

The Role of Indonesian Naval Diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific Region as Indonesia's Maritime Strategy in Supporting National Defense

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Abstract – Over the past few years, the use of the term "Indo-Pacific" has become increasingly common in strategic discussions. The Indo-Pacific is a region that is at the crossroads of international trade so that it has a very strategic value as a regional geopolitical center. In addition to its strategic value, the Indo-Pacific region also has high threat dynamics. The complexity of these threats is represented in the US-China rivalry, maritime disputes, the LTS issue, and the arm race in the region, which both directly and indirectly can pose a threat to regional stability. Indonesia, with its strategic location, has an interest in maintaining regional security stability through a regional cooperation framework. The vast area of Indonesian waters also causes Indonesia to be able to use a soft power approach through the implementation of the Navy's diplomatic role as an effort to support national defense and maintain the sovereignty of Indonesian territorial waters. In the midst of the increasingly complex dynamics of threats in the Indo-Pacific region, the Indonesian Navy carries out its diplomatic role as a national maritime strategy and an effort to support the creation of regional security and stability. This article uses a qualitative method with a case study approach. The theories used are national defense theory, maritime strategy, threat theory and naval diplomacy. There are four important points elaborated in the discussion including: Threat dynamics in the Indo-Pacific region, the Concept of Indo-Pacific Regional Cooperation, Indonesia's Maritime Doctrine, and the Role of Indonesian Naval Diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific Region.

Keywords – Naval Diplomacy, Maritime Strategy, Threats, Indo-Pacific, National Defense, Regional Stability.

I. INTRODUCTION

Over the past few years, the use of the term "Indo-Pacific" has become increasingly common in strategic discussions in the regions of Australia, France, India, Indonesia, Japan and the United States. Over the past 10 years, the term "Indo-Pacific" has begun to be used in geopolitical studies in place of the previously recognized term "Asia Pacific" with the fundamental difference of emphasizing the water-related region. Often defined as an integrated strategic concept that captures the shift of power and

influence from west to east, the Indo-Pacific concept has also dominated strategic debates and discussions in the region. The terminology of the Indo-Pacific as a geopolitical construct emerged from Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's 2007 declaration of the Indian and Pacific as a sea of freedom and prosperity (Free and Open Indo-Pacific/FOIP) (Abe, 2007). In addition, China and India's sea-oriented foreign policies and the United States' vision of not being able to separate India from its security architecture have prompted the US to start developing its own Indo-Pacific concept (Yoshihara, 2013, pp. 90-103).

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

The presence of major countries in the Indo-Pacific region has brought various impacts to regional countries including Indonesia. In addition to bringing benefits by increasing economic levels, there are also threats to security stability in the region. Basically, the common threats in the Indo-Pacific region are not far from boundary disputes and maritime security (Purnama, 2017).

According to Nurhasya (2018), several crucial waters such as the South China Sea (LTS) and the Andaman Sea have become a hot vortex in the Indo-Pacific Region. The sphere of contestation between the United States and China is apparent in the conflict in the LTS region. China is a strong reason for the existence of the Quad (Quadrilateral Security Dialogue) in the Indo-Pacific region. The Quad and a free and open Indo-Pacific arrangement is a kind of subtle competition against China's Belt Road Initiative (BRI) (Saha, 2018). The region, however, remains an important pillar for China's BRI. China's share of power is vast in the region, especially in one of its disputed points of power, the LTS. In addition, China's military dominance in the LTS and the East Sea is considered to have posed a threat to regional security stability. Currently, security stability has the potential to 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 color the dynamics in the Indo-Pacific.

Geopolitical changes and dynamics that occur in the Indo-Pacific region, especially in the competition in the LTS, have a direct impact on Indonesia. Although Indonesia is not one of the claimed states, geographically Indonesia is directly adjacent to the LTS, which is one of the hot spots where the two powers compete for influence and also show each other's military strength. In addition, China has also included Indonesia in the periphery of its military strategy, namely into the First Island Chain and the Second Island Chain (Erickson & Wuthnow, 2016).

Amidst the escalation of conflict in the South China Sea region, which is part of the Indo-Pacific region, and the resurgence of maritime piracy activities in Southeast Asia, President Joko Widodo's Global Maritime Axis (PMD) doctrine seems to be increasingly important. The PMD concept launched by President Widodo emphasizes the urgency of maritime diplomacy as an effort to resolve maritime territorial disputes with neighboring countries, as well as an effort to reduce maritime tensions due to polarization between superpowers in the region. He also emphasized the importance of the Indo-Pacific region for the implementation of Indonesia's foreign policy. The conception of the Global Maritime Axis reflects Indonesia's geopolitical position as an archipelagic country so that foreign and defense policies taken will be focused on the maritime domain. President Widodo's foreign policy approach emphasizes Indonesia as a strong regional maritime power, prioritizing the role of diplomacy. Thus, maritime cooperation is one of the main keys in the development and development of architecture in the region (Medcalf, 2017).

The concept of Global Maritime Axis itself has been reflected in the Indonesian Maritime Vision, which aims to make Indonesia a maritime country that is sovereign, independent, advanced, and strong and can make a positive contribution in building security and peace both regionally and globally in accordance with Indonesia's national interests (Presidential Regulation No. 16 of 2017: Indonesian Maritime Policy). In 2017, a national document on Indonesia's Maritime Policy, manifested in Presidential Regulation No. 16 of 2017, explained the 7 pillars of Indonesia's maritime policy. One of the main pillars is maritime diplomacy which is found in the 7th pillar.

The conception of maritime diplomacy as one of the pillars of PMD (later becoming one of the main components of the National Ocean Policy), is very important in reducing regional tensions, encouraging the development of a principle-based regional order, as well as being the spearhead of Indonesia's foreign policy, and the rule of international law (rule-based order).

Referring to Barry Buzan's theory in his book, "Region and Powers (The Structure of International Security)", he states that in order to realize security in a region, the role of regional cooperation between countries determines the success of a region's stability (Buzan & Waever, 2003). As the largest country in the Southeast Asian region, Indonesia has initiated the formation of ASEAN regional cooperation. ASEAN countries and other large countries consider that Indonesia has a very strategic position in playing its role in the ASEAN Regional Area. Because there are still various security problems, especially in the Indonesian territorial sea area, the Navy has an active role in realizing regional security by utilizing the cooperation of ASEAN countries. One of the efforts in establishing cooperation between ASEAN countries is the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP) (Dipua, Harahap, Puspitawati, Aminuddin, & Prakoso, 2021).

Post-Cold War, Naval Diplomacy in the Southeast Asian Region has experienced higher significance and intensity. Compared to earlier times, over the past decade, activities involving the role of Naval Diplomacy have been much higher. This increase is an implication of the expansion of geographical coverage for the national interests of each Southeast Asian country, as well as the increasingly prominent conflicts in the maritime domain (Ali, 2022). As the largest country in Southeast Asia, Indonesia must continuously improve its naval diplomacy in the region, both by the navies of ASEAN countries and extra-regional powers. In relation to the above, it is necessary to reorganize the naval diplomacy that has been adopted by Indonesia so as to achieve the safeguarding of national interests in a strategic environment full of uncertainty (Marsetio, 2014, p. 106).

Naval diplomacy is part of general diplomacy and will be used as a means of communication by maritime states in pursuit of their national interests. Therefore, maritime states with naval power will engage in naval diplomacy (Rowlands, 2018). Naval Diplomacy falls within the framework of a country's foreign policy. Naval diplomacy should also be guided by national security strategy (Marsetio, 2014, p. 108).

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

In TNI Law No. 34 of 2004, article 9 paragraph 3 states that: "The implementation of naval diplomacy is one of the main tasks of the Navy as an effort to support the *polugri* policy set by the government". Thus, the law reflects the duties and legitimacy of the Indonesian Navy in the implementation of naval diplomacy. Thus, through this law, the Indonesian Navy has legitimacy for the implementation of naval diplomacy. Given the importance of naval diplomacy and its implementation, it is time to develop a separate organizational structure manned in peacetime and wartime (Sirmareza, 2017). Naval diplomacy conducted by Indonesia is a reflection of Indonesia's national interests mandated by the constitution, namely in order to maintain world peace.

In order to support Indonesia's foreign policy, the use of sea power is not carried out with the use of weapons, but is a signal or message that includes various efforts to (a) Communicate a country's intentions, (b) Negotiate bilateral issues between two countries, and (c) Convey a message of a country's military power. The Indonesian Navy has successfully carried out successful diplomacy several times. Some of the Navy's peaceful diplomacy has succeeded in raising the nation's name in politics and diplomacy at the regional and international levels. Some of them are the United Nation Interim Force in Lebanon's Maritime Task Force (UNIFIL MTF) mission, the Liberation of MV. Sinar Kudus in Somalia, KRI Dewa Ruci Muhibah Voyage, Galang Island Refugee Handling and Lusitania Expresso ferry expulsion (Marsetio., 2014).

The development of dynamics in the Indo-Pacific region has brought various threats that are increasingly complex, so that to support Indonesia's national defense, a national maritime strategy is needed which is reflected through the Role of Indonesian Naval Diplomacy. The Indonesian Navy has a role as a state defense agent with its duty to maintain regional security stability. This article will elaborate on the Role of Indonesian Naval Diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific Region as Indonesia's Maritime Strategy in Supporting National Defense. In the next chapter, the article is divided into four parts, namely: Literature Review, Research Methods, Discussion and Conclusion.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. National Defense

In general, defense is the reaction of an entity to an aggression, and passes through the extension of all means and measures, identification and measurement of risk or danger, as well as protection and/or response. The essence of national defense is all universal defense efforts whose implementation is based on awareness of the rights and obligations of citizens and belief in their own strength. National defense is organized by the government and prepared early with a national defense system.

In the white paper State Defense (2015), it is explained that State Defense is a universal defense effort, by including all citizens in the state defense effort. National defense is a joint force between civilians and the military to ensure its territorial integrity, protection from people and/or safeguard its interests from threats. National defense is managed by the Ministry of Defense. According to Law No. 3 of 2002 concerning State defense in article 1 paragraph 1 states that, "State defense is all efforts to defend the sovereignty of the state, the territorial integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the entire nation from threats and disturbances to the integrity of the nation and state".

According to Smith (1919), in its development, National Defense is a reflection of the development of relations between Athens and Sparta which led to the Peloponnesian War. This then led to the development of the concept of warfare by Thucydides which began with alliance combatants which was then reflected in the relationship between power and individual behavior during conflict. This concept developed until the Cold War between the Soviets and the US, which led to the derivation of war and peace. Furthermore, it was from this era that many major countries began to develop the defense sector which became the main focus in the context of statehood (Lee, Feinbaum, & Ambros, 2004). Thus, it can be concluded that national defense is a product born from the realist's point of view. Furthermore, in an effort to develop national defense, many large countries then began to organize the development of the concept of national defense which began with the formation of national defense instruments through the development of defense institutions and operational arrangements which then gave birth to strategies. So that as the largest archipelagic country, it requires cooperation efforts and diplomatic dialogue in an effort to Strengthen the Role of Naval Diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific Region, so that a good national defense system can be built in order to achieve national goals, especially in the field of defense.

B. Maritime Strategy

The foundations of modern maritime strategy were laid in the last decades of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Initially, maritime strategy largely focused on investigating the history of naval warfare in the age of sail.

For Corbett (2018), naval strategy needs to be understood in the context of the broader maritime strategy of which it is only one part. As we have noted, he defines maritime strategy as 'the principles governing wars in which the sea is a substantial factor', recognizing that only in the rarest of cases are wars won by naval action alone. Naval strategy is simply the part of maritime strategy that determines the movements of the fleet when maritime strategy has determined what part the fleet should play in relation to the actions of the land forces (Corbett, 2018). The unity of the oceans is a simple physical fact that underlies the critical strategic value of sea power (Mackinder, 2020). The use of the sea implies some form of strategy. A country's maritime strategy must take into account the conditions of war, peace and the various stages in between. Maritime strategy is the art and science of using force to meet sea-related objectives.

Experience over the past hundred years shows that maritime strategy is part of a country's grand strategy that touches on the entire range of activities and interests at sea. Maritime strategy is not about fighting for naval interests. Maritime strategy encompasses, potentially more broadly, all uses of the sea by the state, both economic and defense (Strachan, 2007). Naval strategy refers to the use of naval assets (fleet) to fulfill military objectives, such as contesting, securing, deterring, defending and fighting for command of the sea or control of the sea. Maritime strategy refers to the use of assets (naval, land, air; military, civilian; political, economic, normative, ideational and so on) to use the sea (or sea power) efficiently, to fulfill grand strategy and/or national policy objectives.

Maritime strategy governs a variety of other considerations for navies in peacetime, in naval operations other than open warfare, and in non-war naval power functions that continue even during wartime. It is thus equally important to realize maritime strategy in peacetime and in wartime. Ken Booth in his books, *Navies and Foreign Policy* (2015) and *Law, Force & Diplomacy at Sea* (2014), proposed a "trinity" of naval functions: military, diplomatic and constabulary. This trinity is popular among

practitioners and was endorsed by the UK Ministry of Defense in the 2011 UK Maritime Doctrine, which sets out three appropriate roles for the Royal Navy, war fighting, maritime security and international engagement. Historically, these roles are very old and have been practiced since antiquity.

C. Threat Theory

The declaration of the Stars War, a war that developed a defense technology system in outer space in the 1990s by American President Ronald Reagan, has implications for the creation of a paradigm shift in the concept of threats. Threats can be understood as any activity originating from within and outside the country that is considered to endanger the territory of the state (NKRI) and the safety of the nation or something that is an obstacle and barrier to national interests. Threat is the main factor that becomes the basis for deterrence, is actual (real), and potential (not yet real) (Yusgiantoro, 2019).

To understand the changing nature of threats in contemporary global security, it is necessary to define what is understood as a security threat. A security threat can be defined as an event with potentially negative consequences for the survival or well-being of a state, society or individual. However, this simplistic attempt to define security threats demonstrates the complexity of the concept. New threats, such as terrorism, transnational crime, civil conflict and HIV/AIDS are much more widespread and likely. Compared to interstate wars, civil conflicts are not only about five times more frequent on average, but the number of internal conflicts has also steadily increased since the end of World War II, while the occurrence of intrastate wars has remained relatively stable. One of the threat clusters to international security is cross-border threats in the form of transnational organized crimes. In addition to growing rapidly, transnational crimes also have very complex characteristics. The increasing threat of transnational crime is not symmetrical with the ability of the state to overcome it, so international cooperation to collectively overcome it is a temporary solution in handling it. In the ASEAN Plan of Action to Combat Transnational Crime, there are eight types of transnational crime, some of which have a maritime dimension.

The range of threats in the maritime domain is vast. Conventional peacetime threats include claims by states of the Region with respect to the boundaries of economic exclusion zones (EEZs) and activities therein, territorial waters and peaceful passage rights, and illegal fishing. Conventional threats include low-intensity conflicts such as insurgencies and the possibility of high-intensity conflicts in various parts of the world, such as the Persian (Arab) Gulf, the Korean Peninsula, or the Taiwan Strait. In addition, unconventional threats in the maritime domain have dramatically increased in diversity and intensity since the early 1990s. They include transnational terrorism and criminal networks involved in the illicit trafficking of narcotics, people and weapons. Piracy is a growing problem in some parts of the world, particularly in Southeast Asia and off the east and west coasts of Africa. The combination of transnational terrorism and piracy can seriously disrupt international trade flows (Vego, 2008).

Based on the explanation above, a threat is any event with potentially negative consequences for the survival or welfare of a country, community or individual. In the discussion of the research, it will be further elaborated on the dynamics of threats that exist in the Indo-Pacific region, so that this is what causes the urgency of the role of Indonesian Navy diplomacy as Indonesia's maritime strategy to achieve regional stability and support Indonesia's national defense.

D. Naval Diplomacy

Diplomacy in the Oxford English Dictionary is defined as the profession, activity, or skill of managing international relations, usually by a country's representative abroad. Meanwhile, according to Webster Dictionary, diplomacy is the art and practice of organizing negotiations between nations as in the case of organizing treaties. Thus diplomacy for states is about foreign affairs, efforts to secure and promote interests beyond national boundaries in a variety of ways.

Naval diplomacy is part of general diplomacy and not simply a 'freebie' of military capabilities. Of course, there is a direct link between capability and credibility and this should 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 seek to communicate through the means at their disposal. Therefore, maritime states with naval power will engage in naval diplomacy (Rowlands, 2018).

Naval diplomacy is synonymous with coercive 'gunboat diplomacy'. Coercion is certainly a possible use of naval power during war, but not in its entirety. Nye's (2004) 'spectrum of behavior', between international actors, where power is classified from 'hard power' to 'soft power', offers a simple framework to situate naval diplomacy. In the use of 'Hard Power', Naval power can be used to inflict punitive damage on actors to secure behavioral change. 'Soft Power', meanwhile, is used to make friendly

ports call and open their doors to visitors to impress, educate and influence, to foster relationships with partners and to build their capacity. Between the two there are many possibilities for interaction that in some way advance their country's interests (Nye, 2004).

The diplomacy function is the most distinctive function of the Navy. It is concerned with the management of foreign policy through the limited deployment of Naval power. The diplomatic power of the Navy can support state policy especially during negotiations and in general international interactions (Booth K., 2015). According to Ken Booth in his book "Navies and Foreign Policy" there are five tactics in naval diplomacy, namely: 1) Standing demonstrations of naval power; 2) Specific operational deployments; 3) Naval aid; 4) Operational visits; 5) Specific goodwill visits.

Naval diplomacy has always had an important role in diplomacy. It has a very long historical track record and as Murfett (2012) argues, despite the huge changes that have taken place in the world since the mid-Victorian era, navies play a coercive role whether large or small. All naval activities must support political policy.

III. METHODOLOGY

This article uses qualitative research methods. Qualitative research is research that is more focused on describing the nature or nature of the value of a particular object or symptom. According to Moleong (2018), qualitative research is research that aims to understand the phenomenon of the overall experience experienced by the research subject, such as behavior, perceptions, motivations, actions, and others, holistically, using various scientific methods through verbal and linguistic descriptions in a specific empirical context (Moleong, 2018). In qualitative research, it is the researcher who designs the research model to be carried out and temporarily estimates the results that will be obtained in the field. According to Bungin (2017), the qualitative research design is the researcher himself, so that the researcher is able to understand how the research model will be made, and will temporarily estimate the results that will be obtained in the field. To explain and explore the results of the study, researchers used a research design with a case study approach.

According to Creswell (2016), a case study is a type of approach that aims to investigate and provide an understanding of an existing event or problem through the collection of various information which is then processed so that a solution is obtained so that an answer and resolution to the problem is obtained. According to Rahardjo & Gudnanto (2010), a case study is a method used to gain a deep understanding of individuals and the problems they face, which aims to solve these problems. This case study is conducted in an integrative and comprehensive manner.

In research that uses a case study approach, the depth of analysis related to certain specific cases is an important point that distinguishes this type of research from other approaches. The case study approach is deemed suitable in this research, considering that this research aims to provide a depth of analysis related to the dynamics of threats in the Indo-Pacific region as well as the role played by the Indonesian Navy in maintaining regional stability to support Indonesia's national defense.

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 including: primary sources through interviews, while secondary sources come from books, journal articles, and other open sources related to the substance discussed.

IV. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

A. Threat Dynamics of the Indo-Pacific Region

The presence of major countries in the Indo-Pacific region has brought various impacts to regional countries including Indonesia. In addition to bringing benefits by increasing economic levels, there are also threats to security stability in the region. Basically, common threats in the Indo-Pacific region are not far from boundary disputes and maritime security (Purnama, 2017). The sea trade routes used by many countries present sea threats. The influx of illegal immigrants, weapons smuggling, drug trafficking, illegal fishing and terrorism are examples of marine threats.

According to Nurhasya (2018), several crucial waters such as the South China Sea (LTS) and the Andaman Sea have become a hot vortex in the Indo-Pacific Region. The scope of contestation between the United States and China is more apparent in the conflict in the LTS region. China is a strong reason for the existence of the Quad (Quadrilateral Security Dialogue) in the Indo-Pacific region. The Quad and a free and open Indo-Pacific arrangement is a kind of subtle competition against China's Belt Road Initiative (BRI) (Saha, 2018). The region, however, remains an important pillar for China's BRI. China's share of power is

vast in the region, especially in one of its disputed points of power, the LTS. In addition, China's military dominance in the LTS and the East Sea is considered to have posed a threat to regional security stability. Currently, security stability has the potential to 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 color the dynamics in the Indo-Pacific.

The US-Tiongkok rivalry occurs because of the 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 global infrastructure development. This issue of course does not only involve the two warring countries, but also the involvement of several other countries that seek to support their respective interests by helping the US and China in winning the geopolitical competition that occurs in the region.

This US-Tiongkok rivalry also has implications for several important phenomena related to geopolitical changes and dynamics in the Indo-Pacific, namely (a) the US Pivot to Asia (Shambaugh, 2018), the One Belt One Road (OBOR) policy which later turned into the PRC's Belt and Road Initiatives (BRI) (Cai, 2017), and Japan's Free and Open Indo Pacific (FOIP) concept (Mofa Japan, 2017). Pivot to Asia, BRI, and FOIP are geopolitical strategies whose implementation includes the Indo-Pacific region where Indonesia is at the center. Therefore, the opposing geopolitical strategies of BRI (PRC) with FOIP and Pivot to Asia (US) have the potential, even certainty, to have an impact on Indonesia's national interests and role in the region (Radjendra, 2022).

Another phenomenon that is a manifestation of US-China competition and bipolarity in the Indo-Pacific region is the dispute in the LTS. Although in the actual dispute some of the countries involved include China, Vietnam, Malaysia, Brunei, the Philippines and Taiwan, it also involves the US and its alliances. US involvement in this context is in the form of freedom of navigation operations (FONOP) and joint exercises with other countries in the LTS region (Berkofsky, 2018).

In addition, the decision of the US, UK and Australia to form the AUKUS Defense Pact has also led to increased regional polarization between the US and China in the Indo-Pacific region. The development and deployment of these nuclear-powered submarines shows that the three countries have drawn a line and countered the aggressive moves made by China. The AUKUS decision reinforces the impression of a region increasingly 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). In addition, the formation of AUKUS also explicitly shows the increasing seriousness of countries outside the region, such as the UK, in their direct involvement in geopolitical competition in the Indo-Pacific region (Septiari, 2021).

According to data from the Stimson Center (2014), there is an increase in asymmetric maritime threats that are also related to the increase in trade across the sea, which has implications for security and the free flow of trade through shared ownership in the maritime sphere. The capacity to restrict the free flow of trade has many direct and indirect consequential effects. Indirectly, for example, increased risk factors in a given region may increase insurance premiums for merchant ships, which automatically reduces the flow of seaborne trade, thereby lowering the economic index of the dependent country, which in turn affects its economic development. The challenges include: Piracy, Maritime Terrorism, the Rise of the Narco-Terrorism/Terror-Crime Nexus, Marine Pollution and Environmental Disasters, and the South Tiongkok Sea Dispute.

B. Indo-Pacific Regional Cooperation Concept

The term 'Indo-Pacific' has experienced three 'waves of discourse' in the region. In 2007, the term Indo-Pacific as a geopolitical construct emerged from Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's declaration of the Indies and the Pacific as seas of freedom and prosperity (Abe, 2007). In the same year, the four countries that make up the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad) - Australia, India, Japan and the United States - held their inaugural meeting. The 2007 Quad was short-lived as Australia unilaterally announced its disengagement in 2008. However, at the 2017 ASEAN Summit in the Philippines, the four QUAD countries pushed for the rebirth of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) strategic policy, which is a strategic security dialogue forum for the United States, Japan, Australia and India. The four leaders agreed to revive QUAD to promote regional stability and peace. The "QUAD 2.0" forum emphasized that there are seven main agendas: (a) Law-based order in Asia; (b) Freedom of navigation and overflight; (c) Respect for international law; (d) Strengthening connectivity; (e) Maritime security; (f) North Korean threat and nuclear non-proliferation; and (g) Terrorism.

According to Yoshinara (2013), China and India's sea-oriented foreign policies and the United States' vision of not

being able to separate India from its security architecture have prompted the US to start developing its own Indo-Pacific concept. Meanwhile, in August 2016, Japan's Prime Minister introduced the "Free and Open Indo-Pacific/FOIP" (Kitaoka, 2019). This strategy was quickly accepted and adopted by the US. Meanwhile, citing the White House (2017), "President Trump reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to FOIP during his "Indo-Pacific" visit to five Asian countries" on November 3-14, 2017. Citing Medcalf (2014), the concept of the indo-pacific has undergone a remarkable development from the concept of maritime space to a strategic system that has emerged from the rapid and powerful interconnectedness of security and economic concerns between the region in the western Pacific and the Indian oceans.

The birth of the Indo-Pacific perspective has reflected a strategic position for Indonesia and the countries in the Southeast Asian region to be the central point connecting the Pacific and Indian oceans. Indonesia's role as a middle power in the region, causes Indonesia to not be able to rely on its material strength both in terms of economy and military to be able to influence and shape a conducive regional condition based on the national interest approach in HI. Therefore, regional policy is emphasized on the development of regional cooperation arrangements, mechanisms, institutions that allow all large, medium and small countries to manage common interests. A regional cooperation mechanism that allows countries to develop mutually beneficial cooperation and discuss and manage potential conflicts, mistrust, suspicion and other forms of threats.

The dynamics of the strategic environment in the Indo-Pacific Region is characterized by increasing US-China rivalry, which is reflected in the opposition of China's BRI vs US FOIP. Furthermore, there is also the revitalization of the Quad which has the potential to become a strategic coalition of external forces that does not involve ASEAN. So Indonesia took a stand by proposing the Indo-Pacific concept that makes ASEAN the centerpiece and emphasizes the principles of freedom, openness and inclusiveness.

Since 2018, Indonesia has developed the Indo-Pacific Cooperation Concept (IPCC), which is an Indo-Pacific construct with Indonesian characteristics (Laksmiana, 2018a). In her annual press statement, on January 9, 2018, Retno Marsudi, Indonesia's Minister of Foreign Affairs announced this new Indo-Pacific concept. She stated that "In the midst of regional geopolitical changes, Indonesia, located at the crossroads of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, must continue to be a major player in creating regional architecture" (Marsudi, 2018a). In his statement, Marsudi also stated that regarding the future regional architecture, "Indonesia will work together with countries in the region, to develop the Indo-Pacific cooperation umbrella" but in which "ASEAN centrality must be maintained" as the focus of this regionalism. Marsudi reiterated on May 8 that "The principles of Indonesia's Indo-Pacific cooperation are inclusive, open, developing the habit of dialogue and respecting international law" (2018b).

A prominent theme in Indonesia's support for the IPCC has been the emphasis on ASEAN "centrality", a call first made by Indonesia at the ASEAN Heads of Government Summit in April 2018. Indonesia has also been pushing its Indo-Pacific concept bilaterally within ASEAN. In September 2018, Indonesia and Vietnam jointly supported each other to develop an ASEAN Indo-Pacific concept that "encompasses key principles such as ASEAN centrality, openness, transparency, inclusiveness, and respect for international law, while contributing to mutual trust, respect and mutual benefit" (Indonesia-Vietnam, 2018). In addition to talks on inclusiveness, both sides underscored the importance of maintaining security and freedom of navigation and overflight and the need to demilitarize the LTS 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 are present. Indonesia formally presented the Indo-Pacific concept at the EAS Foreign Ministers meeting in August 2018, but without a formal response from other EAS ministers.

In November 2018, Jokowi made the Indo-Pacific the focus of his own speech at the EAS summit. Although Widodo described "the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean as a single geo-strategic theater" (Indonesia, 2018d). Based on Indonesia's perspective, the development of this indo-pacific cooperation concept is based on the principles of freedom, openness, inclusiveness, transparency and emphasizes cooperation between regional countries. In essence, this concept of cooperation is an aspiration and a tool to voice Indonesia's interests related to strengthening cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region directed at increasing cooperation in the maritime sector, connectivity and sustainable development agenda. As a country where 2/3 of its territory is ocean, Indonesia has opportunities and challenges in the process of strengthening architecture in the Indo-pacific region.

The concept of Indo-Pacific cooperation based on a free-active foreign policy is also in line with the vision to realize

Indonesia as the World Maritime Axis which is also the direction of national defense development. In the 34th ASEAN Summit in Bangkok which took place on June 22, 2019, ASEAN has also agreed on the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP). This cooperation concept has been Indonesia's idea since 2018 in response to the birth of polarization and rivalry between various major powers that could potentially affect peace, stability and efforts to achieve prosperity in the region. The AOIP emphasizes the centrality of ASEAN in upholding the principles of peace, strengthening the culture of dialogue and enhancing 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 security stability and prosperity in the region.

C. National Defense and Indonesia Maritime Doctrine

Geographically, Indonesia is an archipelago with two-thirds of the ocean area larger than the land. Indonesia's water area reaches 77% of the total area of the Republic of Indonesia. This cross position of Indonesia has implications for opportunities and challenges in maintaining sovereignty and territorial integrity. Realizing these conditions, the founding fathers formulated and submitted the Juanda Declaration in 1957, as a reference for the international community to recognize Indonesia's maritime sovereignty. In relation to national defense, this means that Indonesia must always emphasize Indonesia's geographical condition as an archipelago with a strong maritime character.

Given that 4 of the world's 9 strategic chokepoints are in Indonesia, Indonesia also has a strategic role as a stabilizer of the Southeast Asian region, especially from a maritime security perspective. Therefore, Indonesia's paradigm as a maritime country must be enforced. Through the vision of the World Maritime Fulcrum (GMF), President Jokowi's administration is determined to rebuild Indonesia's maritime glory, which stems from the historical traces of the archipelago (the era of the Kingdom of Sriwijaya and Majapahit) and the momentum of the birth of the Juanda Declaration in the post-independence era. The Indonesian Defense White Paper which states "the state defense posture is realized through the development of state defense forces that are inseparable from the vision, mission, Nawacita and GMF policies ..." and is also stated in the Appendix to the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia No. 19 of 2015 concerning the State Defense Implementation Policy for 2015-2019 on the point of State Defense Posture Development, namely that: "the development of the state defense posture is directed to realize the military defense posture and non-military defense with active defensive principles in order to support GMF".

In connection with GMF, President Jokowi also emphasized Indonesia's commitment to play a direct role in determining the future of the Pacific and Indian Ocean (Indo-Pacific) region so that the region remains safe and peaceful for world trade, not becoming a place for competition for natural resources, territorial disputes and competition for maritime supremacy. This means that the concept of Indo-Pacific cooperation initiated by Indonesia and accepted as an ASEAN outlook is very much in line with Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF).

Taking into account the risks involved, various approaches need to be taken to balance the achievement of the vision and the obstacles that may occur. This includes the use of maritime diplomacy in responding to security disturbances, so that defense capabilities will gradually build. This requires strategic approaches from the government to maritime threats by gathering as much information as possible before making decisions. Based on this, support from regional and multilateral cooperation ties will be very helpful in continuing to achieve Indonesia's maritime vision. Indonesia's maritime future will be seen in its ability to influence global needs to achieve safe conditions and have stable and sustainable mobility of trade and business activities. The most important thing is to be able to ensure maritime security for regional and global stakeholders.

D. The Role of Indonesian Naval Diplomacy in Indo-Pacific Region

The implementation of the Indonesian Navy's Diplomacy role includes the use of naval power instruments owned by Indonesia, such as warships and other defense equipment in supporting foreign policy and to carry out attacks or weapons firing. Therefore, this effort involves the use of naval power in various forms of activities, such as: (1) intense communication; and (2) direct deployment of forces as a negotiation effort in a crisis, conflict, or more generally to increase the bargaining power of a country. In addition, naval diplomacy through the navy can also be used to increase a country's influence in the selection of cooperation offer options. This type of diplomacy can even be used by presenting the force as a supporting element, or a force that represents a specific task assigned by the state to the navy (Booth K., 2014).

The use of the Navy is also an urgency in supporting Indonesia's foreign policy. Ken booth emphasized the urgency of naval flexibility in diplomatic roles. Ships, although designed for war, can also fulfill a variety of roles that are different from

land forces. According to Mill, diplomacy means nothing without the will to support it (Till, 2018). Moreover, according to Corbett, the first function of the fleet is to support or hinder diplomatic efforts. Mahan also pointed out that the resources of sea power are to enhance a country's prestige, security and influence. A great power must be strong at sea. Indonesia's geographical position between two oceans makes the issue of Indonesia's maritime geopolitics crucial. Indonesia's strategic geographical position and the fact that Indonesia is an archipelago, will have implications for security threats, defense policies and maritime power capabilities that Indonesia must have.

Indonesia is an archipelago that has 17,499 islands with a sea area of 5.8 million km² or 2/3 of Indonesia's territory is sea. With such conditions, Indonesia's national interests are actually based on the maritime sector. Indonesia's position is also a crossing point between the Asian and Australian continents, the Pacific and Indian oceans, and even in the ASEAN region two-thirds of its territory is Indonesian waters. With such a position, the economic interests of the west and east will use Indonesian waters (Marsetio., 2014). Therefore, the approach of cooperation and diplomatic communication must always be prioritized.

In naval diplomacy, the first stage that must be carried out by the Navy is to ensure the fulfillment of the presence element. Presence, defined as 'forward presence', is the core capability of the Indonesian Navy. Forward presence is identified as a means to cooperate with friends and allies, prevent conflict, and respond to crises. Complexity and speed place a premium on naval capabilities to respond quickly through presence and the ability to operate freely in international waters. The presence of warships in international waters is also a representation of a nation's national engagement and can offer a measured response to unforeseen crises. When naval power is needed at any time by the state, it requires a presence that is quick and tangible and can be deployed in the area that has been ordered. In simple terms, the presence of the navy is the availability of its various equipment, such as warships. Friendly and coercive naval engagement is expected to limit regional conflict and deter war. A continuous naval presence is expected to shape and influence tensions over volatile situations, preventing conflict in the Indo-Pacific Region.

So far, the implementation of Indonesian naval diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific region has been running well, safely and smoothly. The programs that have been implemented so far include coordinated patrols and joint exercises with countries in the Indo-Pacific region around the country's borders to ensure national security and defense at sea. Since 1996, the Indonesian navy has cooperated militarily with the United States under the US Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Training (CARAT) program. The sea phase of CARAT Indonesia 2018 involved cannon and air defense exercises. Indonesia has also joined the US-organized Pacific Air Chiefs Symposium in 2017, which was themed "Challenges to Regional Security: Promoting Joint Operations in the Indo-Asia-Pacific." The forum included air chiefs from across the Indo-Pacific except China (Scott, 2019).

The presence of the Indonesian Navy in the Indo-Pacific Region in maintaining regional stability is very active, the Indonesian Navy carries out its duties in accordance with RI's foreign policy, namely free and active, the implementation of diplomacy strategies in the context of operations, namely by mobilizing the power of the Indonesian Navy to influence the policies or interests of other countries carried out in the form of 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 such as: Patkor Malindo, Patkor Optima Malindo, Patkor EIS, Patkor MSSP, Patkor Indindo, Patkor Indomalphi, Patkor Philindo, Patkor Ausindo, and Muhibah Kartika Jala Krida Taruna AAL. In addition, TNI AL also places International Liaison Officers (ILO) in several regional countries to facilitate coordination in the implementation of diplomacy and cooperation. TNI AL also routinely participates in international activities such as the Western Pacific Naval Symposium (WPNS), Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS) and ASEAN Naval Chief Meeting (ANCM) which are routinely held annually and biennially to discuss maritime security in the region.

The urgency of naval diplomacy intersects strongly with Indonesia's interest in maintaining Indonesia's maritime sovereignty, which is principled in the PMD vision, especially in point 5, namely increasing Maritime Diplomacy. The continuation of these efforts is supported through various forums and international cooperation, including through the AOIP cooperation framework, which is ASEAN's perspective in creating a free and inclusive Indo-Pacific region initiated by Indonesia.

With the principle of active defensive defense, Indonesia has an interest in responding to potential threats in the region with steps to create security stability and peace in a conducive region as part of the framework for building a national defense architecture. The focus of common interests in regional defense architecture is to foster a spirit of mutual respect and mutual trust

between countries in the region, so that they can jointly anticipate and overcome various threats that arise in various spectrums (Ryacudu, 2018). For this reason, Indonesia is rushing to initiate cooperation to strengthen regional architecture in order to ensure the stability of the Indo-Pacific region so that it can support smooth development and boost economic growth.

Indonesia actively builds global partnerships, promotes the spirit of togetherness between countries, and implements policies to create a dynamic balance (dynamic equilibrium), namely regional conditions characterized by the absence of dominant state power. This is done on the basis of the belief that the progress of a country is not a threat to other countries, but is an opportunity for increased cooperation and partnership in building defense forces.

In the midst of the increasingly complex dynamics of threats in the Indo-Pacific region, the Indonesian Navy has the duty and support for the creation of regional security and a national defense system 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. National defense is organized to defend state sovereignty, territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the entire nation from threats and disturbances to the integrity of the nation and state from all forms of threats.

In an effort to respond to dynamics in the regional area (China's claims in the Southwest, AUKUS, and Indo-Pacific), the role of the Indonesian Navy's diplomacy is to increase the capability and Interoperability of the Indonesian Navy Puskodal with 1st Fleet Quick Response (FQR), 2nd FQR, 3rd FQR, Headquarters Armed Forces, and TNI Headquarters. The Navy's Operational Title is prioritized in the North Natuna Sea, Ambalat/Sulawesi Sea, Malacca Strait, Singapore Strait, Indonesia-RDTL-Australia Border Waters, Arafuru Sea, Sunda Strait, Lombok Strait, ALKI Axis I, II and III. The TNI AL training is carried out to improve SSAT capabilities in carrying out OMP and OMSP tasks through the framework of Matra Training, Joint Training and Joint Training with Friendly Countries. Efforts to increase TNI AL Diplomacy in order to support foreign policy and increase contribution to UN missions, including:

- 1) Carry out international scale activities in line with government policies, the Ministry of Defense and the TNI
- 2) Enhancing Cooperation in Southeast Asia by prioritizing the principle of ASEAN centrality in maintaining regional security stability.
- 3) Increase the intensity of cooperative relations with Micronesia countries in order to reduce the support of these countries for KSB in Papua.

V. CONCLUSION

In order to ensure the implementation of the diplomatic role of the Navy in facing the dynamics of threats in the Indo-Pacific which includes US-China rivalry, maritime disputes, South East China Sea issues, arm races in the region, Indonesia needs a national maritime strategy through the role of Indonesian naval diplomacy in the region to ensure the implementation of defense. state and regional security stability. In carrying out its diplomatic role, the Indonesian Navy focuses on the presence of the Indonesian Navy (naval presence) at sea or areas of conflict through joint exercises with regional countries, Port Visits, and carrying out coordinated Patrols with countries in the Indo-Pacific region as well as Kartika Jala Krida Muhibah Shipping AAL Cadets. In addition, the Indonesian Navy regularly 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.

Naval diplomacy is a manifestation of Indonesia's maritime strategy in an effort to achieve the vision of the world maritime axis which is reflected in the Indonesian maritime policy issued in 2017. During the administration of President Joko Widodo, Indonesia again tried to emerge its identity as a maritime country. In order to optimize the role of naval diplomacy, an appropriate strategy is needed so that regional stability and national defense can be achieved, through:

1. Implementation of policies that are optimal and adapted to the general policy of national defense, as an effort to achieve the PMD vision.
2. Actively involved in various international organizations in the maritime field such as UNCLOS, IMO, CAP and AIS.

3. Prioritizing regional cooperation, especially through the AOIP framework which prioritizes ASEAN centrality to achieve an open, free and inclusive Indo-Pacific
4. Increasing the existence of the Indonesian Navy in the territorial waters of the Republic of Indonesia and actively participating in maintaining regional security by sending Indonesian Navy and Defense Equipment personnel to international events according to the Indonesian Navy's strategy and state policy in relation to national defense.
5. Collaboration and synergy between related ministries/agencies to create complete Indonesian diplomacy so as to achieve a complete national defense system.

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