army. This proves that the United States will not leave Australia alone (Muhamin, 2021). With the establishment of a new defense alliance, AUKUS that builds a nuclear-powered submarine industry on Australian territory and also strengthens the warfighting capabilities of the three
countries, it will affect security in the region and cause concern for Indonesia and countries in the region because it will trigger an increasing rivalry between China and the United States (ANTARA, 2021).

**Method**

The method used in this research is a qualitative descriptive method. According to Sugiyono, the descriptive method is research that describes the state of the object under study as it is, according to the situation and conditions when the research was carried out (Sugiyono, 2017). Meanwhile, the focus of the study is the influence of the dynamics of the South China Sea strategic environment and the AUKUS alliance on the strategy of land forces in Indonesia's defense. This descriptive research is carried out through a process, from looking for problems to be used as research objects to theories used to analyze existing data and documentation (Sugiyono, 2018).

**Results and Discussion**

**Dominance of China's Role in the South China Sea Region**

The South China Sea region has become conflict-prone water area and become a struggle for countries in the region, because they contain abundant natural resources, oil and natural gas and are supported by their strategic location, located on the route of international merchant ships crossing (Partogi, 2013). In 1992, China announced claims to the South China Sea and a nine-dash-line map as part of its territorial territory and asserted that the territory belonged to Beijing (Ward & Mclary, 2021). Recently, the situation of the South China Sea, with an area of about 3.5 million km² has begun to heat up again and involves many state actors, especially countries in the region. Although it does not rule out the possibility of intervention and the interests of non-Asian countries involved in the conflict (Poespojoedho, 2019).

In steps-to-war theory explains that the issue of territorial boundaries of states can make conflicting or competing parties more hostile and encourages them to take escalation measures. This theory provides an explanation of the causes of the occurrence of war based on several interrelated factors; competition, military building, alliances, ruling leaders, repeated military disputes, and others, so that every step and action can potentially lead to war between rivals and contiguous countries (Khan, 2020). In dealing with and resolving territorial issues between states, it is necessary to have good and friendly relations. Interactions between the warring states are very important if the warring countries fail to agree through negotiation. They tend to use a coercive strategy, which will ultimately worsen the situation and increase the possibility of war (Khan, 2020).

China began the reclamation of islands in the South China Sea region in 2013 and completed the construction of infrastructure for four outposts on the coast of the Spratly islands, namely; Johnson, Gayen, Hughes, and Cuarteron, which are equipped with administrative buildings, weapons bases and cannon base sensors. In 2018 China developed another 3 Spratly island outposts, namely; Coral Fiery Cross, Subi and Mischief to enhance the ability to detect military and military presence in the region (Prayoga, 2021). In July 2020, tensions in the SCS began to escalate. At that time, China held five days of military exercises near the Paracel islands, while the U.S also did the same by deploying two of its aircraft carriers, the USS Nimitz and the USS Ronald Reagan, in adjacent areas. The incident caused the two countries to accuse each other and blame each other for who triggered the tension.
Tensions intensified after China took new steps to strengthen its position in the South China Sea. By applying the new rules as a form of a major power in the region, every submarine, warship, nuclear-powered vessel, or ship carrying radioactive materials and harmful substances must report the position of its vessel when entering the territorial claim waters of the South China Sea. The Chinese government will take a firm stance if the vessels threaten its national security (Sorongan, 2021). While the United States has implemented Freedom of Navigation (FON) in the South China Sea region as international water and will defend the freedom of sailing in the region, where we urgently need that freedom in trade and military interests.

Meanwhile, China's latest military activities will be carried out in the waters of the South China Sea, disputed by several countries, increasing tensions in the region. The planned military exercises will be implemented in waters about 25 kilometers south off the coast of Hainan Province, China. The exercise was a form of China's reaction after the United States issued a warning of China's growing military and economic presence in waters ranging from the South China Sea to the Pacific Islands. The China Maritime Safety Authority warned that during the implementation of the military exercises, the 100 km² South China Sea area would be closed to maritime traffic for 5 (five) hours (Tim detikcom, 2022).

The Rapid Development of the Chinese State Military

Spending on defense funds is a form of continuous investment to improve military capabilities so that the country will be able to deal with the ever-changing dynamics of the environment. The rapid economic development has allowed the Chinese military to gain access and support to create a variety of new technologies with civilian dual use to support weapons innovation (Lee, 2008). Military progress has been elevated to a priority equivalent to economic development. China continues to strengthen its military power to deal with any threats, disturbances, and obstacles, so that its military has the ability to fight and win modern wars (Lee, 2008).

China has an advantage in coastal areas, where the Chinese Army Navy (PLAN) and maritime paramilitary forces have taken control of the Spratly Islands and serve as a base for advanced operations in the South China Sea. PLAN also uses Chinese patrol boats and corvettes to enhance its maritime security (Hackett et al., 2021). Today the Chinese Navy has grown to become the strongest and largest in Asia. By 2020 the strength of its submarine fleet grew to more than 70. The rapid growth of China's strength, so any strategic policy implemented by China, will definitely have a great influence and have an impact on stability in the Indo-Pacific region until 2035 (The Secretary of Australian. DoD, 2016).

Some distinctive features of China's military development that deserve attention from countries in the region are; first, China is more focused on achieving an overall increase in military strength in the long run. Second, China will significantly improve its submarine combat capabilities by massively increasing submarine strike capabilities against aircraft carrier combat groups. Third, China's economy and technology are the dual pillars to sustain its military development (Lee, 2008).

The rapid modernization of China's armed forces has caused China to have greater influence than countries in the southern China Sea region. The rapid development of the PLA Rocket Force's capabilities as seen in the realistic implementation of exercises in 2020. The exercise aimed at improving combat capability and readiness, the ability to rapidly mobilize, and the ability to operate in a complex electromagnetic environment, as well as integrate all supporting elements (The Secretary of U.S. DoD, 2021). China has deployed a series of formidable precision missiles and other counter-intervention systems to weaken its rivals. In
2020, PLARF advanced its long-term modernization plan to improve and develop military technology, namely:

a. New generation intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs).

b. Medium-range ballistic missile (IRBM) DF-26, capable of carrying out conventional and nuclear precision strikes against land and sea targets.

c. Creating an operational system of hypersonic weapons, medium-range ballistic missiles (MRBM) capable of DF-17 hypersonic glide vehicles.

China has succeeded in the modernization of its ballistic missiles, where the PLARF has a variety of short-range, medium- and long-range ballistic missiles as well as ground-launched cruise missiles. PLARF’s land-based missile forces can carry out precision strikes based on air and sea. Today the PRC is also developing intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and increasing the power of nuclear-capable missiles (The Secretary of U.S. DoD, 2021). China’s success in the modernization of ballistic missiles, so that it has the maximum range of missiles, so that Chinese missiles are able to attack directly against American and allied bases that are in Japanese territory as well as those in Singapore. China's success in modernizing its ballistic missiles is seen in the picture below (Townshend et al., 2019):

![Figure 2. Development of China's Ballistic Missile Ownership in 2004-2019](image)

According to the Vice Chairman of the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff that China will gradually become the country with the strongest military capabilities in the world, this is seen Beijing's success in launching hypersonic missiles. China briefly launched a hypersonic medium-range missile, the DF-17, in 2019. The missile can travel about 2,000 kilometers (1,200 miles) (Eqqi Syahputra, 2021). With the modernization of the strength of the armed forces, China successfully has the strongest and largest air force in Asia and continues to pursue the fifth generation of fighter technology, from the aspect of naval strength, China has a submarine fleet of more than 70 units of combat-ready submarines (The Secretary of Australian. DoD, 2016). Military modernization is an investment, so China has developed new networking technologies, the use of space, enhanced cyber capabilities, and developed electromagnetic warfare, targeting enemy control network centers. The new technology about the network makes it easier to provide a comprehensive and real-time picture of the enemy's military capabilities, location and movement so that that enemy maneuvers can be clearly known (The International Institute for St, 2021).
The Pentagon states that China is expected to be able to increase the number of nuclear warhead inventories to 1,000 units by 2030; this rapid progress is beyond the Pentagon’s estimates. In the middle of the 21st century Beijing is expected to be able to match the power of the United States as a superpower, where currently China already has nuclear Triad technology, namely the delivery and launch system of nuclear-explosive missiles by land, air and sea, where America and Russia previously owned this nuclear Triad system (Iswara, 2021a). PLARF is developing intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) that will significantly improve its nuclear-capable missile forces with more survivable delivery systems and will increase nuclear warhead production, and the PRC appears to be doubling the numbers of launchers in some ICBM units (The Secretary of U.S. DoD, 2021).

**AUKUS as a Form of Balance of Power in the Regional Region**

The Balance of Power theory created by Morgenthau focuses not only on military capabilities and deterrence but also on all structures that contain relations between countries. The Asia-Pacific region is seen as the most suitable region to understand the importance of a role in building multilateral interactions. A country can maintain its survival in the structure of the international system by using a country's balancing strategy can improve its military ability to balance power with other countries (Planifolia, 2017).

The U.S. remains committed to enhancing cooperation with its allies and partners. It will continue to cooperate by focusing resources and attention on the Indo-Pacific region by rebalancing its strategy and strengthening alliances and militarist cooperation (Townshend et al., 2019). The United States, The United Kingdom, and Australia formed a new AUKUS alliance on September 15, 2021, with the aim of mutual assistance in building military capacity and strength and assisting Australia in developing a fleet of nuclear-powered submarines. That means Australia will become the seventh country in the world to operate a nuclear-powered submarine (Ward & McLary, 2021).

China's increased military capabilities then have the potential to dominate the South China Sea region, and this will lead to new threats, where the threat not only has a direct impact on the United States, but also on alliance countries that are geographically close to China. Because of that, America felt the need to strengthen its military in the region (Planifolia, 2017). America has focused and prepared for high-intensity conventional combat operations to counter a balanced enemy (Walt, 1985). The following are the data on military power for the balance of Power (The International Institute for St, 2021). A more detailed and clearer explanation of the comparison of military forces between these powerful countries is clearly outlined in the figure below:

![Figure 3. Comparison of military strength](image-url)
The effect of the LCS conflict and the development of AUKUS on Indonesia's defenses on the Land Dimension

In the face of this uncertain, complex, and dynamic strategic environment, several countries in the region are interested in conducting military alliances with other countries. This is due to the striking differences in the aspects of one country's capabilities with another, particularly military capabilities, economic strength, and advances in military technology. To measure the strength of a country that is expected to provide a threat, it can be seen from the country's capabilities in several aspects: industrial capabilities, military capacity, economic strength judging by its total Gross National Product (GNP), and technological advances (Walt, 1987). In the balance of threat theory, it is explained that to see the level of threat, the Balance of Threat has a measuring power in looking at our national strength and the opponent's strength, which is then used as material for balance against the threat. Four things measure the strength of the state in making an impact against the threat, namely; state power (aggregate power), geographic proximity, offensive military capabilities (offensive power), and the ability to show aggressiveness towards opponents (perceived aggressiveness) (Walt, 1987). Where this element of aggregate power is a resource owned by a country, which is influenced by military power, natural resource wealth, technological progress, population numbers, and industrial development (Planifolia, 2017).

Tensions and conflicts in the South China Sea also occur between several ASEAN countries whose sea boundaries are squeezed together and with China, which claims the South China Sea, and the United States, which has economic and political interests over this region. The potential for open conflict has prompted countries to optimize their country's civil-military relations in maintaining the sovereignty of the seas (Djuyandi et al., 2021). The existence of potential conflicts in the LCS area and the existence of AUKUS will heat up the strategic environment in the region is a hot spot that must be considered in the context of regional security by countries in ASEAN (Yusuf, 2021). Under the 2021 AUKUS agreement, Australia will acquire 8 (eight) advanced nuclear-powered submarines capable of secretly performing long-range missions. AUKUS will be a means of sharing unspecified cyber capabilities, artificial intelligence, quantum, as well as undersea capabilities (Aditya J, 2021). In April 2022, U.S President Joe Biden along with leaders from AUKUS announced plans to develop hypersonic missiles, counter-hypersonics and electronic warfare capabilities. The missile, called the Hypersonic Air-breathing Weapon Concept (HAWC), is powered by a speed of Mach 5 or five times the speed of sound and has the ability to have a long cruising time. With the speed and maneuverability of hypersonic cruise missiles will be able to evade the tanks of the defense system and execute attacks quickly (Pristiandaru, 2022).

Indonesia pays particular attention to the potential for conflicts expected in the SCS region by strengthening the title of existing danur military force to enhance the country's defense capabilities and establishing new combat units to provide a deterrent against any growing threats in the region. All combat, combat assistance, and operation support units will be integrated into one command and control. In the implementation of combat operations, it will be equipped with an operating control system based on network-centric warfare (Pambudi, 2019). For Indonesia, the principle of "active defensive" defense has always been applied in managing the country's defense, non-aggressively and not expansively, and prioritizing state sovereignty to ensure national interests (Kemhan RI, 2015).

Indonesia's defense doctrine, which is defensively active, requires Indonesia to defend state sovereignty against foreign invasions. For this reason, the arrangements for the placement of military units are arranged in proportion to continuous tactical and strategic
considerations and are adjusted to the characteristics of Indonesian geography. The deployment of military units also served as a deterrent force, an enforcement force, and a recovery force. To ensure regional security, Indonesia rebuilt military bases by establishing an integrated TNI unit and the Joint Command of the Defense Area. The development of this military force does not aim to compete, but as a form of improving the defense and security of Indonesia's territory. And Indonesia ensures that this development of military power does not trigger a domino effect in the form of military competition with countries in the region (Pambudi, 2019). In the placement of military forces in the region, these military units have been compiled and placed in accordance with tactical and strategic considerations while still paying attention to aspects of Indonesia's geographical conditions as an archipelagic country (Kemhan RI, 2015). The following is a map of the placement of military units in the territory of Indonesia (The International Institute for St, 2021), described in the figure below.

![Map of the strength of military units in Indonesia.](image)

The visualization of Indonesia's state defense is regulated by phasing as follows; firstly attacking and destroying the enemy when the enemy is still in his country, secondly if the enemy is still able to attack it will be destroyed on sea travel (above sea level of the exclusive economic zone), third if the enemy is still able to carry out an attack then it is destroyed in the coastal area, fourth if the coastal defense can be penetrated then carry out a protracted war and fifth if the military capabilities supported by reserve and support components already have the strength and ability, then further drive the enemy out of the territorial territory of the state (Supriyatno, 2014).

In accordance with The Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 34 of 2004 concerning the TNI, where the TNI as a means of state defense has the task of maintaining state sovereignty, the territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia and protecting all Indonesian blood spills from all forms of threats. The use of TNI force is based on state policy and adapted to the conditions faced by the Indonesian nation. In the main point of the TNI AD development policy in accordance with the Decree of the Commander of the TNI Number Kep/1024/XII/2020 concerning the Doctrine of the Indonesian Army Kartika Eka Paksi in 2020, it is stated that the development of the deployment of Army forces is an inseparable part of the state defense efforts in the land aspect. The concept of deploying the forces of the Indonesian Army is based on the concept of defense of large islands capable of reaching the
surrounding series of small islands. Thus, the Indonesian Army needs to prepare itself to carry out the stages of protracted warfare, with the strategy of placing TNI AD units, centrally deploying forces, and deploying territorial forces, and deploying supporting forces. The centralized force that has been prepared consists of deploying Kostrad troops and deploying Kopassus troops, and deploying regional forces consisting of 15 Kodam units (Kemhan RI, 2015).

Every country in the world, including Indonesia, has the right to maintain survival and defend its homeland from various threats. In the face of threats that are the impact of a strategic environment that is uncertainty, complexity, and dynamic, the country's defense is generally structured with a layered defense strategy, which combines layers of military defense and layers of non-military defense as a defense unit that supports each other, so that Indonesia will be able to rely on its capabilities and not depend on other countries (Kemhan RI, 2015). Indonesian state defense functions to realize and defend the entire territory of the Republic of Indonesia as a defense unit to protect the country from all threats (UU RI Nomor 3 Tahun 2002).

Conclusion

The dynamics of the strategic environment, which illustrate the US-China rivalry, have made the Indo-Pacific region a single geostrategic theater that will drag regional countries into the vortex of Indo-Pacific dynamics, including Indonesia which is the fulcrum of the Indo-Pacific. Cotemporary dynamics in the region always develop over time, where the situation is fraught with volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity.

The competition between the United States and China is heating up with the formation of the AUKUS Military Alliance in 2021. On the other hand, China has been increasingly aggressive in carrying out its foreign policy and military strategy. Even in the recent period, it has seen more intensive use of coercive approaches to deal with disputes over maritime features and ownership of oil and gas reserves, as well as restrictions on shipping in the South China Sea region. So the existence of China has the potential to cause new threats, where it not only has a direct impact on the United States but also on the alliance countries geographically adjacent to China. So America needs to strengthen the military in the region and prepare for conventional, high-intensity combat operations to counter a balanced enemy. Countries in the region have been dragged into improving their military capabilities by increasing the arms industry, military exercises, increasing defense budgets, military cooperation and diplomacy, and participating in military alliances.

Over time, threat predictions have also developed, where the existence of China and the existence of the AUKUS alliance are threats that should be taken into account by countries in Southeast Asia. Currently, China’s threat to Indonesia is evident, in 2021 China officially asked Indonesia to stop oil and natural gas drilling exploration in the North Natuna region, and China also protested the implementation of the Garuda Shield military exercise conducted in August 2021. This encourages Indonesia to better prepare its military in order to face the dynamics of the strategic environment that VUCA, by strengthening and optimizing existing military forces and forming new military units to provide deterrence against any threats and disturbances. The deployment of military forces, especially the army is arranged proportionally and adapted to the characteristics of Indonesia’s geography, where military strength, serves as a deterrent force, enforcement force, and recovery force.

The placement of land forces includes units with centralized forces, scattered forces (regional commands), and supporting unit forces spread throughout Indonesia's territory to
maintain the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Indonesian state. The Army as a
ground force is deployed to strengthen the deployment of the navy and air force in
accordance with the possible presence of threats to the integrity and sovereignty of
Indonesia’s territory.

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