

The Urgency of the Diplomatic Role of the Indonesian Navy in Supporting Security Stability in the Indo-Pacific Region

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Abstract

Over the past few years, the intensity of use of the term "Indo-Pacific" has been increasingly encountered in various strategic discussions. Currently, the Indo-Pacific is an important area that reflects global geopolitics in the 21st century because it is the most strategic international trade and shipping route. In addition to its strategic location, the Indo-Pacific also causes various threat dynamics, especially due to the presence of various large countries in the region that are trying to exercise their hegemony. The dynamics of threats that are often encountered in this region include issues of the South China Sea, US-China rivalry, maritime disputes, and maritime security. In the midst of the increasingly complex dynamics of threats in the Indo-Pacific region, the Indonesian Navy has the duty and support for creating regional security through the role of Navy diplomacy. This article uses a qualitative method with a case study approach. The several theories used are regional security complexity theory, threat theory, and naval diplomacy. There are three important points elaborated in the discussion including: The security complexity and dynamics of threats in the Indo-Pacific region, Regional cooperation to achieve regional stability, and Implementation of the Indonesian Navy's diplomatic role in the region.

Keywords: Navy Diplomacy, Indo-Pacific, Threats, Regional Security Stability.



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INTRODUCTION

Over the past few years, the intensity of the use of the term "Indo-Pacific" has been increasingly encountered in various strategic discussions in the regions of Australia, France, India, Indonesia, Japan and the United States. During the last 10 years, the term "Indo-Pacific" has begun to be used in geopolitical studies replacing the previously known term "Asia-Pacific" with a fundamental difference in emphasis on areas related to waters. The Indo-Pacific concept is often defined as an integrated strategic concept capable of capturing shifts in power and influence from west to east, this concept has also dominated strategic debates and discussions in the region. Currently, the Indo-Pacific is an important area that reflects global geopolitics in the 21st century because it is the most strategic international trade and shipping route.

Geographically, the Indo-Pacific region refers to the region of countries that stretch from the eastern part of the Indian Ocean to the western Pacific Ocean, and are connected to the Malacca Strait. The Indo-Pacific has also become a center for maritime geopolitics, trade, security and the environment (Passarelli, 2014). The Indo-Pacific is also an area that is at the crossroads of international trade so that it has a very strategic value as the geopolitical center of the region, this is represented through the presence of major countries such as the United States, China, India, Japan, Australia, and other countries. ASEAN countries.

The presence of major countries in the Indo-Pacific region has had various impacts on regional countries including Indonesia. Apart from bringing benefits by increasing the level of the economy, there are also threats to stability and security in the region. Basically, common threats in the Indo-Pacific region include territorial boundary disputes, South China Sea issues, rivalries and maritime security (Purnama, 2017). The complexity of threats and geopolitical

dynamics that occur in the Indo-Pacific region, especially competition in the South China Sea, has a direct impact on Indonesia. Indonesia is indeed not one of the claimed states for the ownership of one of the islands in the Spratly & Paracel Islands, but if you look at it from the geographical context, Indonesia's position indirectly borders with the South China Sea which is one of the hot spots where the US-PRC bipolarity is mutually reinforcing and mutual show of military power in the region. In addition, the PRC also includes Indonesian territory in the periphery of its military strategy, namely in the First Islands Chain and the Second Islands Chain (Erickson & Wuthnow, 2016).

Along with the current dynamics of the Indo-Pacific region's strategic environment, the Indonesian Navy has a greater opportunity to play a role in naval diplomacy to support regional security and reflect Indonesia's national interests in the region. Warships, especially combatant ships, are invaluable diplomatic assets of the Navy, because they have characteristics not shared by other weapon systems, such as mobility and visibility. It is a necessity for Indonesia to play a more proactive role in the midst of competition and cooperation between the big powers in the region.

In the TNI Law No. 34 of 2004, in article 9 paragraph 3 it is stated that: "The implementation of Navy diplomacy is one of the main tasks of the Indonesian Navy as an effort to support foreign policy policies that have been set by the government". Thus, the law reflects the duties and legitimacy of the Indonesian Navy in implementing force diplomacy. So that through this law, the Indonesian Navy has legitimacy for the implementation of Navy Diplomacy. The role of the Navy in the current era of globalization has become an urgency, and is a reflection of the dynamics of the strategic environment. The birth of competition and cooperation between countries in the political, economic and military fields places the Navy as a force that plays a strategic role (Antariksa, 2014).

In the midst of the increasingly complex dynamics of threats in the Indo-Pacific region, the Indonesian Navy has the duty and support for creating regional security through the role of Navy diplomacy. In accordance with the 2018 National Defense Policy, the direction of the National Defense policy is also guided by the vision of the World Maritime Axis policy (Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, 2017), where increasing maritime diplomacy is one of the points in the PMD vision. Referring to Barry Buzan's theory in his book, "Region and Powers (The Structure of International Security)", he stated that in order to realize security in a region, the role of regional cooperation between countries greatly determines the success of the stability of a region (Buzan & Waever, 2003) . As the largest country in the Southeast Asia Region, Indonesia has initiated the establishment of ASEAN regional cooperation. ASEAN countries as well as other major countries consider that Indonesia has a very strategic position in playing its role in the ASEAN region. Because there are still various security problems, especially in the Indonesian territorial sea, the Indonesian Navy has an active role in realizing regional security by utilizing the cooperation of ASEAN countries. One of the efforts to establish cooperation between ASEAN countries is the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP) (Dipua, Harahap, Puspitawati, Aminuddin, & Prakoso, 2021).

The preferences of the AOIP cooperation sector really represent the interests of Indonesia's foreign policy. Indonesia in the last five years has also introduced the World Maritime Axis doctrine which encourages policies to build maritime power in the Indian and Pacific oceans (Muhibat, 2017). The concept is the same as before which takes advantage of Indonesia's geographical advantages, but this time the emphasis is on the maritime sector. The World Maritime Axis is comprehensive because it gives birth to new concepts such as maritime security, maritime diplomacy, maritime economy, and maritime power (Scott, 2019). This article will elaborate on the Urgency of the Indonesian Navy's Diplomatic Role in Supporting

Security Stability in the Indo-Pacific Region. In the next chapter, the article is divided into three parts, namely: explaining the security complexities and dynamics of threats to the Indo-Pacific region, regional cooperation to achieve regional stability, and the implementation of the Indonesian Navy's diplomatic role in the region.

Literature Review

Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT)

In their book "Regions and Powers", Barry Buzan and Ole Woever introduce the Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT), which is used to understand and make predictions about the dynamics of a regionalism which is a part of the international subsystem. The regional security complex can be understood as a theory espoused by Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, which identifies the regional security complex as a group of states in which major national security issues are so closely intertwined that they cannot be extracted or handled independently of one another. This theory confirms that security interdependence is an important factor in the creation of regional-based clusters. RSCT provides a framework for regional security analysis and comparison of different regions (Buzan & Woever, 2003)

To show its complexity, this theory is categorized into four variables which include: (1) There are boundaries that distinguish it from other security complexes, (2) The international structure is anarchic, so that this causes each regional country to compete with each other to achieve their interests. their respective national powers, which in this case can also trigger arm races in the region, (3) Polarity which shows the distribution of power between units of the security complex, and (4) Social construction, which explains patterns of friendship and hostility between countries (Oktaviano, Mahroza, & Risman, 2020).

The dynamic changes in this structure will have implications for complex security transformations. Internal transformation occurs in the form of integration-disintegration, ideological competition, and regime change due to changes in the polarity structure, anarchy structure, and social construction. The RSCT approach is considered comprehensively important because it combines the concept of distribution of neorealism capabilities with the concept of constructivism (security perception) and provides a portion of analysis to intra-regional countries of medium and small powers in explaining security dynamics in the region. RSCT is used in a number of working literature which can be seen for example in explaining the impact of US and Russian intervention on the stability of the Central Asian region (Troitskiy, 2015), the dynamics of power and stability of relations between countries in East Asia (Wirth, 2015), or the emergence of a new cold war phenomenon in the Middle East (Hanau, 2017).

Threat Theory

Threats can be understood as any activity originating from within and outside the country which is considered to endanger the territory of the country (NKRI) and the safety of the nation or something that is an obstacle and a hindrance to national interests. Threats are the main factors that form the basis of deterrence, are actual (real), and potential (not yet real) (Yusgiantoro, 2019). Based on the 2015 Indonesian Defense White Paper, Indonesia's perception of threats is every effort and activity, both from outside and from within the country, which is considered to threaten or endanger state sovereignty, state territorial integrity, and national safety. Threats are the main factors that form the basis of deterrence, are real and potential. Based on the nature of the threat, the nature of the threat is classified into military threats and non-military threats.

The range of threats in the maritime domain is very wide. Conventional threats in peacetime include regional state claims regarding the boundaries of the economic exclusion

zone (EEZ) and activities there, territorial waters and rights of innocent passage, and illegal fishing (Vego, 2008). Based on the explanation above, a threat is any event with potentially negative consequences for the survival or well-being of a country, community or individual. In discussing this article, we will elaborate further on the dynamics of threats in the Indo-Pacific region, so that this is what causes the urgency of the Indonesian Navy's diplomatic role to achieve regional stability.

Naval Diplomacy

Naval diplomacy is part of general diplomacy and not simply the 'free stuff' of military capabilities. Of course, there is a direct relationship between ability and credibility and this must also be recognized. Diplomacy is a means of formal and informal communication between international actors on the world stage; any communication can be done in innumerable ways and actors will try to communicate through the means at their disposal. Therefore, maritime countries with naval power will engage in naval diplomacy (Rowlands, 2018).

Naval diplomacy is synonymous with coercive 'warship diplomacy' (gunboat diplomacy). Coercion is of course a possible use of naval power during war, but not throughout it. Nye's (2004) 'behavioral spectrum', between international actors, in which power is classified from 'hard power' to 'soft power', offers a simple framework for locating naval diplomacy. In the use of 'Hard Power', naval power can be used to inflict punitive damages on actors to secure behavior change. Meanwhile, 'Soft Power', is used to make friendly port calls and open their doors to visitors to impress, educate and influence, to cultivate relationships with partners and to build their capacities. Between the two there are many possibilities for interactions that in some way advance the interests of their countries (Nye, 2004).

The existing model of naval diplomacy assumes a bilateral and mechanistic relationship: that is, one party takes action against the other in order to produce a reaction deemed favorable to its own interests. This action-reaction model, described by James Cable in terms of 'attacker' and 'victim', need not be limited to coercion and can be applied across the whole spectrum of naval diplomacy. However, it is limited. The reality of international relations is much more complex, multiple audiences and stakeholders exist in every communicative relationship (Cable, 2016).

RESEARCH METHODS

This article uses a qualitative methodology with a case study approach, namely through the development of theories and concepts in the analysis process based on data collected from various sources which include: primary sources through interviews, while secondary sources come from books, journal articles, and other open sources related to substance discussed.

RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Security Complexities and Threat Dynamics of the Indo-Pacific Region

According to Nurhasya (2018), several crucial waters such as the South China Sea (LTS) and the Andaman Sea have become hot vortices in the Indo-Pacific Region. The scope of the contestation between the United States and China seems increasingly clear in the conflict in the South China Sea region. China is a strong reason for the existence of the Quad (Quadrilateral Security Dialogue) in the Indo-Pacific region. Free and open Quad and Indo-Pacific arrangements are a kind of subtle competition against China's Belt Road Initiative (BRI) initiative (Saha, 2018). The region, however, remains an important pillar for China's BRI. China's share of power is wide in the region, moreover there is one point of its power which has always been a dispute, namely the South China Sea. In addition, China's military dominance, such as in the South East Sea and

the East Sea, is considered to have posed a threat to regional security stability. Currently, security stability will potentially increase. The struggle for power and influence by contesting actors will disrupt peace in the region. The contestation between the US and China is one of the main features that characterizes the dynamics in the Indo-Pacific.

The US-China rivalry occurs due to efforts to struggle for hegemony in the region, where China is trying to implement its BRI (Belt Road Initiative) program, which is a reflection of President Xi's policies regarding its global infrastructure development. This issue of course does not only involve the two warring countries, but also the involvement of several other countries which seek to support their respective interests by helping the US and China in winning the geopolitical competition that is occurring in the region.

The US-China rivalry also has implications for several important phenomena related to geopolitical changes and dynamics in the Indo-Pacific, namely (a) US Pivot to Asia (Shambaugh, 2018), the One Belt One Road (OBOR) policy which later changed to Belt and Road Initiatives (BRI) from China (Cai, 2017), as well as the Free and Open Indo Pacific (FOIP) concept from Japan (Mofa Japan, 2017). Pivot to Asia, BRI and FOIP are geopolitical strategies whose implementation covers the Indo-Pacific region where Indonesia is in the middle. Therefore, the conflicting geopolitical strategy between BRI (PRC) and FOIP and Pivot to Asia (US) has the potential, and can even be confirmed, to have an impact on national interests and Indonesia's role in the region (Radjendra, 2022).

In addition, the US, UK and Australia's decision to form the AUKUS Defense Pact also led to an increase in regional polarization between the US and China in the Indo-Pacific region. The development and deployment of these nuclear-powered submarines demonstrates that the three countries have drawn a line and countered China's aggressive moves. AUKUS' decision reinforces the impression of a region that is increasingly being dissected by geopolitical tug-of-war. The formation of AUKUS is a strategic response to China's growing military capabilities in the Indo-Pacific region (Sutanto & et.al, 2022).

Regional Cooperation to Achieve Regional Stability

Since 2018, Indonesia has developed the Indo-Pacific Cooperation Concept (IPCC), which is an Indo-Pacific construction with Indonesian characteristics (Laksmana, 2018a). A prominent theme in Indonesia's support for the IPCC is the emphasis on ASEAN "centrality," a call Indonesia first made at the ASEAN Heads of Government Summit in April 2018. Indonesia has also pushed forward its Indo-Pacific concept bilaterally within ASEAN. In September 2018, Indonesia and Vietnam jointly supported each other to develop the ASEAN Indo-Pacific concept which "covers key principles such as ASEAN centrality, openness, transparency, inclusiveness and respect for international law, while contributing to mutual trust, mutual respect and mutual benefit" (Indonesia-Vietnam, 2018).

Apart from talking about inclusiveness, the two parties underlined the importance of maintaining security and freedom of navigation and overflight and the need for demilitarization of the South China Sea region. Indonesia has also pushed its Indo-Pacific initiative onto the EAS stage, which provides a public platform where other significant non-ASEAN Indo-Pacific powers such as the United States, Japan, China and India have a presence. Based on Indonesia's perspective, the development of the Indo-Pacific cooperation concept is based on the principles of freedom, openness, inclusiveness, transparency and emphasizes cooperation between regional countries. In essence, the concept of this cooperation is an aspiration and a tool to voice Indonesia's interests related to strengthening cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region which is directed at increasing cooperation in the maritime sector, connectivity and the sustainable development agenda. As a country where 2/3 of its territory is ocean, Indonesia has both

opportunities and challenges in the process of strengthening architecture in the Indo-Pacific region.

The concept of Indo-Pacific cooperation which is based on a free-active foreign policy is also in line with the vision to realize Indonesia as a World Maritime Axis which is also the direction of national defense development. At the 34th ASEAN Summit in Bangkok which took place on 22 June 2019, ASEAN has also agreed on the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP). The concept of this cooperation was Indonesia's idea since 2018 as a response to the birth of polarization and rivalry of various major powers that could potentially affect peace, stability and efforts to achieve prosperity in the region. This AOIP emphasizes the centrality of ASEAN in upholding the principles of peace, strengthening the culture of dialogue and increasing cooperation. With the consolidation of the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific, Indonesia has the opportunity to play an active role in advancing Indo-Pacific cooperation while promoting stability, security and prosperity in the region.

Implementation of the Indonesian Navy's Diplomatic Role in the Indo-Pacific Region

The implementation of TNI AL diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific region so far has been running well, safely and smoothly. The programs that have been carried out so far in order to maintain regional stability are in the form of coordinated patrols and joint exercises with the countries of the Indo-Pacific region around national borders to ensure the security and defense of the state at sea. The implementation of the diplomatic role of the Indonesian Navy is divided into 2, namely:

1. The implementation of cooperative diplomacy carried out by the Indonesian Navy in the Indo-Pacific Region is to ensure that all combat units maintain operational readiness and carry out combat operations in conflict-prone areas, carry out intelligence operations to collect data to support elements of the title, then carry out deterrence against all types threats by carrying out Permanent Operations and maneuvering surface elements through surface and air elements in Conflict-prone Areas, carrying out shadowing of ships that have the potential to commit violations, all of these activities are carried out through Sea Security Operations, Sea Combat Alert Operations, Joint Air Surveillance Operations, ALKI Security Operations and Border Security Operations carried out throughout the year in accordance with the applicable ROE.
2. The implementation of coercive diplomacy carried out by the Indonesian Navy in the Indo-Pacific region is to take action against ships that commit acts of violation through inspection and search actions as well as carry out warnings and localization and expulsion of ships that have the potential to commit violations in the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. besides that the TNI AL also optimizes the presence of elements at sea and the application of Sea Denial, Anti Access, all of these activities are carried out through Sea Security Operations, Sea Combat Alert Operations, Joint Air Surveillance Operations, ALKI Security Operations and Border Security Operations which are carried out throughout the year in accordance with ROE applicable.

In order to maintain regional stability, the presence of the Indonesian Navy is very active and is a reflection of the Indonesian Foreign Policy which is free and active. The Indonesian Navy plays an active role in the naval organization of the Western Pacific Naval Symposium (WPNS) and participates in multilateral maritime exercises in the Indo-Pacific region such as RIMPAC (Rim of the Pacific Exercise) held in Hawaii and the KAKADU Multilateral Exercise in Australia. The Indonesian Navy also plays an active role in organizing the Multilateral Naval Exercise Komodo (MNEK) exercises every two years in order to increase the existence of the

Indonesian Navy in the Indo-Pacific region and support the government in improving the economy and promoting culture and tourism objects in the Indonesian region to the international community.

CONCLUSION

In order to ensure the implementation of the role of Navy diplomacy in facing the dynamics of threats in the Indo-Pacific which includes US-China rivalry, maritime disputes, South China Sea issues, arm races in the region, the Indonesian Navy Diplomacy focuses on the presence of the Indonesian Navy (naval presence) at sea or conflict areas. through joint exercises with regional countries, Port Visits, and carrying out coordinated Patrols with countries in the Indo-Pacific region as well as the AAL Kartika Jala Krida Taruna Voyeil. In addition, the Indonesian Navy also routinely participates in annual and bi-annual international activities such as the Western Pacific Naval Symposium (WPNS), Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS) and ASEAN Naval Chief Meeting (ANCM), RIMPAC (Rim of the Pacific Exercise), and Multilateral Naval Exercise Komodo (MNEK) to discuss maritime security in the region. The overall implementation of the Indonesian Navy's diplomatic role is aimed at reducing existing threats and suppressing open conflict through a diplomatic dialogue approach and increasing cooperation between regional countries based on the principle of trust, so as to achieve security and stability in the region.

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