



Dynamic Equilibrium as Indonesia's Defense Diplomacy Geo-Strategy to Address China-US Sphere Of Influence Dualism in ASEAN

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Abstract: Global strategic environment dynamics is inevitably correlated to foreign policy addressed by super power states. Based on economic and political view, CHINA-USA dualism sphere of influence in ASEAN has different dimensions. Re-balancing Asia in Obama's administration and Indo-pacific Quad-lateral strategy of Trump's administration are strategies of United States for containing Chinas political influence in Indo-pacific. United States foreign policy cannot be separated from Chinas rising political influence through Belt And Road Initiatives Mega Project in ASEAN. ASEAN Centrality weakness is a threat. As a result of different national interests in ASEAN such as defense alliances and development acceleration interests in several ASEAN states, readdressing ASEAN Centrality is imperative that Indonesia asserts ASEAN identity to be apart of external influences (Major Powers). This challenge could be seen from Dynamic Equilibrium view as a doctrine that has geo-strategy character in its implementation. Marty Natalegawa asserts that Dynamic Equilibrium is geo-strategic balancer to Major Power State's geopolitics influence in ASEAN. Through qualitative approach, this paper aims to describe a new free-active foreign policy model by Marty Natalegawa through Dynamic Equilibrium doctrine. A geostrategy model rendered of Dynamic Equilibrium doctrine for a writer has required a more advance study and development through deep research. Therefore Dynamic Equilibrium can be a unique Indonesian School Of Thought in Indonesia's Defense Diplomacy Geo-strategy. Finally, this paper will be its introduction.

Keywords: *Dynamic equilibrium, Geo-strategy, ASEAN, ASEAN centrality, Marty Natalegawa, Doctrine*

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INTRODUCTION

Indonesia's geographical constellation which lies in the position between the Continents of Asia and Australia and between the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean, puts Indonesia into a region of strategic value for countries in various regions. This position causes political, economic and security conditions at the regional and global levels to be a factor that influences national conditions. The current political and security relations are still influenced by the dynamics of competition in the world's major powers (major powers) in securing their respective interests. Given the increasingly open and complex governance of international relations, each country requires an alliance that is sometimes temporary and ideological across its strategic rivals. The Asia Pacific region is a region that is very dynamic, rapidly changing, and full of uncertainty. The situation has an impact not only on economic problems but also on security issues. Some developments in the Asia Pacific region that need to be monitored and influence the stability of regional security are China's economic and military developments, the United States' strategic policies in the region and disputes in the South China Sea that involve several countries in the region ([Indonesia Defense Ministry, 2015](#)). The rise of China and

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US with its Asia Rebalancing program and Quad-lateral Policy has made tensions in the South China Sea increase. There are several ASEAN member countries that are claims and have close ties to one of the major power both China and the US, both in the economic, military and political fields. Under these conditions, claim states that are not capable of competing for military and economically in China in an effort to visually with China in the struggle for claims over territorial disputes. On the other hand, an international tribunal won by the Fiiphin was ignored by China who preferred to settle existing disputes through bilateral relations with claimant states . Thus, these countries will be on the influence of one of the major power that pursues its influence in the Asia Pacific region, in particular, Southeast Asia. Indonesia sees the relationship in the frame of influence something that needs to be neutralized so that Southeast Asia, ASEAN in particular, does not become an area that becomes a proxy for “cold war” between two major powers in the region.

Indonesia as an emerging market sees the Southeast Asia region in particular and the Asia Pacific widely as an area that needs stability in order to support security and is able to maintain the stabilization of economic growth due to stable political and regional security. In Meriam Webster’s dictionary that sees geo-strategy as a strategy used by a country in achieving its objectives based on its geopolitical conditions, Indonesia’s interests in ASEAN require geo-strategy because the geopolitical constellation in ASEAN has implications for Indonesia itself. Geostrategy is also interpreted as a branch of geopolitics. Furthermore, geostrategy is also defined as an identification of an area based on a combination of geopolitics and the strategies used (Meriam Webster Dictionary, 2018).

This paper will explain qualitatively the concept of Dynamic Equilibrium used by Indonesia as its doctrine in establishing international relations in the region to achieve Indonesia’s national goals which have the character of free and active foreign policy. The things that are of concern in this paper are how Indonesia sees the threat from the perspective of Dynamic Equilibrium so that geostrategically, Dynamic Equilibrium can also function as a defense diplomacy strategy? Thus this paper aims to see dynamic equilibrium more than just a concept of foreign policy but also indirectly charged with security, especially regional stability which in the end this concept is more feasible to be considered as a doctrine of diplomacy that is useful both in general diplomacy and in defense diplomacy (carried out by defense establishments).

THEORETICAL REVIEW

There are several security concepts in viewing the reality of regional security carried out by a group of countries in a region. In the regional security complex described by Barry Buzan about the Regional Security Complex. This theory stems from regional security as the main security for each country to be considered more deeply. This is because the basis of this theory is social security (Lulian, 2018) and securitization. This security perspective is based on a discursive security perspective that is ideologically located on a constructive perspective, namely discursive security, where security is a political statement on an issue or phenomenon, in which it is independent of the definition of “security” from the perspective of mainstream security namely the peace perspective (Liberal) and war (realist) (Buzan & Hansen, 2009). Regional Security Complex theory (RSCT) is an approach to creating security at the regional level due to the closeness between state units in the complex that feels that their security interests are more closely related to other countries outside the complex.

The next regional security concept is the concept of the security community. Security Amitav Acharya raises the perspective of Karl Deutsch in seeing the unification of a region, which is seen from the perspective of realism. An approach to the security community which is born from long-running communication (Acharya, 2014; Phyoe, 2015). However, even so, what Moodie explained was also interesting in looking at the reality of regional security, especially ASEAN/Southeast Asia. Cooperative security is affirmed by Moodies as a process of cooperation between countries with the same interests to alleviate tension and suspicion, resolve or reduce disputes, build a sense of trust, and maintain regional stability; conflict, but minimize the impact of differences in perceptions and interests (Moodie, 2000).

The concept of defense diplomacy has various meanings, from all forms of efforts to increase mutual trust between countries (Pedrason, 2017). On the other hand, defense diplomacy can be said to be a strategy involving diplomacy, industry and defense (Syawfi, 2009). Gregory Winger concluded that defense diplomacy was “evolution of the armed forces as a tool of statecraft beyond its capacity for violence”. Winger (2014) concludes after looking at Defense Diplomacy (Defense Strategic Review 70) through activities carried out by the British Ministry of Defense in developing regional defense institutions of the former Soviet Union which are more regionally oriented in order to achieve a thought about mutual security.

Geostrategy as Meriam Webster’s definition, also saw how Morgenthau’s power element in explaining the struggle

for Power in his book *Politics Among Nations* involves geography in it as a tool in achieving its international interests. Likewise Alfred T Mahan who saw geostrategy in 4 things, namely, geography situation, natural wealth, state territory configuration, and population. Furthermore Reycline sees as a strategy, geopolitics will influence how relational power is owned by a country. Indonesia itself adheres to the *Hasta Gatra* concept (Sulisworo Dwi, 2012).

Stability as a part of the concept that is inseparable from security is a condition in which it is self-sufficient and able to withstand a variety of circumstances that will change the ideal situation desired. Stability is needed to create the resilience and flexibility of a particular organization, country, or group (Cabayan, 2010). The concept of Dynamic Equilibrium according to Gregory B Poll is a mechanism for relations between countries in the Southeast Asia region that think the same as Indonesia, which are jointly integrated to have the same power as major power countries in the Indo-Pacific region so that they have a bargaining effect for the country-a major power country in contact with a community of countries incorporated in it. The goal is not in order to create domination but an attempt to avoid too strong a party on the other side or excessive domination. However, it is also not exclusive but very inclusive, thus creating a balanced dynamic relationship (Poling, 2013).

Indonesia in the Conception of Dynamic Equilibrium was to prevent the escalation of conflict in the South China Sea and ensure regional order and ASEAN solidity to pursue the position as the core of the region. In addition, the results of this study also show that Dynamic Equilibrium Conceptions are carried out by using the ASEAN extended organizational rules mechanism as a platform for cooperation while trying to realize a formal security regime called Indo Pacific Community to deal with security issues in the region (Rizki, 2016). Marty Natalegawa himself interpreted "Dynamic Equilibrium" as a mutual understanding in cooperation between countries that interact peacefully and create a sense of mutual absence without a single dominant force in the region.

The Defense Doctrine is a noble value of a nation in shaping its strategic policies that look at the dynamics of the existing strategic environment. The goal is clear as a guide in making decisions. In Indonesia, the doctrine of defense is very important in order to create a unit of action for all elements of the nation involved in the defense and security system of the people of the universe. In peacetime, the Doctrine of National Defense is used as a guide and guide for national defense providers in preparing strengths and defenses in the framework of power for deterrence that can prevent any nature of threats and preparedness in eliminating threats, both from outside and emerging domestically (Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, 2007). In Indonesia there are three doctrinal stratifications, namely 1. The basic doctrine which is the doctrine that forms the basis of all existing doctrines, 2. The master doctrine, which is to become a military defense doctrine, 3. The doctrine of implementation, namely a doctrine in which it becomes a doctrine according to the needs of dynamics and applies both military and non-military defense.

Indonesia's Interests in ASEAN and Efforts To maintain Stability Through Dynamic Equilibrium

Indonesia's interests in ASEAN according to Suryadinata (1996) are an interest that is not just an economy, but also regional stability which has an impact on Indonesia's stability. Since the New Order government that eliminated the foreign policy of Old Order confrontation, and together with Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and the Philippines formed ASEAN first in 1967 (Cipto, 2007; Kumtong, Saosaovaphak, & Chaiboonsri, 2017). The aim is to strengthen regional stability and increase growth through investment. Security is the key to investment confidence. The union of ASEAN member countries is a big market for superpowers to invest in ASEAN. Geopolitically ASEAN is a meeting of interests between major countries. As Mahbubani and Nair (2017) quotes the Sri Lankan proverb "when elephants fight, the grass suffers. They also add, wittily, that when elephants make love, the grass also suffers", which equates ASEAN will remain an area that will be affected by the state of relations between America and China as the two global powers today.

ASEAN has very potential geoeconomics for the world where the ASEAN population reaches 628.9 million (Statista, 2018), the total trade in ASEAN reaches 2.269 trillion US dollars. Total GDP percapita per 2015 reached 114,185 thousand US dollars (Statista, 2018). Geoeconomically, Southeast Asia has become an international trade route, especially in the South China Sea, with a value of 5.3 Trillion US Dollars based on data from the US Department of Defense quoted by Max Fisher, Columnist Interpreter in the New York Times. Among them are 1.2 Trillion US Dollars on American oil merchant ship travel routes (Fisher, 2016). China geoeconomically sees ASEAN through the megaproject Belt and Road Initiative. China has six BRI corridors, two of which are in Southeast Asia, namely the Bangladesh-China-Myanmar Corridor and China-Indochina Corridor (UNESCAP, 2017). China's current rise has an influence on the existing international system. Some say that they are reformers/revisionists, but some think that China

does not have the capacity to become a country that influences the international system (Zhihai, 2011). China's GDP based on 2017 Purchasing Power Parity of 23.1 Trillion US Dollars is almost 20% of world GDP of 120 Trillion US Dollars. In 2017, China's total investment in ASEAN amounted to 120 billion US dollars (Worldbank, 2018). even based on PPP GDP 2017, according to the World Bank, quoted by (Smith, 2017), China is ranked first in the world economy. The following figure is the World Bank data quoted by Noah Smith in an article on Bloomberg.com:

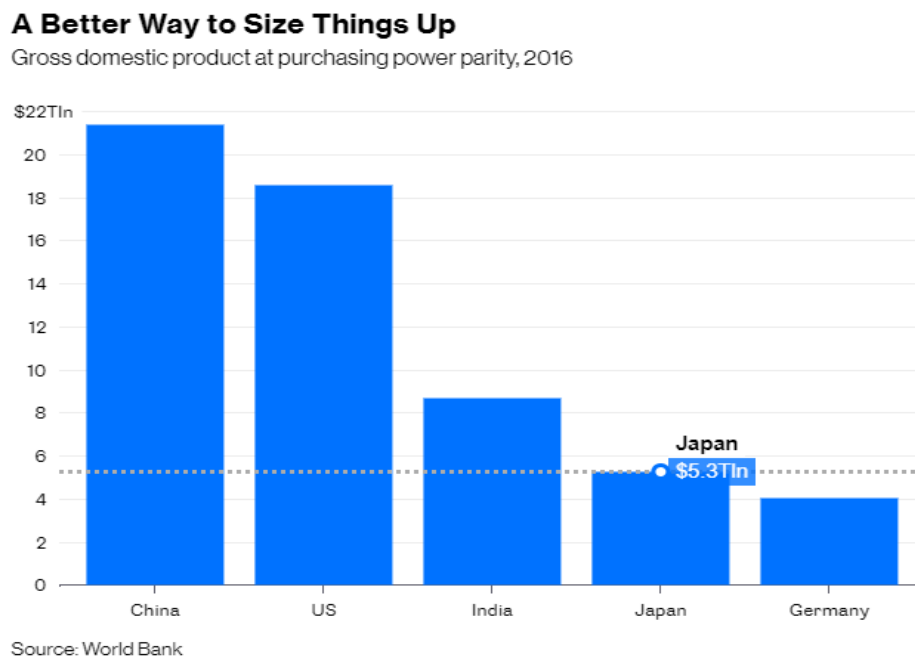


Figure 1 *GDP China counted from Purchasing Power Parity*

The Chinese military experienced very rapid development starting from budgeting to increasing the armed forces and strengthening its technology. According to Breuning (2007), the ability of a country as a great power has economic, political and military power that is used to increase its influence globally. China economically began introducing One Belt One Road which to this day has become a Belt And Road Initiative. Militarily China is more centered with improved technology and troop numbers. The number of Chinese Forces currently reaches 2 million personnel with the current budget which increased 8.1% from the previous year to a total of 173.4 billion US Dollars (Bodeen, 2018). Technologically, China has included several additional stealth fighter technologies and has new aircraft carriers. Goldstein (2005) said an increase in China's economy would have implications for China's influence globally. Although China's diplomacy and economy are able to challenge the influence of American hegemony, in terms of military technology capability, military budget, and the existence of military bases globally, China is still far behind the United States.

This reality brings a competitive spirit for the US who feel China is in a position to strengthen its influence in the Asia Pacific through Belt and Road Initiatives. Historically Thucydides pointed out that the rise of Athens caused fear of being eliminated in Spartans. Since then, scholars continue to ponder how power shifts lead to competitive tensions, which sometimes may be managed and sometimes may lead to conflict (Zoellick, 2013). In that perception, the US then attempted through the Asian Rebalancing program during Obama's time, which aimed to offset China's influence. Muhammad Khurshid Khan & Fouzia Amin quoted Obama's speech before the Australian parliament "As President, I have therefore made a deliberate and strategic decision-as a Pacific nation, the United States will play a larger and long-term role in shaping this region and its future..." (Khan & Amin, 2014). On the other hand, the Indo-Pacific, which Trump formed through quadrilateral, has become a rarity in contingent on China's strategic development which has a very strong influence in Asia, especially in Southeast Asia and West Asia which have directly benefited the Belt And Road Initiatives. This quadrilateral contains "free and open Indo-Pacific, rules-based orders, freedom of navigation and overflight, respect for international law, connectivity, maritime security, North Korea/Non-proliferation, Terrorism"

(Panda, 2017).

Indonesia sees this reality positively. Through Dynamic Equilibrium Martynata Legawa, which takes the basis of foreign policy, an active-free Indonesia seeks to embody the foreign policy of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono “sailing in turbulence ocean”. Maintaining balance in a turbulent track is not easy. Southeast Asia as a strategic location for the movement of export-import goods and the content of natural wealth under the South China Sea is very important for all major power who play in the Southeast Asia region.

Indonesia then saw Southeast Asia must be united in seeing the dualism issue so that no cold war would occur which would cause mutual suspicion among countries. As said by Marty Nata legawa in a seminar on Foreign Policy Community Indonesia said that geopolitics must be formulated and need a shared idea for it, and Indonesia must be able to be the initiator of the ideas. Where the void of ideas to form a geopolitical landscape will make the existing geopolitical architecture useless and not beneficial (FPCI, 2018). Marty Natalegawa’s doctrine as stated by Gregory B Poling above confirms a geopolitical perception based on a strategy that uses a soft-power approach. Gregory Winger gave a defense diplomacy scheme based on the use of power in defense diplomacy as well as the theory in the study of international relations. Gregory Winger sees defense diplomacy as a step for a country’s soft-power in maintaining its security. As a description of Gregowy Winger’s defense diplomacy in the derivation of his defense diplomacy scheme starting with:

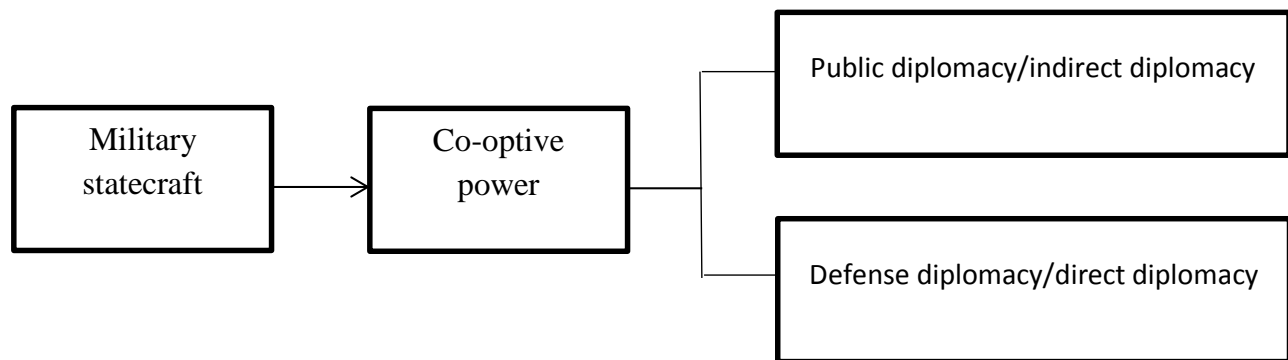


Figure 2 Gregowy Winger’s defense diplomacy

Based on the scheme above, it can be concluded that according to the diplomacy theory presented by Paul Sharp, diplomacy is included in the concept of co-optation which uses two ways, namely “two-way-street” or dual track diplomacy in which all diplomatic instruments are carried out in the interests of defense. The only thing done by Indonesia is to use the strategic advantage of its territory as well as Southeast Asia in counteracting instability due to the influence of the sphere of influence rivalry between the two major powers. In this case its defense diplomacy strategy is Dynamic Equilibrium, in which Indonesia uses ASEAN to equalize its strength with major power in increasing bargaining position in diplomacy, on the other hand internally it needs to maintain turbulence or dynamics between ASEAN countries that have different views on sea conflict South China, which has become a conflict that has made the Asia Pacific region in harmony today.

Dynamic Equilibrium as explained by Gregory B Poling above relates to the understanding of cooperative security described by Moody as Rodolfo Severino stated in explaining the importance of ASEAN unity that A fragment of Southeast Asia does not mean good for the security of the Asia Pacific or for the prosperity of the world. United States, cohesive and strong ASEAN is a potent force for regional peace and security and for the economic vitality of the Asia-Pacific and the world. Here Rodolfo insists that “ASEAN” concentric approach “is described as follows. ASEAN is the driver occupying a central seat in these regional processes. It also serves as a bridge between the newer ASEAN states and the Dialogue Partners” (Severino & Thuzar, 2012). The Concentric approach marks the importance of a united ASEAN which is Indonesia’s strategic partner and is Indonesia’s main concern during Martynata Legawa’s administration in order to keep ASEAN stable but remain open with its various relations with Major Power in order to maintain a balance of influence, so as not to create the most dominant in the ASEAN body itself.

Indonesia, therefore, in its defense strategy, includes diplomacy as the main extension of Indonesia’s defense, through preventive diplomacy in the context of confidence building measured which is one of the three pillars of defense diplomacy in addition to increasing defense capacity and its relationship with strengthening the defense industry’s

independence (Syawfi, 2009). Indonesia's defense diplomacy strategy is carried out in the manner described in the following:

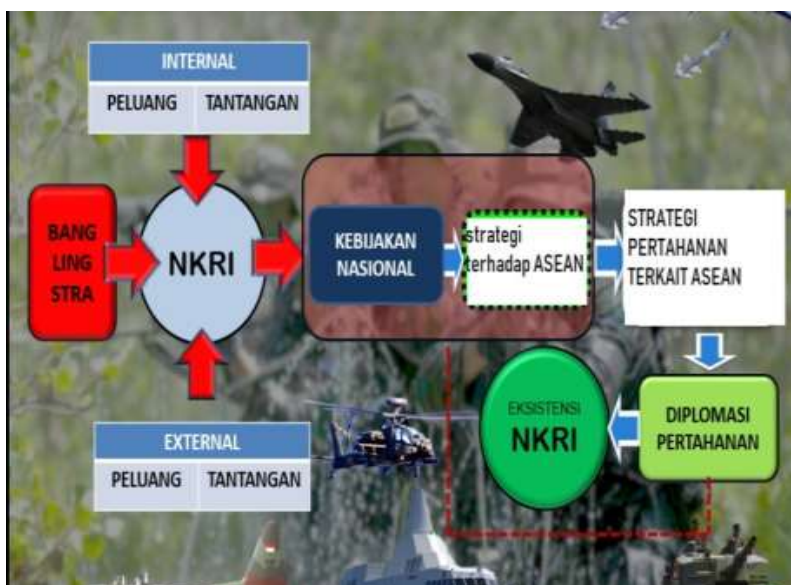


Figure 3 Scheme for Establishing an Indonesian Defense Diplomacy Strategy

Based on the above scheme, Indonesia in developing defense strategies involves defense diplomacy as an instrument. As Liddlehart explains about the strategy, “the practical adaptation of the means is placed at a general disposal to the attainment of the object in view” (Nickols, 2016). Diplomacy is the centerpoint of Indonesia's foreign policy, especially in the ASEAN region. ASEAN Ways which is a characteristic of ASEAN that is non-interference and non-violence is also the basis of the international regime that runs in ASEAN. The international regime is a shared framework that provides services to norms and values that are formed together (Haggard & Simmons, 1987). Geopolitics referred to in dynamic equilibrium which is the basis of Indonesia's geostrategy in the Southeast Asia region is what it is like to give understanding of Asia-Pacific geopolitics or the Indo-Pacific so that an international regime is agreed upon. If what happens is lacunae, the geopolitics that occurs become a mere mirage and is only ceremonial. As a result of ASEAN at the time of Indonesia's leadership in Marty Natalegawa's tenure in 2011, sought to clarify this regime through defense diplomacy framed in the ideas or ideas of Dynamic Equilibrium. As a policy which is an idea from Indonesia, in accordance with the definition of defense doctrine in the book of Indonesian Defense Doctrine in 2007, defense diplomacy is the implementing doctrine, or included in the 3rd strata of defense doctrine in the field of non-military threats that are capable of threatening and challenges for the country.

The Global Maritime Fulcrum initiated by President Jokowi also has the same idea. Where the world maritime center is in Indonesia, where it means is through the ALKI 1,2,3, Indonesia is the crossroads of international sea lanes both from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific Ocean or vice versa. Indonesia must be able to play a key role in a strategic situation that is both beneficial and challenging. As a challenge, the ALKI 1, 2, 3 is an open international sea lane, while as an opportunity, Indonesia can become a key player in determining the international regime that runs on its territory. By using Dynamic Equilibrium geostrategy by “borrowing” ASEAN, this is possible.

CONCLUSION

Indonesia is in a strategic area. With its status as an emerging market and “big brother” of ASEAN, Indonesia certainly has the influence to influence the geopolitical constellation in ASEAN which is certainly a step towards pursuing its interests. On the other hand, ASEAN as a developing country requires a lot of foreign investment and is very closely related to the superpower/major power. Indonesia strives to unite everything in the framework of “cooperative security” to be convening power by maintaining the integrity of ASEAN so that it is not dominated by one big power. Dynamic Equilibrium should be able to become a defense diplomacy doctrine adjusted to the status of diplomacy as a defense strategy instrument so that it is included in the third doctrinal strata, namely the implementation strata. Pragmatically, this doctrine, if it is able to run properly, will extract profits from every major power in the Asia

Pacific or Indo-Pacific regions. With the efforts of the two major powers at this time China and the US are pursuing influence in the Southeast Asia region, Indonesia and ASEAN can take advantage of this by not participating in the war but making this stable region to prevent war and increase economic cooperation in particular.

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