

Indonesian Defense Diplomacy Through Confidence-Building Measure (CBM) in Southeast Asia

Diplomasi Pertahanan Indonesia Melalui Langkah Membina Keyakinan (CBM) di Asia Tenggara

ANTON MINARDI & M. RIZKY YUSRO

ABSTRACT

Indonesian Defense Diplomacy through Confidence Building Measures (CBM) in Southeast Asia is a defense diplomacy step taken by Indonesia towards countries in Southeast Asia. So, the aim of this research is to find out the Confidence-Building Measures (CBMs) that Indonesia has built between international relations actors in the Southeast Asia region using three views of CBMs according to Glosserman, namely unilateral, bilateral and multilateral actions aimed at reducing and preventing war conflicts between parties to the conflict. This research uses a description method with qualitative analysis. As a result, Indonesia has taken important steps to build trust and reduce tensions in the region. Through various peaceful means such as military dialogue, exchange of security information, joint military exercises and multilateral diplomacy, Indonesia seeks to avoid conflict escalation and build mutually beneficial cooperation. In the framework of building CBM, Indonesia faces several conditions that influence the choice of CBM measures, such as prolonged disputes, threats of hostility, incentives to attack first, and disproportionate war costs. The importance of defense diplomacy and cooperation in the Southeast Asia region is reflected in Indonesia's participation in various regional frameworks such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting (ADMM), and Shangri-La Dialogue. Indonesia seeks to build trust through dialogue, information exchange and joint military activities.

Keywords: Indonesian Defense Diplomacy; Confidence Building Measure; Multilateral Diplomacy; Mutual Beneficial Cooperation; Southeast Asia

ABSTRAK

Diplomasi Pertahanan Indonesia melalui Langkah Membina Keyakinan (CBM) di Asia Tenggara merupakan langkah diplomasi pertahanan yang diambil oleh Indonesia terhadap negara-negara di Asia Tenggara. Jadi tujuan penyelidikan ini adalah untuk mengetahui Langkah-langkah Membina Keyakinan (CBM) yang telah dibina oleh Indonesia antara aktor hubungan antarabangsa di rantau Asia Tenggara menggunakan tiga pandangan CBM menurut Glosserman iaitu tindakan unilateral, bilateral dan multilateral bertujuan untuk mengurangkan dan mencegah konflik perang antara pihak yang berkonflik. Penyelidikan ini menggunakan kaedah penerangan dengan analisis kualitatif. Akibatnya, Indonesia telah mengambil langkah penting untuk membina kepercayaan dan mengurangkan ketegangan di rantau ini. Melalui pelbagai cara aman seperti dialog ketenteraan, pertukaran maklumat keselamatan, latihan ketenteraan bersama dan diplomasi pelbagai hala, Indonesia berusaha untuk mengelakkan peningkatan konflik dan membina kerjasama yang saling menguntungkan. Dalam rangka membina CBM, Indonesia menghadapi beberapa yang mempengaruhi pilihan langkah CBM, seperti pertikaian yang berpanjangan, ancaman permusuhan, syarat untuk menyerang terlebih dahulu, dan kos perang yang tidak seimbang. Kepentingan diplomasi pertahanan dan kerjasama di rantau Asia Tenggara dicerminkan dalam penyertaan Indonesia dalam pelbagai rangka kerja serantau seperti Forum Serantau ASEAN (ARF), Mesyuarat Menteri-Menteri Pertahanan ASEAN (ADMM), dan Dialog Shangri-La. Indonesia berusaha membina kepercayaan melalui dialog, pertukaran maklumat dan aktiviti ketenteraan bersama.

Kata kunci: Diplomasi Pertahanan Indonesia; Langkah Membina Keyakinan; Diplomasi Pelbagai Hala; Kerjasama Saling Menguntungkan; Asia Tenggara

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia's national defense is essentially a system formed to fulfill total national security. National defense is part of national resilience. Things that are total here are intended as a form of implementation that can be carried out by all elements of Indonesian society based on awareness of their rights and obligations so that the total terminology can be interpreted as the involvement of all elements of the state (Putu Sastra Wingarta, 2016). Defense is closely related to the security of a country which is an illustration of security threats.

The complexity and transformation of today's threat issues still involve military instruments in them. As is the case study in the Southeast Asia region which is still preoccupied with problems related to regional border conflicts which result in bilateral tensions and extra-regional tensions. In this case, military industry is an important factor in interactions between countries to achieve their national interests.

If you look at the National Defense Strategic Plan for 2010-2014 in the Regulation of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Number 19 of 2013, there is an analysis of different threat classifications. Starting from military threats from state actors and non-state actors, non-military threats from state actors, as well as non-military threats from non-military actors, both actual and potential. Actual military threats from state actors are espionage and territorial violations, while potential ones are naval blockades and limited military conflicts. Actual military threats from non-state actors are terrorism, separatism, maritime piracy, and smuggling of weapons, ammunition and explosives, while potential ones are armed rebellion (Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia 2013).

Meanwhile, non-military threats from state actors are all actual, including economic embargoes, military embargoes, science and technology, cyber attacks, political intervention, exploitation of natural resources, trade domination and propaganda. Lastly, actual military threats from non-military actors are illegal fishing, smuggling, drugs trafficking, cybercrime, money laundering, environmental damage, new pest diseases, radicalism, while potential ones are natural disasters, food dependence, energy dependence, the birth of new ideologies, and vertical or horizontal conflicts (Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia 2013).

Classifying the form of threat is important so that threats can be responded to according to their priority scale so that defense policy will not trigger an escalation of conflict that could disrupt security stability in the region.

On the basis of responding to the very dynamic development of the strategic environment in the Southeast Asia Region and classifying the types of threats which are differentiated based on the type of potential threat and the type of actual threat, then if we look at it based on the 2014-2019 time period, the type of actual threat that has the most escalative and significant influence on stability The security of the Southeast Asian region is the issue of maritime security (including the South China Sea conflict), counter-terrorism, and the paradigm shift from the Asia-Pacific region to the Indo-Pacific.

With real threats that are increasingly complex nowadays, of course Indonesia cannot stand alone to face the consequences of the impact of contemporary developments which produce the complexity of real threats. Collaborative and cooperative steps are very important to build with other countries, especially in Southeast Asia, with the main focus ranging from exchanging intelligence data, joint exercises and operations to sharing experiences in carrying out operations that have been carried out by each country. Collaborative steps have been demonstrated by The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) by holding various meetings and carrying out

defense diplomacy regarding the urgency of each country's readiness to respond to common real threats.

The very dynamic dynamics of the Southeast Asia region will have an impact on the security stability of the region. The problems faced by countries in ASEAN in the context of security dynamics still revolve around border issues both on land and sea and also illegal activities on the borders. As for other issues such as the dynamics of maritime security, there are four spectrums of discussion, namely marine environment, economic development, national security and human security as described by (Bueger, 2015).

This security dynamic requires Indonesia to create Confidence Building Measures (CBM) as a planned instrument to prevent the creation of hostility, conflict escalation and military-based tensions and to create a sense of mutual trust between international relations actors.

This research has a variable element, namely related to Indonesia's experience in building defense diplomacy and CBMs. The scope of defense diplomacy is the armed forces and defense infrastructure to contribute to international security, by deterring and if necessary going to war, and also promoting a mutually supportive international environment for create stability. Defense diplomacy is not an alternative to the more traditional role of the armed forces or other foreign and security policy instruments, but rather a complement to them. (Cottey & Forster, 2004).

LITERATURE REVIEWS

In Evan Laksmana's article entitled "Defence Diplomacy In Southeast Asia: Trends, Prospects And Challenges," the emergence of Defense Diplomacy in Southeast Asia was driven by several factors, including the importance of regional organizations such as ASEAN and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), as well as the needs of countries. to work together to address common security threats. Bilateral defense relations between Southeast Asian countries also remain an important part of the regional security architecture. However, implementing Defense Diplomacy in Southeast Asia is not without challenges. These include differences in strategic priorities between countries, limited resources for defense cooperation initiatives, and historical tensions between some countries. Nevertheless, Defense Diplomacy is considered an important tool to promote regional stability and increase cooperation between Southeast Asian countries. Indonesia has an important position in implementing defense diplomacy in Southeast Asia. its main focus is enhancing regional stability through confidence-building measures. Apart from that, Indonesia also maintains defense relations with major countries such as the United States, China, India, Australia and Russia to maintain territorial and national integrity and obtain domestic weapons systems. Indonesia also faces challenges in implementing defense diplomacy such as differences in strategic priorities between countries and limited resources for defense cooperation initiatives (Laksmana, 2011). Meanwhile, in Evan's article entitled "Indonesia's Rising Regional and Global Profile: Does Size Really Matter?" The general view is that Indonesia's geographical size or population is not a major factor in Indonesia's success on the international stage, and suggests that Indonesia's ability to generate a strong moral and normative voice has been a key factor.

Indonesia has succeeded in producing a strong moral and normative voice by developing and strengthening its normative values since the 1940s. This is related to the "independent and active" doctrine which emphasizes that Indonesia must determine its own path in foreign affairs independently of external parties, and must be actively involved in international affairs to shape the regional and global environment. In addition, democratization since 1998 has also provided

Indonesia with new "soft power" resources, such as greater freedom of speech and press, thus allowing Indonesia to more freely express its moral and normative voice at regional and global levels (Laksamana, 2011).

Furthermore, Fealy & White's article entitled "Indonesia's Great Power' Aspirations: A Critical View" Indonesia has adopted a balanced approach between the use of military capabilities and diplomacy in its foreign policy. In terms of military capabilities, Indonesia has increased its defense capabilities through modernizing defense equipment and increasing the defense budget. However, this country also emphasizes the importance of regional and multilateral security cooperation in dealing with common security threats. In terms of diplomacy, Indonesia has played an active role in international organizations and forums to promote regional and global cooperation in various fields. Overall, Indonesia's use of military and diplomatic capabilities is based on the principles of non-aggression, dialogue, regional and international cooperation and peaceful conflict resolution. (Fealy & White, 2016).

Lis Gindarsah's next research entitled "Strategic hedging in Indonesia's defense diplomacy" explains that with the rapid modernization of regional weapons and unresolved territorial disputes, Indonesia is increasingly vulnerable to the impact of big power competition emerging in the Asia-Pacific so this is the main focus for Indonesia in Indonesian defense diplomacy is strategic engagement and military modernization. This makes it possible for Indonesia to implement a hedging strategy as an effort to achieve the Confidence Building Measure, strengthen defense capabilities and develop the domestic defense industry (Gindarsah, 2016).

In the article entitled "Indonesia's defense diplomacy in Asia Pacific: a study on Indonesia - Russia defense cooperation" Indonesian defense diplomacy is part of Indonesia's total diplomacy which aims to strengthen national defense and build defense cooperation. Defense diplomacy is carried out through several efforts, including (1) Increasing bilateral and multilateral defense cooperation, (2) Increasing national military capabilities through training, joint exercises and development of defense technology and (3) Increasing the role of the TNI in maintaining regional security stability and international.

Apart from that, defense diplomacy is also carried out to promote Indonesia's positive image in the eyes of the international community and increase Indonesia's bargaining power in facing global security threats (Manurung et al., 2022). In practice, there is a significance in the development of Indonesian diplomacy after the New Order as explained by Frega W. Inkiriwang in his article "'Garuda shield' vs 'sharp knife': operationalising Indonesia's defense diplomacy". Furthermore, according to Inkiriwang, there are four main motives that drive the development of Indonesian defense diplomacy in the post-New Order period, namely strategic engagement, common security policies (CBMs), capacity building, and international reputation (Inkiriwang, 2021).

However, if seen from the perspective of the Asian region, defense diplomacy is still delayed and this is influenced by various factors. As written by David Capie entitled "Structures, Shocks and Norm Change: Explaining the Late Rise of Asia's Defense Diplomacy". The influencing factors such as the financial crisis or changes in the distribution of power which continue to develop dynamically, this creates norms related to diplomacy. defense in Asia has changed from a bilateral to a multilateral norm. This happened because of the desire to maintain ASEAN's position in the regional security architecture. Apart from that, Capie also stated that the development of defense diplomacy in Asia was also influenced by new ideas put forward through various security dialogue forums such as the Shangri-La Dialogue and the ASEAN Defense

Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) which contributed to building trust and reducing tensions between countries. regional actors (Capie, 2013).

There is also research from (Yukiko Nishikawa, 2021) stating that conflict resolution between Southeast Asian countries, especially through ASEAN, is still limited and passive, this is because there is no institutional framework.

Meanwhile, research conducted by (Quilliam & Vakil, 2021) shows that in building Confidence-building Measures (CBM) there are two approaches, namely the first path will take a problem-based approach and try to build trust by starting from less controversial areas and gradually moving on. to a more difficult area, the second path is to look at multilateral involvement in the conflict itself. The CBM pyramid structure as we propose would build on progress made in previous dialogues.

Furthermore, Confidence-Building Measures (CBMs) require a comprehensive and integrated approach to CBM in the political, military, economic, environmental and social fields to encourage an environment of mutual trust and peaceful coexistence (Haider & Azad, 2021). Then there are research from (Nurhadi & Wibowo, 2017) entitled Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) as a tool for regional peace and security: Indonesia's approach. This journal discusses Indonesia's approach in implementing Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) as a tool for maintaining peace and security regional. This article analyzes the implementation of CBMs within the framework of Indonesian defense diplomacy, especially in bilateral relations with countries in Southeast Asia. There is also research (Jatmiko, 2020) discussing Indonesia's approach to implementing Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) as a tool to maintain regional peace and security. This article analyzes the implementation of CBMs within the framework of Indonesian defense diplomacy, especially in bilateral relations with countries in Southeast Asia.

Next, this research will focus on how CBMs can be applied in Indonesia's bilateral military cooperation with other countries and evaluate their effectiveness in overcoming common security challenges. Next, we discuss the steps taken by Indonesia in developing Confidence-Building Measures (CBMs), especially in the Southeast Asia region.

The implementation of Indonesian Defense Diplomacy in developing CBMs is still lacking at the bilateral level. Research that discusses the challenges and successes in developing CBMs at the ASEAN level. Wider and more innovative implementation of CBMs still needs to be explored to handle conflicts and strengthen cooperation in the Southeast Asia region.

Further research is to evaluate the effectiveness of Indonesia's military cooperation with other countries in building regional security and overcoming common security challenges. The dynamics of conflict that occur in the Southeast Asia region have the potential for open conflict between countries in Southeast Asia, this is due to the conflict that occurring between countries in Southeast Asia is still dominated by conflicts over sovereign borders and also illegal activities on borders between countries. So it is important for Indonesia to build Confidence-Building Measures (CBMs) between countries in Southeast Asia as a step to reduce the increasingly high escalation of conflict.

METHOD

This research based on the descriptive method with qualitative analyses. Analysed the important of Indonesian diplomacy how to build Confidence-Building Measures (CBMs) between countries in Southeast Asia to reduce and prevent the increasingly high escalation of conflict.

DEFENSE DIPLOMACY AND CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURE

Diplomacy is an instrument for communicating between international relations actors, diplomacy is also an instrument for negotiating in making agreements, diplomacy is also a means of gathering information from foreign countries (intelligence function) and diplomacy is a tool for minimizing friction between international relations actors (Bull, 2002).

Defense diplomacy is a set of methods and strategies through various aspects of cooperation so that interactions between countries can establish friendly relations, interdependence and increase confidence building measures (CBM). Three objective characteristics can identify the meaning of defense diplomacy, namely civil-military relations, confidence-building measures (CBMs), and broader foreign policy objectives in the defense domain of other countries (Pedrason, 2015).

Confidence Security and Building-Measure has three basic objectives namely: (1) preventing accidental conflict between adversaries, (2) providing warning of impending attacks and enabling responses through diplomacy or deterrence to repel attacks, and (3) providing a way communications even after the war broke out. (Š. Ganguly & Greenwood, 2021). Confidence Building Measure (CBM) is a unilateral, bilateral and multilateral action aimed at reducing and preventing conflict so that armed war does not occur between the conflicting parties (Glosserman, 2005).

Processed from various sources, the outline of the definition of CBMs as written by several authors is a strategy in defense diplomacy which aims to build trust between countries and minimize the possibility of conflict. CBMs are also considered to be able to increase cooperation in the fields of security and defense.

Furthermore, indicators from CBMs themselves such as:

1. Transparency: Countries provide each other with information regarding security and defense policies.
2. Exchange Visits: Countries exchange visits by military delegations to strengthen relations.
3. Exchange of Military Information: Countries exchange information related to security and defense.
4. Joint Training: Countries conduct joint military exercises to build skills and cooperation.
5. Improved Communication: Countries improve communication between themselves to minimize misunderstandings and increase mutual understanding.
6. Arms Control: Countries carry out arms control to minimize the risk of conflict.

In practice, CBMs can be categorized into three types, namely: (1) Operational CBMs: CBMs activities carried out operationally, such as joint military exercises, joint patrols, and signing agreements related to information exchange. (2) Structural CBMs: CBMs activities that involve setting up structures or systems in security and defense cooperation. And (3) Process CBMs: CBMs activities that focus on the process and methods of communication between countries in building trust.

FINDINGS

INDONESIA IN CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES (CBM)

Confidence building measures (CBM) can be built through various means, especially peaceful means such as military dialogue and meetings of military and defense officials, exchange of security information, joint military exercises, multilateral diplomacy, peaceful dispute resolution, military and defense cooperation. Building trust is oriented as a form of avoiding mutually unfavorable outcomes for international actors when they are in conflicting relationships. So building trust is not oriented towards resolving conflicts or peace processes, but rather to avoid an escalation of conflict which might cause conditions to worsen so that actors take several actions including those that are preventive and build trust. The country chooses Confidence Building Measure steps such as:

1. When they are involved in a protracted dispute where a lot is at stake;
2. When there is a substantial probability or expectation that the dispute will lead to hostilities;
3. When military technology and strategy favor offense over defense, that is, When there is an incentive to attack first.
4. When conventional and nuclear weapons, which can be used offensively or defensively, make the costs of war disproportionate to the reasonable objectives of the conflict
5. When there is fear that miscommunication, misperception, and misinterpretation-arising from various technical problems or cognitive failures-could lead to accidental war;
6. when neither outright war nor comprehensive peace seems unreasonable.

A combination of some or all of these conditions will make CBM attractive in certain situations. If these are relevant test conditions for CBM (S. Ganguly, 2021). So we have to look at Indonesia in building a CBM, especially in Southeast Asia.

Looking at the map, disputes between countries in Southeast Asia are still dominated by cross-border disputes, whether on land or sea - such as Indonesia which borders directly with Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei Darussalam, Vietnam, the Philippines and Timor Leste. However, this dispute does not have a history of prolonged hostility between countries so that they engage in confrontation with each other and move military forces towards a conventional level of security. All border problems are resolved bilaterally by Indonesia.

Even though the resolution takes a long time, simultaneously resolving regional border issues continues to be the orientation of Indonesia's foreign policy in Southeast Asia. For example, the annual press statement from the foreign minister in 2023 stated that maritime boundary negotiations were being carried out with Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia and Palau. Some of the progress achieved includes the signing of the Indonesia-Vietnam EEZ boundary agreement after 12 years of negotiations. All maritime boundary negotiations were carried out by Indonesia with full respect for UNCLOS 1982. Meanwhile, for land boundaries, various negotiations with Malaysia and Timor-Leste were again intensified. Indonesia and Malaysia have also completed negotiations on the revision of the Border Crossing Agreement and Border Trade Agreement which will be signed in 2023 (Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2023).

Fundamentally, Indonesia does not have a hostile conflict with countries in Southeast Asia, but historically Indonesia wanted to intensify a confrontation movement with Malaysia during the leadership of President Soekarno with a narrative of "Down with Malaysia", but this

confrontation ended peacefully after President Soekarno stepped down as president. Indonesia (Melvin, 2018).

Looking at the military capabilities of Southeast Asian countries, only Brunei Darussalam, the Philippines and Singapore will experience an increase in 2023, while other countries in Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, will experience a decline (Lowy Institute Asia Power Index, 2023). The presence of the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone (SEANWFZ) agreement which was agreed on December 15 1995. This made countries in Southeast Asia focus on using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

However, several countries in Southeast Asia are bound by a security agreement called The Five Power Defense Arrangements (FPDA), namely Australia, New Zealand, England, Malaysia and Singapore, which allows these countries to ask for help from one another and recently America. The United States formed a trilateral security pact agreement between Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States which was established on 15 September 2021 that AUKUS is a trilateral security pact that allows the United States and the United Kingdom to provide nuclear propulsion technology to Australia to power a new generation of submarines. China reacted strongly to AUKUS, while reactions in Southeast Asian countries varied, ranging from tacit support to fear of the threat of weapons proliferation and power projection, as well as the possibility of AUKUS triggering security dynamics in the region.

The concerns expressed by Southeast Asian countries, including Indonesia, are divided into three categories, including the emergence of an arms race, interference from external powers and aggressive actions from large countries, as well as the emergence of the use of Indonesian archipelagic sea lanes if conflict occurs in the future. front. It is feared that these three things will have implications for SEANFWZ (Lemhannas RI, 2023). In the context of Indonesia building CBM, it is recorded that starting from 2014, Indonesia has ratified 20 defense and military cooperation into law with various countries and 3 of them with other countries. countries in Southeast Asia such as Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam (House of Representatives, 2023). Indonesia also routinely carries out joint military training activities both bilaterally, such as the Joint Joint Exercise Malindo with Malaysia, the Joint Exercise Safkar Indopura with Singapore, the Elang Thainesia joint military exercise with Thailand, the Codex joint exercise with Vietnam, the Sea Eagle Joint Exercise (Latma) with Brunei Darussalam, then there are military exercises initiated by Indonesia which are carried out multilaterally which are also participated in by several countries in Southeast Asia, such as the joint exercise with Garuda Shield, and the joint Multilateral Naval Exercise Komodo.

In the context of defense diplomacy, Indonesia has made various efforts bilaterally both with countries in the Southeast Asia Region and with countries outside the Region. In Table 1, Indonesia's bilateral defense diplomacy with countries in Southeast Asia is explained. Overall it covers issues such as illegal activities at state borders, the implementation of joint military exercises, military training and education, as well as the exchange of information. Thus, Indonesia's focus in defense diplomacy is to build Confidence Building Measures (CBM's) with countries in the Southeast Asian region.

TABLE 1.

No.	Cooperating Countries	Cooperation Issue	Description
1	Malaysia	Human Trafficking	In 2005, Indonesia and Malaysia agreed to establish a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) to protect Indonesian workers in Malaysia and cooperate in preventing illegal activities at the country's borders.
2	Singapura	Maritime security and maritime security intelligence information	During the 1998-2016 period, this bilateral agreement was part of efforts to build CBM and strengthen defense capabilities.
3	Filipina	Counter Terrorism	CORPAT Philindo is an activity that includes patrol operations in border waters.
4	Kambodia	Military and Defence Cooperation	Indonesia and Cambodia have signed an MoU for military training between the countries.
5	Thailand	Military and Defence Cooperation	Collaborative dialogue on security issues and regular visits to each other, joint training, military education and drug eradication.
6	Laos	Military and Defence Cooperation	This collaboration is military education for high-ranking Laotian officers who were sent to Indonesia
7	Brunei	Military and Defence Cooperation	Has been the Joint Defense Cooperation Committee (JDCC) RI – Brunei Darussalam since 2013.
8	Myanmar	Military and Defence Cooperation	Indonesia's bilateral cooperation with Myanmar is a dialogue on security and strategic issues.
9	Vietnam	Military and Defence Cooperation	Since 2016, the implementation of this agreement has been dialogue on security issues, military education and other cooperation in the defense sector.
10	Timor Leste	Military and Defence Cooperation	First Collaboration, dialogue on strategic issues, mutual exchange of information, logistical support and education.

Source: (yusro et al. 2020)

If we look at Table 1, Defense diplomacy carried out by Indonesia from 2014-2023 during the leadership of President Joko Widodo with countries outside the Southeast Asian region, in general the defense diplomacy that was built discussed dialogue on security issues, military education, industry defense, emergency assistance, search and rescue and information exchange.

IMPLEMENTATION OF CBM BY INDONESIA IN THE REGIONAL FRAMEWORK (ASEAN)

Within the regional framework and regional organizations such as ASEAN, the implementation of CBM, namely the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting (ADMM), and Shangri-La Dialogue, has contributed to building trust and reducing tensions between regional actors. Obstacles and challenges in building trust in the Southeast Asia region are always developing and follow from interactions carried out by countries in the region. ASEAN in its efforts to build a security community in Southeast Asia. This can include challenges such as differences in national interests, regional power dynamics, as well as the impact of global issues such as climate change and international trade (Acharya, 2021).

A defense diplomacy conducted within an ASEAN framework such as the ARF focuses on conducting preventive diplomacy is one of the three stages of evolution of the ARF's confidence-building measures. The ARF approved the ARF Concept and Principles of Preventive Diplomacy in 2001, which set out, among other things, the definition, possible steps, and main principles of preventive diplomacy (ASEAN, 2023). To achieve this goal, ARF adopted a three-stage process. The first stage is the promotion of measures to build confidence between member states. The second stage is the development of preventive diplomacy to prevent conflict. The third stage is the elaboration of the approach to conflict. ARF also recognizes the importance of establishing itself as a meaningful forum, which can adopt an evolutionary approach and make decisions through consensus. Discussions in the ARF are aimed at increasing mutual understanding and trust between countries in the Asia-Pacific region, fostering dialogue and cooperation, and promoting peace, stability and prosperity. Thus, the ARF seeks to address existing challenges and work towards its long-term goals (ASEAN, 2012).

In an effort to advance Confidence-Building Measure (CBM) efforts, ARF has the opportunity to adopt two complementary approaches. The first approach is based on the experience that ASEAN has gained, which provides valuable and tested guidance for the ARF. In The ASEAN Regional Forum: A Concept Paper, it is explained that ASEAN's success in reducing tensions among its members, encouraging regional collaboration, and creating a regional environment that supports peace and prosperity, even without the explicit implementation of CBM, creates a situation that is almost similar to the stated vision. in the Declaration on the Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality (ZOPFAN). The ZOPFAN concept and its main component, namely the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (SEANWFZ), have made a significant contribution to stability and peace in the region. The practice of consultation and reaching consensus that has been established by ASEAN has been successfully enhanced substantially through regular exchange of high-level visits among ASEAN member countries. This pattern of periodic visits has effectively become a channel for preventive diplomacy.

In the Asian context, the approach adopted by ASEAN has a number of advantages. This approach particularly highlights the importance of building trust and confidence among neighboring countries. The principles of positive neighborly relations, as outlined in the ZOPFAN framework, have their foundation in the 1976 Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC). is to encourage ARF participants to align themselves with TAC. In particular, the ARF's inaugural meeting in Bangkok took steps to endorse the goals and principles of the ASEAN Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in Southeast Asia as a set of guidelines governing interactions among nations and as a distinctive diplomatic instrument for enhancing regional self-confidence, diplomacy prevention, and political and security cooperation.

The second approach is the implementation of concrete steps to build trust, ASEAN divides it into two short-term time frames which focus more on principal matters and transparency of ASEAN member countries such as:

1. Development of a set of basic principles to ensure understanding
2. A common approach to relations between countries in the region;
3. Adopt a comprehensive approach to security.
4. Adoption of a comprehensive approach to security.
5. Dialogue regarding security perceptions, including voluntary statements regarding defense policy positions;
6. Defense publications such as the Defense White Paper or equivalent documents

deemed necessary by each government

7. Participation in the UN Conventional Weapons List;
8. Enhanced contact, including, high-level visits and recreational activities;
9. Exchange between military academies, staff and training colleges;
10. Observers at military exercises, voluntarily; And
11. Annual seminar for defense officials and military officers on selected international security issues.

Meanwhile, the long term in CBM is:

1. Further exploration of the Regional Weapons List;
2. Regional security study center/coordination of existing security study activities;
3. Maritime information database;
4. A cooperative approach to maritime communications, starting with the exchange of information and training in areas such as search and rescue, piracy and drug control;
5. Mechanism to mobilize aid in the event of a natural disaster;
6. Establishment of cooperation zones in areas such as the South China Sea;
7. A system of advance notification of major military deployments that has application throughout the region; And
8. Encourage arms manufacturers and suppliers to disclose the purposes of their arms exports.

Given the sensitive nature of many of the subjects considered by the ARF, it is useful for the ARF process to proceed along two tracks. Track One activities will be carried out by the government. Track Two activities will be implemented by strategic institutions and non-governmental organizations in the region, such as ASEAN-ISIS and CSCAP. To be more meaningful and relevant, Track Two activities focus as much as possible on issues of current concern to ARF. The synergy between these two pathways will make a major contribution to efforts to build trust in the region. Over time, Track Two activities will create a sense of togetherness among the activity participants (ASEAN, 2020).

In practice, security cooperation within the ARF framework still creates a challenge considering that the ARF framework itself was formed in a bipolar condition in the context of world political security dynamics at a time when the cold war was still going on and developments in global security dynamics required ASEAN to create a new format in resolving security problems in regional and added to the presence of China as a new global power, especially the South China Sea conflict which has direct contact with ASEAN member countries.

The ADMM and ADMM-Plus frameworks, which held their first meetings in 2006 and 2010 respectively, offer responses to some of the above political and functional deficiencies. Supported primarily by Indonesia, which has pushed for greater intra-ASEAN security collaboration in areas such as peacekeeping for regional interests, the ADMM is explicitly linked to ASEAN's efforts to realize an ASEAN Political-Security Community. ADMM-Plus, in particular, can also be seen as a reflection of increasing questions about the inadequacy of ASEAN and the ARF in responding to pressing great power uncertainties and nontraditional security challenges (Baviera & Maramis, 2017).

The South China Sea, in particular, has become an embodiment of the complex set of constraints and challenges faced by ASEAN and ASEAN's claim to centrality in managing regional security. The South China Sea conflict does not only create a boundary for ASEAN itself when vis-à-vis the superpower countries separately and in moderating tensions between them. but the South China Sea dispute has also weighed heavily on intra-ASEAN unity and its reputation – both important foundations for ASEAN's convening power and claims to institutional centrality. Likewise, the 2015 ADMM-Plus meeting, which failed to issue a joint declaration, demonstrated ASEAN's limitations in addressing the damage caused by great power differences despite the determination within ASEAN to continue doing so.

At the 16th ADMM meeting in Cambodia, it was agreed that it was important to emphasize the need to maintain and encourage a conducive environment for achieving an effective and substantive Code of Conduct (CoC) in accordance with international law, including UNCLOS 1982, while emphasizing the implementation of the Declaration on the Conduct (DoC).) fully and effectively, thus in the future we will welcome CBM measures such as the Code for Unplanned Encounters at Sea (CUES), Guidelines for Air Military Encounters (GAME), Guidelines for Maritime Interaction, ASEAN Direct Communications Infrastructure (ADI), ASEAN Chief of Defense Force Meeting (ACDFM) and other activities within the DoC framework to promote communication, mutual trust and confidence to reduce tensions and the risk of accidents, misunderstandings and miscalculations in the air and at sea.

In 2023, at the ACDFM forum in Bali, Indonesia will initiate a joint military exercise. Then this was followed up with military delegations from ASEAN countries holding the Initial Planning Conference (IPC) For ASEAN Solidarity Exercise-01 Natuna (ASEX-01N). Training that focuses on non-combat exercises such as Joint Maritime Patrol Operations, Medical Evacuation, Search and Rescue (SAR) and Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) or providing humanitarian assistance and disaster management in simulated affected areas (Puspen TNI, 2023).

CONCLUSION

In an analysis of Indonesia's defense diplomacy through Confidence-Building Measures (CBM) in Southeast Asia, it can be concluded that Indonesia has taken important steps to build trust and reduce tensions in the region. Through various peaceful means such as military dialogue, exchange of security information, joint military exercises, and multilateral diplomacy, Indonesia seeks to avoid conflict escalation and build mutually beneficial cooperation.

In the framework of building CBM, Indonesia faces several conditions that influence the choice of CBM measures, such as prolonged disputes, threats of hostility, incentives to attack first, and disproportionate war costs. Despite challenges and differences of opinion in the region, Indonesia has a history of peaceful conflict resolution, especially in the border context. This is reflected in efforts to resolve regional border problems with neighboring countries, such as Malaysia, Vietnam and the Philippines.

The importance of defense diplomacy and cooperation in the Southeast Asia region is reflected in Indonesia's participation in various regional frameworks such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting (ADMM), and Shangri-La Dialogue. Indonesia seeks to build trust through dialogue, information exchange and joint military activities. Despite geopolitical complexity and dynamics, Indonesia remains focused on the long-term goal of building confidence and stability. However, challenges remain. Developments such as the

involvement of major powers such as the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia through AUKUS as well as uncertainty regarding the South China Sea provide new complexities in efforts to build a CBM. China's reaction and the uncertain attitude of Southeast Asian countries towards AUKUS are factors that influence regional dynamics.

Nevertheless, Indonesia remains committed to advancing regional cooperation and building CBM in Southeast Asia. Through participation in the ASEAN and ARF frameworks, as well as efforts to develop defense cooperation with neighboring countries, Indonesia is taking strategic steps in building trust, reducing tensions, and creating an environment conducive to peace and security in the region. With a preventive approach, open dialogue and sustainable cooperation, Indonesia seeks to play an important role in building stability in Southeast Asia.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This research used funding from the faculty of social and political sciences at Pasundan University.

REFERENCES

- Acharya, A. (2021). *Asean And Regional Order: Revisiting Security Community In Southeast Asia*. Routledge.
- Asean. (2012). *A Commemorative Publication For The 20th Asean Regional Forum*.
- Asean. (2020). *The Asean Regional Forum: A Concept Paper*. <https://aseanregionalforum.asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Concept-Paper-Of-Arf.Pdf>
- Asean. (2023). *Preventive Diplomacy*. Asean Secretariat. <https://asean.org/our-communities/asean-political-security-community/peaceful-secure-and-stable-region/preventive-diplomacy/>
- Baviera, A. S. P. (Aileen S. P., & Maramis, Larry. (2017). *Building Asean Community : Political-Security And Socio-Cultural Reflections*. Economic Research Institute For Asean And East Asia.
- Brad Glosserman. (2005). Cross-Strait Confidence Building Measures. *Pacific Forum Csis*, 5(2). www.csis.org/pacfor/
- Bueger, C. (N.D.). *What Is Maritime Security?* Retrieved December 22, 2022, From <http://bueger.info>
- Bull, H. (2002). *A Study Of Order In World Politics* (A. H. Stanley Hoffmann, Ed.; Third Edit). Palgrave Publishers Ltd.
- Capie, D. (2013). Structures, Shocks And Norm Change: Explaining The Late Rise Of Asia's Defence Diplomacy. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 35(1), 1–26. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/stable/43281237>
- Cottey, A., & Forster, A. (2004). *Reshaping Defence Diplomacy: New Roles For Military Cooperation And Assistance* (Vol. 1).
- Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat. (2023). *J.D.I.H. - Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*. <https://www.dpr.go.id/jdih/uu>
- Fealy, G., & White, H. (2016). *Indonesia's "Great Power" Aspirations: A Critical View*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/app5.122>

- Ganguly, S. (2021). *Mending Fences: Confidence- And Security-Building Measures In South Asia*. Taylor & Francis. <https://Books.Google.Co.Id/Books?Id=Bjtieaaaqbaj>
- Ganguly, S., & Greenwood, T. (2021). *Mending Fences Confidence And Security-Building Measures In South Asia*. Routledge. <https://Doi.Org/10.4324/9780429044762>
- Gindarsah, I. (2016). Strategic Hedging In Indonesia's Defense Diplomacy. *Defense & Security Analysis*, 32, 1–18. <https://Doi.Org/10.1080/14751798.2016.1233695>
- Haider, M. W., & Azad, T. M. (2021). *The Role Of Confidence-Building Measures In The Evolution Of Relations Between Pakistan And India*.
- Jatmiko, A. B. (2020). Indonesian Defense Diplomacy In Southeast Asia: Opportunities And Challenges. *Journal Of Defense Studies And Resource Management*, 11(2), 1–7.
- Kementerian Luar Negeri Ri. (2023, January 1). "Leadership In A Challenging World."
- Peraturan Menteri Pertahanan Republik Indonesia Nomor 19 Tahun 2013 Tentang Rencana Strategis Pertahanan Negara Tahun 2010-2014, 6 (2013).
- Laksmiana, E. A. (2011). Defence Diplomacy In Southeast Asia: Trends, Prospects And Challenges. In *From 'Boots' To 'Brogues' (The Rise Of Defence Diplomacy In Southeast Asia)*. S. Rajaratnam School Of International Studies. <http://Www.Jstor.Org/Stable/Resrep05908.10>
- Laksmiana, E. A. (2011). Indonesia's Rising Regional And Global Profile: Does Size Really Matter? *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 33(2), 157–182. <http://Www.Jstor.Org.Ezproxy.Ugm.Ac.Id/Stable/41288825>
- Lemhannas Ri. (2023). *Proliferasi Nuklir Di Kawasan Asia Tenggara*. <https://Www.Lemhannas.Go.Id/Index.Php/Publikasi/Press-Release/1969-Proliferasi-Nuklir-Di-Kawasan-Asia-Tenggara>
- Lowy Institute Asia Power Index. (2023). *Weightings Calculator - Lowy Institute Asia Power Index*. <https://Power.Lowyinstitute.Org/Weightings/>
- Manurung, H., Bainus, A., Kantaprawira, R., & Rezasyah, T. (2022). Indonesia's Defence Diplomacy In Asia Pacific: A Study On Indonesia – Russia Defence Cooperation. *Journal Of Pharmaceutical Negative Results*, 13, 887–899. <https://Doi.Org/10.47750/Pnr.2022.13.S08.112>
- Melvin, J. (2018). *The Road To Genocide: Indonesian Military Planning To Seize State Power Prior To 1 October 1965* (Pp. 51–69). https://Doi.Org/10.1007/978-3-319-71455-4_3
- Nurhadi, R., & Wibowo, A. P. (2017). Confidence Building Measures (Cbms) As A Tool For Regional Peace And Security: Indonesia's Approach. *Journal Of Southeast Asian Studies*, 22(1), 68–87.
- Pedrasan, R. (2015). Asean's Defence Diplomacy: The Road To Southeast Asian Defence Community? In *Precht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg*.
- Puspen Tni. (2023). *Jelang Latihan Bersama Militer Asean, Mabes Tni Siapkan Skenario Latihan*. <https://Tni.Mil.Id/View-227432-Jelang-Latihan-Bersama-Militer-Asean-Mabes-Tni-Siapkan-Skenario-Latihan.Html>
- Putu Sastra Wingarta. (2016). Rejuvenasi Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (Pendekatan Kewaspadaan Nasional). *Jurnal Kajian Lemhannas Ri*, 26, 17–31.
- Quilliam, N., & Vakil, S. (2021). *A Pyramid Of Multilateral Confidence-Building Measures In The Middle East*. Www.Iai.It/En
- Wenas Inkiriwang, F. (2021). 'Garuda Shield' Vs 'Sharp Knife': Operationalising Indonesia's Defence Diplomacy. *The Pacific Review*, 34(6), 871–900. <https://Doi.Org/10.1080/09512748.2020.1772352>

Yukiko Nishikawa. (2021). *Peace And Conflict Transformation In Southeast Asia* (Kamarulzaman Askandar, Ed.). Scand-Media Corp Ltd.

Yusro, M. R., Sinaga, O., & Darmawan, W. B. (2020). Diplomasi Pertahanan Indonesia Dengan Negara-Negara Di Asia Tenggara Untuk Meningkatkan Kapabilitas Militer, *Jurnal Inspirasi*.

Anton Minardi (Corresponding author)
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences,
Pasundan University, Indonesia
Email: abdurrahmananton1975@gmail.com

M. Rizky Yusro
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences,
Pasundan University, Indonesia
Email: muhammad.rizki@unpas.ac.id