

# 6 ADALAH

Buletin Hukum & Keadilan

## Indonesia's Strategy in Maritime Defense Diplomacy to the State FPDA Members (Malaysia, Singapore, Australia, New Zealand, and United Kingdom)

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### Abstract:

Indonesia has long established cooperative and diplomatic relations with the five FPDA member countries. However, this relationship still arouses a sense of mistrust from all parties with the emergence of issues and tensions in diplomatic relations. The presence and establishment of FPDA itself is also one of the reasons to "balance Indonesia". This is a gap for better cooperation between Indonesia and FPDA member countries. The problem in this study is how the pattern of maritime defence diplomacy cooperation and Indonesia's interests towards FPDA member countries using the theory of marine defence diplomacy and the concept of maritime security and national interests. This research uses qualitative methods in a descriptive-analytical manner. The results of the study showed that the role of multilateral cooperation in Indonesia's maritime defence diplomacy has been actively prioritised by building a sense of trust (CBM), by implementing five patterns of defence diplomacy to FPDA countries, Indonesia's interests in FPDA countries, namely: building FPDA trust in Indonesia, increasing cooperation in the maritime sector, reducing the issue of Papuan separatism, and maintaining ASEAN centrality.

**Keywords:** Maritime Defense Diplomacy; FPDA members; Maritime security; national interest.

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## A. PROLOG

Under the Jokowi administration, Indonesia wants to realise its vision as the world's maritime axis, or we know it as PMD.<sup>1</sup> This vision must be pushed forward from various directions. However, current realities show that the risk of interstate conflict (interstate conflict) and "lack of trust" in the region remains high. This situation encourages Indonesia to create regional peace and stability conditions because this is closely related to national interests and is an absolute prerequisite for achieving national development.

The problem between Indonesia and FPDA member countries is due to the tension of trust from its past with regional security alliances.<sup>2</sup> A group of United Kingdom Community member states in the Asia-Pacific region founded the union. The coalition is the Five Power Defense Arrangement (FPDA), a defence relationship from a 1971 multilateral agreement between the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia, and Singapore.

Initially, the FPDA was formed as a form of United Kingdom defence responsibility in Malaysia and Singapore because the United Kingdom's decision to withdraw its troops east of Suez in 1967

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<sup>1</sup> Ivan A. Laksana, Iis Ginarsah, and Andrew W. Mantong, "Menerjemahkan Visi Poros Maritim Global Ke Dalam Kerangka Diplomasi Pertahanan Maritim Dalam Kebijakan Luar Negeri Indonesia Di Era Jokowi," *Centre for Strategic and International Studies* 01, no. 1 (2018): 0–36.

<sup>2</sup> Gistyger Hasudungan Manullang, Muhamad Fauzi, and Abdul Rachman, "Diplomasi Pertahanan Indonesia Dalam Menghadapi Ancaman Dari Five Power Defence Arrangement (FPDA)," *Jurnal Lemhanas RI* 10, no. 4 (2020): 17–25.

was a defeat that tarnished the image of the United Kingdom. This then prompted the United Kingdom to maintain its influence in the Asian region. The United Kingdom's desire to defend Asia began with a change in its Conservative political landscape in June 1970, when Prime Minister Ted Heath clarified that his government would continue to maintain a military presence in Southeast Asia. United Kingdom policy in the Suez Canal does not indicate military involvement there.<sup>3</sup>

From this, it can be concluded that the formation of FPDA is a form of embodiment of the unique values of community members, namely uninterrupted historical continuity, close mutual loyalty between members, especially solidarity with member countries. common interests in dealing with complex issues and the linkages between the constitutional provisions of the family community. The five FPDA countries also pledged to help each other in the event of an external attack on Malaysia, Australia, New Zealand or Singapore. The establishment of FPDA is an implementation of the commitment of the Community of Asian Countries and is essential for Indonesia.

The formation of the FPDA became decisive for Indonesia when President Soekarno's opposition movement demanded the formation of a federal state of Malaysia in September 1963. This position and opposition were realized by organising an anti-

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

Malaysia demonstration in Yogyakarta on September 25.<sup>4</sup> In August 1967, a regional organisation consisting of the countries that are part of the Southeast Asian regional unity, ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), was formed, including Singapore and Malaysia. However, this does not change the relationship between FPDA members. Since Jakarta has fully recovered, this relationship remains questioned because Indonesia has become a reference or one of the main reasons for forming FPDA. The deterioration of Indonesia's bilateral and multilateral relations with FPDA member countries is marked by several critical events. First, the interception of the Head of State and First Lady of Indonesia (President SBY and Mrs. Ani Yudhoyono) by Australia,<sup>5</sup> the deportation of asylum seekers by the Australian Navy to Indonesia waters, and the destruction of Australian Navy warships in Indonesia territory in southern Java.

In addition, an official report by the Australian military shows that the Australian Navy has violated Indonesia's waters six times from December 2013 to January 2014<sup>6</sup>, including breaches of maritime border security measures, according to an official report dated February 19, 2014. Not to mention that Indonesia suffered a massive loss in

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<sup>4</sup> Ummi Yusnita, "Penyelesaian Sengketa Batas Laut Antara Indonesia Dan Malaysia Dalam Perspektif Hukum Internasional," *Binamulia Hukum* 7, no. 1 (2018): 96–106.

<sup>5</sup> David Yacobus, "Hacker's Conflict As Non-State Actor In The Tension Between Indonesia – Australia's Relationship In 2013," *Jurnal Prodi Peperangan Asimetris* 3, no. 2 (2013): 17–23.

<sup>6</sup> Indriati Kusumawardhani and Arie Afriansyah, "Kebijakan Kelautan Indonesia Dan Diplomasi Maritim," *Jurnal Kertha Patrika* 41, no. 3 (2019): 251–282.

implementing the policy where Prime Minister Tony Abbott responded to immigrants seeking asylum in his country, better known as "Turn Back the Boat"<sup>7</sup>. In practice, the refugees are offered free boats to return to Indonesia's waters.<sup>8</sup>

Second, Singapore's long air column regulation, or what is often called the FIR (Flight Information Region) problem, is also a problem. Until now, air traffic control for the Batam, Tanjung Pinang, and Natuna islands has been under the control of Singapore Air Traffic Control (ATC) based on the 1955 agreement.<sup>9</sup> The problem arises because Singapore does not allow Indonesia to fly directly over its own country. Third, Edward Snowden leaked classified information from the US National Security Agency, which found that Singapore played a key role in eavesdropping on a US spy network that included the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, known as the Five Eyes.

Fairfax Media Network reported that Singapore's Ministry of Defence Intelligence is working with the Australia Signals Directorate (ASD)

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<sup>7</sup> Dyas Bintang Perdana, Rizaldi Dolly Ramasandi, and Maria Evangelina Setiawan, "Posisi Indonesia Terhadap Aliansi Amerika, Inggris Dan Australia (Aukus) Dalam Perspektif Neorealisme," *KERIS: Jurnal Defendonesia* 5, no. 2 (2021): 33–45.

<sup>8</sup> Arcelinocent Emile Pangemanan Perwita and Anak Agung Banyu, "Diplomasi Pertahanan Maritim Indonesia: Kerjasama Kemaritman Indonesia – Australia Dalam ' Plan Of Action For The Implementation Of The Joint Declaration On Maritime Cooperation 2018-2022," *Jurnal Maritim Indonesia* 10, no. 1 (2022): 35–48.

<sup>9</sup> Djarot Dimas and Achmad Andaru, "Konflik Tumpang Tindih Kedaulatan Wilayah Udara Dan Flight Information Region : Alternatif Penyelesaian Kasus Tumpang Tindih Wilayah Udara Indonesia Dan Dan Flight Information Region : Alternatif," *Journal of Islamic Law Studies* 3, no. 2 (2021): 1–18.

to install the SEA-ME-WE-3 submarine cable.<sup>10</sup> This underwater cable is suitable for exchanging communication data by connecting Singapore and Perth. Indonesia has been a prime destination for kidnappings since the 1970s. Relations between Indonesia and Malaysia have deteriorated due to the implementation of measures to combat illegal fishing. Illegal fishing ends with sinking foreign vessels catching fish illegally in Indonesian waters. Indonesia itself has hijacked 200 Malaysian fishing boats. Malaysia sees the implementation of this policy as a continuation of maritime policy. Based on the writings of Bridget Welsh, a senior fellow at the Center for East Asian Democratic Studies of National Taiwan University, she said Malaysia was entirely surprised by Jokowi's policy change. Indonesia has never been considered a threat to Malaysia; now, it may become a threat, as seen by the new policy that Indonesia has made against the case between Malaysia and Indonesia. This can be used as a case of protectionism against state cooperation and diplomacy because violations always occur repeatedly.

Based on the problems from the above article, which has highlighted various issues and conflicts between Indonesia and FPDA member countries. The conflict between Indonesia and the five FPDA countries has caused a strain in diplomatic relations established both bilaterally and multilaterally. The

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<sup>10</sup> Perdana, Ramasandi, And Setiawan, "Posisi Indonesia Terhadap Aliansi Amerika, Inggris Dan Australia (Aukus) Dalam Perspektif Neorealisme."

efforts made in Indonesia's maritime defense diplomacy to FPDA member countries aim to build a more harmonious cooperative relationship and foster a sense of trust (CBM) and make FPDA a more open association after being hit by various cases. In addition, Indonesia's national interest in building relationships with these five FPDA countries was also studied. The big question in this research problem is how Indonesia's maritime defence diplomacy strategy is in maintaining Indonesia's national interests and establishing good relations with the five FPDA member countries.

## **B. METHODS**

The data collection technique used in this study is qualitative with descriptive analysis. The research uses primary and secondary data as the essential and main ingredients. The primary and secondary data collected are related to the history of the FPDA coalition and its work, Indonesia's foreign policy, and Indonesia's maritime defence cooperation and diplomacy relations with the five FPDA countries. This research uses the theory of marine defence diplomacy, which departs from a conceptual combination of various studies, namely "defence diplomacy" and "maritime diplomacy". In short, the concept of "maritime defence" is a strategic objective combining national and foreign defence policies with the primary goals of maritime security and national interests. Given the water- and archipelago-based

geostrategic environment where the TNI's weak capability in projecting power beyond territorial boundaries, diplomatic instruments are the leading choice. This study uses a structured library study technique for the Miles and Huberman model.<sup>11</sup> Used as a data analysis technique with analysis components, namely data reduction, data presentation, conclusion drawing, and verification. Testing the validity and reliability of the data is then carried out through data triangulation.

## **C. DISCUSSION**

### **1. The driving factor of Indonesia's cooperation relationship with the five FPDA member countries.**

Amid the turmoil of the Asia-Pacific Region with the rise of China as a regional power<sup>1213</sup>Indonesia is gradually starting to cooperate with various countries. 1999-2014, Indonesia has signed at least 86 bilateral defense and security agreements with 31 countries. This agreement is part of Indonesia's defence diplomacy, which aims to increase trust-building while strengthening defence capabilities in uncertainty in the region. (Laksamana, 2012)

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<sup>11</sup> John Gerring, "Qualitative Methods," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2017.

<sup>12</sup> Irwansyah Irwansyah, "Border Issue: Misperception between Indonesia and Malaysia," in *SHS Web of Conferences*, vol. 00058, 2017, 1-6.

<sup>13</sup> Sofia Trisni, Anita Afriani S, and Rika Isnarti, "Upaya Indonesia Dalam Menyelesaikan Konflik Laut Tiongkok Selatan Melalui Kerjasama Asean Pada Masa Pemerintahan Presiden SBY," *Jurnal PIR 2*, no. 2 (2018): 147-160.



At the same time, Indonesia has also carried out various maritime defence diplomacy activities in a multilateral context. Most still revolve around multiple activities carried out under the ASEAN flag and Countries that are Strategic Partners with ASEAN.<sup>14</sup> Indonesia is also increasingly trying to increase its participation in several multilateral maritime defence diplomacy forums to maintain naval security that is not only affiliated with ASEAN but also non-ASEAN, though on a much smaller scale.

Indonesia has established many cooperative and diplomatic relations with many countries, both in the bilateral and multilateral scope; the purpose is apparent, namely to expand relations and hopes that this cooperation can also improve the country's quality through several aspects. His relationship with these FPDA countries is no exception. The following are the driving factors of Indonesia's cooperation relationship with FPDA member countries:

The first factor we look at is the purpose of security. National security is a priority in shaping foreign relations. The 2014 Defense Textbook states that the purpose of state defence is to maintain and protect state sovereignty, the Republic of Indonesia's territorial integrity, and the country's overall security from threats. Indonesia has a strategic position at the

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<sup>14</sup> Asep Setiawan and Ali Noer Zaman, *Diplomasi Maritim Indonesia Dalam Menjaga Kedaulatan Kepulauan Natuna 2014-2019* (Jakarta, 2020).

crossroads of two continents, two oceans, two ideologies, two resource producers, two energy producers, two nuclear reserves, and two members of the UN Security Council and the UN Security Council from the United Nations. Therefore, Indonesia understands that to secure and defend the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia, it must also cooperate with other countries to achieve its defence and security goals.

Based on the description of the strategic location above, the relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia, Singapore and Australia is significant. These three countries are directly adjacent to Indonesia. Therefore, Indonesia must adhere to the security goal of maintaining territorial sovereignty intact. Efforts to maintain the integrity of the region automatically make Indonesia actively cooperate with the three countries to continue to fight for border security. As for New Zealand and the United Kingdom, which are geographically distant, their proximity is reflected in shared security goals. The common goal is to maintain the stability of the Asia-Pacific region to avoid shocks that can directly or indirectly affect Indonesia or the region <sup>15</sup>.

The second factor is the neighborhood. Maintaining relations with neighboring countries has always been the first challenge of diplomacy. Because of Indonesia's proximity, the country must engage in

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<sup>15</sup> Dyah Lupita Sari, "Five Power Defense Arrangements ( Fpda ) And The Role Of Strategic Engagement In The Southeast Asian Region," *Jurnal Studi Diplomasi dan Keamanan* 2, no. 2 (2019): 55-71.

bilateral diplomacy with Singapore, Malaysia and Australia<sup>16</sup>. The reason is that this proximity to the environment, if managed well, helps create a good and complex cooperation platform to deal with internal and external problems in the region. Neighborly proximity not only strengthens friendship, but also creates competition. The most visible talent competition is in the defense sector. This then causes negative tensions between countries and requires the role of dialogue. The purpose is to inform about the modernization of defense equipment.

Good transparency automatically increases trust. The distance between New Zealand and the United Kingdom does not directly affect Indonesia. However, because New Zealand is close to Pacific countries, this is of strategic interest to Indonesia. The United Kingdom also has strategic interests in Indonesia, even though it is on the European continent. This strategic value is based on the United Kingdom's proximity to countries in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, its defense manufacturing capabilities, and the United Kingdom's position as a permanent member of the UN Security Council that has veto power over Indonesia's participation. in building bilateral relations with the United Kingdom.

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<sup>16</sup> Felicia Permata Hanggu, Leonard Hutabarat, and Setyo Harnowo, "Indonesia's Defence Diplomacy To The Member States Of The Five Power Defence Arrangements (Malaysia, Singapore, Australia, New Zealand, And Uk) Year 2000 – 2017," *Jurnal prodi diplomasi pertahanan* 4, no. 1 (2018): 39–56.

The third factor is the existence of common ideals. Indonesia views itself as a peaceful country and refers to one of its national interests, namely participation in maintaining world order. The Defense Doctrine Book states that the enforcement of peace in Indonesia aims to create safe, harmonious and peaceful conditions both at the national, regional and global levels<sup>17</sup>. Therefore, Indonesia sees Malaysia, Singapore, Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom also striving to build a peaceful world and promote stability and order in the Southeast Asia-Pacific region by supporting ASEAN as its axis. Therefore, Indonesia considers it important to build relations with the five FPDA member countries.

The fourth factor is the existence of the same antagonism (reciprocal antagonism). History shows that confrontation and antipathy between Indonesia and the five FPDA member countries have resulted in hostile relations. However, after the end of the Cold War, the world became more dynamic. Former enemies can be partners, although fear remains. The same hostility over past violations forced Indonesia to develop bilateral relations with the five FPDA member states. The country's geographical location is not only a reference, but also a reflection of Indonesia's efforts to realize world peace.

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<sup>17</sup> Aris Arif Mundayat, Pujo Widodo, and Bayu Prakasa, "Diplomasi Pertahanan Indonesia Dalam Mewujudkan Poros Maritim Dunia Indonesia's Defense Diplomacy to Materialize the Global Maritime Fulcrum," *Jurnal Prodi Diplomasi Pertahanan* 4, no. 2 (2017): 21–40.

The Defense Book explains that peace aims to establish safe and harmonious relations, not viewing other countries as a threat, and vice versa other countries do not view Indonesia as a threat. The past injury then became the driving force for bilateral diplomacy with the five FPDA countries to view Indonesia not as a threat but as a partner<sup>18</sup>.

The fifth factor is interest rate matching. Indonesia understands that the five FPDA member states have a defense interest to work together to prevent terrorist attacks, especially on the issue of radicalism, the return of foreign fighters from Syria and maritime security. Terrorism is a serious problem in all countries because it is one of the great crimes that has caused many deaths. Maritime security has been under international scrutiny for two years due to piracy and hostage-taking in the Sulu Sea and Malacca Strait<sup>19</sup> Maritime security also impacts economic problems, namely trade. The Indonesia Sea is a trade barrier for the five FPDA countries. Indonesia understands that regional security must also be achieved through cooperation with other countries. The existence of common interests is the fundamental strength of a lasting relationship.

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<sup>18</sup> Didik Prihartono, "Dinamika Diplomasi Pertahanan Indonesia Di Kawasan Asia Tenggara," *Jurnal kewarganegaraan* 6, no. 3 (2022): 5883–5890.

<sup>19</sup> Lintang Suproboningrum and Yandry Kurniawan, "Keberhasilan Patroli Terkoordinasi Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapura Di Selat Malaka Maritime Diplomacy Behind The Success of Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapore 's Coordinated Patrol in Malaka Strait Satu Sama Lain . 2 Masalah Keamanan Non- Sekitar 80 % Perdagangan," *Jurnal Politika* 8, no. 2 (2017): 163–187.

## 2. Implementation of activities and patterns of Indonesia's maritime defense diplomacy to FPDA member countries.

Indonesia's efforts in building good cooperative relations with the five FPDA countries do not only stop at the realm of diplomacy both bilaterally and multilaterally. Indonesia has carried out defense diplomacy activities to maintain maritime security as a support for bilateral or multilateral cooperation activities with FPDA member countries. Based on the forms of maritime defense diplomacy by Cottey and Forster<sup>20</sup>, Indonesia has carried out defense diplomacy against the five FPDA member countries in the period 2000-present.

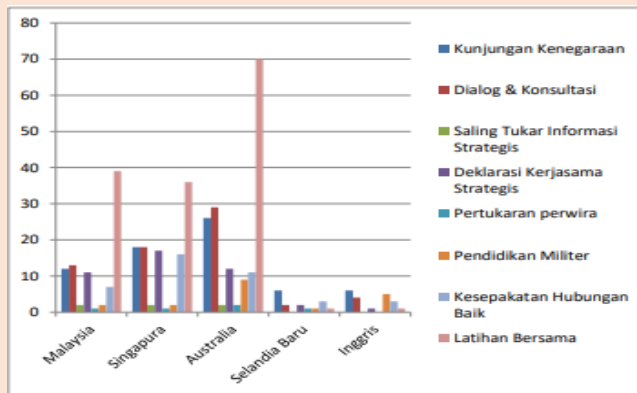


Figure 1. Source: <https://kemlu.go.id/>

Indonesia's defense diplomacy has implemented seven forms of defense diplomacy

<sup>20</sup> Muhammad Samy and Aarnee Kusumadewi, "Diplomasi Pertahanan Militer Indonesia Dalam Menghadapi Ancaman Keamanan Non-Tradisional: Upaya Mewujudkan Visi Poros Maritim Dunia," *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional* 2, no. 1 (2021): 45–62.

categorized by Cottey and Forster. The implementation of Indonesia's defense diplomacy activities that Indonesia has carried out does focus on maritime security and increase the sense of trust or CBM for FPDA member states. According to the concept of the CBM category by Idil Syawfi<sup>21</sup>, the variety of defense diplomacy activities that Indonesia has carried out are dominated by state visits; dialogue and consultation between state officials; strategic information exchange; strategic cooperation declarations; exchange of state officers; Military education; agreement on good relations and the implementation of joint exercises. The existence of a variety of activities carried out shows that there is a priority to increase the sense of trust in the five FPDA member countries.

As the data above has explained Indonesia's defense diplomacy activities which are the most active in building trust with Malaysia, Singapore, and Australia, compared to the United Kingdom and New Zealand. This happens because of the geographical consequences of Indonesia which is directly adjacent to and a regional area with Malaysia, Singapore, and Australia. He explained, these three countries are Indonesia's special concern in building a sense of trust (CBM) and resolving issues that exist on regional borders and overcoming threats that occur to the region.

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<sup>21</sup> Triyoga Budi, Sugeng Berantas, and Kemenko Polhukam, "Diplomasi Pertahanan Sebagai Bagian Dari Diplomasi Total RI Defense Diplomacy As Part Of The Total Indonesian Diplomacy," *Jurnal Pertahanan* 4, no. 2 (2014): 165–184.

Indonesia's defence diplomacy, developed both bilaterally and multilaterally, helps build cooperative and diplomatic relations to reduce uncertainty in the international system. Uncertainty in the global system is very possible due to the dynamic strategic environment.<sup>22</sup>Therefore, the balance must occur by establishing contact between countries in the form of defense cooperation, especially with FPDA member countries, namely Malaysia, Singapore, Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom.

Indonesia's maritime defence diplomacy against FPDA member countries aims to eliminate hostility and build and maintain the trust that has not been fully implemented. This is because the five FPDA countries still have a wrong view of Indonesia, which is caused by past wounds, where the five FPDA countries see Indonesia as an expansionist country. The misconception that develops in society mainly comes from countries whose territory borders directly with Indonesia, namely Malaysia, Singapore, and Australia.

The ideal policy framework of the DPM strategy requires Indonesia to establish cooperative and diplomatic relations in the defence and maritime fields<sup>23</sup>. The use of marine instruments to achieve foreign policy and the deployment of diplomatic

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<sup>22</sup> Syaiful Anwar, "The Role of Defence Diplomacy In Coping With Challenges In The Field of Defence," *Jurnal Pertahanan* 4, no. 2 (2014): 71–94.

<sup>23</sup> Kusumawardhani and Afriansyah, "Kebijakan Kelautan Indonesia Dan Diplomasi Maritim."



instruments to achieve maritime defense objectives. The framework, mechanisms, and policies of maritime defense diplomacy must also be broadly described. Therefore, since the end of the new order regime, Indonesia has begun to carry out several instruments of cooperation and diplomacy to countries worldwide, including FPDA member countries. The following is the pattern of Indonesia's maritime defence cooperation and diplomacy both bilaterally, multilaterally, and in international law.

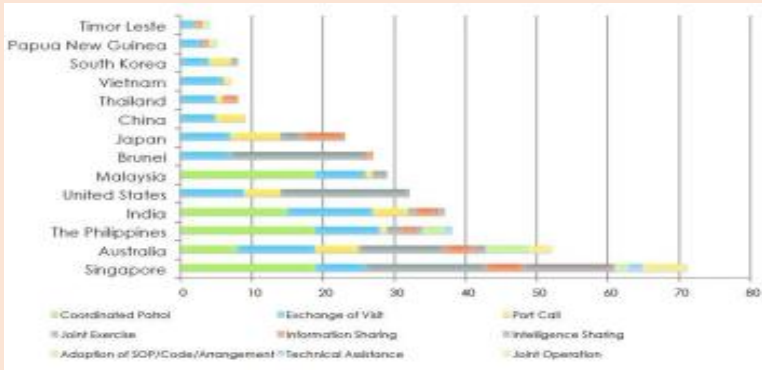
### 1). Bilateral maritime defence diplomacy

Various bilateral defence and security agreements are part of Indonesia's defence diplomacy aimed at increasing confidence-building while strengthening defence capabilities amid the uncertainty of the situation in the regional and international regions. The components of bilateral cooperation in defence diplomacy are directly related to maritime<sup>24</sup>. Most of our naval defence diplomacy activities focus on a few specific countries and revolve around certain activities. As will be discussed below, the variety of countries and types of bilateral maritime defence diplomacy cooperation depends on the degree of Indonesia's maritime interests. In short, Indonesia's bilateral defence diplomacy cooperation seems to be increasingly diversified—the more partner countries—in the

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<sup>24</sup> Eryn Sobarini, "Peluang Potensial Dan Dampak Visi Poros Maritim Bagi Hubungan Indonesia-Australia," *Jurnal Diplomasi Pertahanan*, 7, no. 2 (2021): 95–112.

fields of collaboration tend to be general and do not have high strategic value. If the form of cooperation has high strategic value, then Indonesia tends to only focus on a few specific countries.



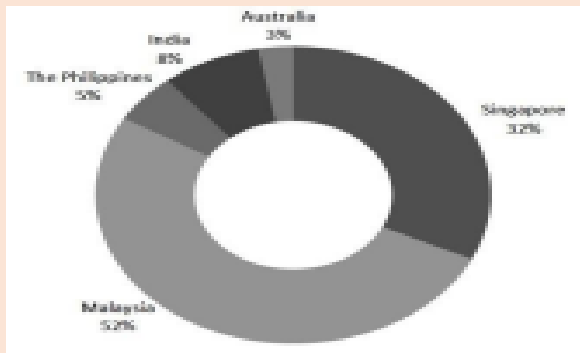
**Figure 2. Source:** <https://kemlu.go.id/>

In addition to the above activities, Indonesia has also carried out various maritime defence diplomacy activities with multiple partners, especially coordinated patrols and joint exercises. Indonesia is also only focused on a few specific countries, such as Singapore and Malaysia (for coordinated patrols) and Singapore and the United States (for joint exercises). Singapore and Malaysia are FPDA members and have actual territorial boundaries, unlike the United States.

## 2). Multilateral maritime defence diplomacy

Indonesia has established bilateral cooperation relations and participated in multilateral

cooperation. One is that Indonesia is active in various maritime defence diplomacy activities. However, Indonesia's naval defence cooperation and diplomacy activities in the multilateral context are carried out under the ASEAN association and countries that partner with ASEAN strategically<sup>25</sup>. Therefore, Indonesia is increasingly seeking to increase its participation in various non-ASEAN multilateral maritime defence diplomacy forums, albeit on a perhaps much smaller scale. The following is an explanation of maritime defence diplomacy activities in a multilateral manner:



**Figure 3. Source:** <https://kemlu.go.id/>

### 3). Maritime Defense Diplomacy Through International Legal Instruments

In addition to cooperation in bilateral and multilateral instruments, Indonesia has also participated in cooperation that emphasises

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<sup>25</sup> Erlinda Matondang, "Pemetaan Kepentingan Keamanan Maritim Negara-Negara Asia Timur Dan Posisi Strategis Indonesia," *Jurnal Pertahanan & Bela Negara* 7, no. 1 (2017): 89–108.

international law<sup>26</sup> Related to maritime security issues in its maritime defence diplomacy. There are 7 instruments of international law and regional conventions related to naval matters adopted by Indonesia.<sup>27</sup> , namely: safety; environment; security/security & safety; navigation; sea; naval warfare; and documentary. Of the total population of treaties and treaties in international forums. The following is an explanatory table of international legal instruments adopted by Indonesia in maritime security issues.

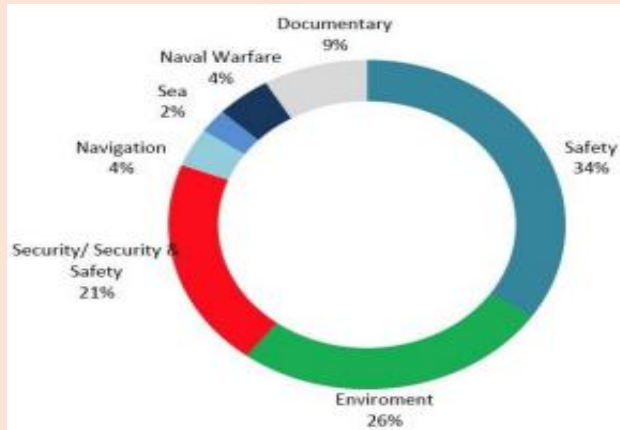


Figure 4. Source: <https://kemlu.go.id/>

## Indonesia's Strategy in Maritime Defense Diplomacy Towards the Five FPDA Member States

<sup>26</sup> Wiewiek Rukmi, Dwi Astuti, and Laode Muhamad Fathun, "Diplomasi Ekonomi Indonesia Di Dalam Rezim Ekonomi G20 Pada Masa Pemerintahan Joko Widodo," *Intermestic: Journal of International Studies* 5, no. 1 (2020): 47-68.

<sup>27</sup> Centre for Strategic and International Studies, *Diplomasi Pertahanan Maritim: Strategi, Tantangan, Dan Prospek*, ed. Fikry Cassidy (Jakarta Pusat: Badan Pengkajian dan Pengembangan Kebijakan Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 2021).

In the concept of national interest proposed by Niccolo Machiavelli, the national interest has four bases it, namely: 1) national interests and citizens are the main things; 2) avoiding all risks related to the security and welfare of the nation; 3) cooperation between countries as a form of mutual relationship; 4) War is only a matter of the state, and the government will not include the civilian people.

In the third concept, it is stated that if a country cooperates with other countries aiming to achieve the national interests of each country that establishes cooperation, then Indonesia, as a sovereign country that coexists with other countries, realises that different countries, whether they are partners or not yet partners, also have an interest in the cooperation established with Indonesia.

This study found that Indonesia has one priority for FPDA countries, namely ensuring that the position and views on Indonesia change in the eyes of FPDA member countries.<sup>28</sup> Indonesia's four interests in the five FPDA countries are: 1) Increasing the sense of trust (CBM) in the five FPDA member countries; 2) expanding cooperation in the field of maritime defence; 3) reducing the existing issue of separatism; 4) maintaining the centrality of ASEAN.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Angga Nurdin Rahmat, "FIVE POWER DEFENCE ARRANGEMENTS DALAM PANDANGAN KONSTRUKTIVISME," *Jurnal Interdependence* 1, no. 1 (2013): 1–20.

<sup>29</sup> Safriil Hidayat, "DIPLOMASI PERTAHANAN INDONESIA : AMALGAM MILITER-SIPIL INDONESIA DEFENSE DIPLOMACY : CIVIL-MILITARY AMALGAMS," *Jurnal Pertahanan* 4, no. 2 (2014): 25–52.

Based on the four interests of Indonesia's maritime defense diplomacy that are to be achieved, the interests of Indonesia's maritime defense diplomacy at points one, two, and three have been well realized. A well-realized indicator can be seen in the first national interest, which is to ensure that the position and views on Indonesia change in the eyes of FPDA member countries by increasing the sense of trust (CBM) in FPDA member countries.

In this first point, we can see from the results of the 10th FDMM (FPDA defence ministers meeting) after Indonesia fulfilled the invitation as an observer in 2016<sup>30</sup>. Where this meeting resulted in an agreement to continue to improve the observer program of non-FPDA members<sup>31</sup>. The increase in the observer program is not only to meet the interests of FPDA member countries. However, this is done because there is transparency and a subtle signal to Indonesia that Indonesia is not seen as it used to be where Indonesia is a threat to them<sup>32</sup>. FPDA's view of Indonesia places Indonesia as a strategic partner for the integrity and security of the region. In addition, through its ASEAN fraternal approach with Singapore and Malaysia, Indonesia has stated in its trilateral meeting that the Five Power Defence Arrangement (FPDA) is not a threat to

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<sup>30</sup> Sari, "FIVE POWER DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS ( FPDA ) AND THE ROLE OF STRATEGIC ENGAGEMENT IN THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN REGION."

<sup>31</sup> Kin Wah Chin, "The Five Power Defence Arrangements and AMDA: Some Observations on the Nature of an Evolving Partnership," 1974.

<sup>32</sup> Siti Muti, "Security Complex Indonesia-Australia Dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Dinamika Hubungan Kedua Negara," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik* 19, no. 2 (2015): 111–124.

Indonesia. This statement makes a long-lasting tension with FPDA, over time it can be changed so that FPDA can also change its perception of Indonesia.

The second point is to expand cooperation in the field of maritime defense. We can see cooperation in the field of maritime defense in terms of cooperation, both bilateral and multilateral. Maritime defense cooperation between the Government of Indonesia through the Directorate General of Sea Transportation met again with the Government of Singapore through the Maritime and Port Authority of Singapore (MPA) to discuss cooperation in increasing the Human Resources (HR) capacity in the Maritime Sector.<sup>33</sup> Singapore, Indonesia and Malaysia also cooperate in dealing with human trafficking problems on the border between the two countries. Indonesia's maritime defence diplomacy with Malaysia is also carried out in various fields, such as military cooperation, intelligence information exchange, and joint military exercises. Therefore, the history of Indonesia-Malaysia's defence diplomacy has been going on for a long time and has significantly impacted the security and defence of their respective regions.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Marvin Rogers, "Malaysia/Singapore: Problems and Challenges of the Seventies," *Asian Survey* 11, no. 2 (February 1, 1971): 121-130, accessed June 20, 2023, <https://online.ucpress.edu/as/article/11/2/121/20209/MalaysiaSingapore-Problems-and-Challenges-of-the>.

<sup>34</sup> J. Norman Parmer, "Malaysia: Changing a Little to Keep Pace," *Asian Survey* 7, no. 2 (February 1, 1967): 131-137, accessed June 20, 2023, <https://online.ucpress.edu/as/article/7/2/131/24085/Malaysia-Changing-a-Little-to-Keep-Pace>.

The third point reduces the issue of separatism in the eastern part of Indonesia, Papua. We can see this with the Indonesia-Australia security agreement, which is Indonesia's effort to prevent the separatist movement in the east of Indonesia. The Indonesia-Australia security agreement contains a cooperation framework that includes 21 cooperation in 10 areas of cooperation, namely cooperation in the fields of defence, law enforcement, terrorism eradication, intelligence, maritime cooperation, aviation safety and security, prevention of the expansion of weapons of mass destruction, disaster emergency response, collaboration with multilateral organisations and building public contact and mutual understanding on security issues. The implementation of the security cooperation includes capacity building, joint operations, intelligence and information sharing, and joint exercises, all of which can improve Indonesia's defence and security capabilities in responding to various emerging threats, including separatist movements and intra-state conflicts<sup>35</sup>.

Based on the five interests of Indonesia's defence diplomacy, which are related to the five FPDA countries, namely, Singapore, Malaysia, Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom, then if categorised in the three strata of Indonesia's

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<sup>35</sup> Fathoni Hakim, "Perjanjian Keamanan Indonesia - Australia Upaya Indonesia Untuk Mencegah Gerakan Separatisme Di Indonesia Timur" (n.d.).



national interests<sup>36</sup> under the description in the white paper, namely; the importance in reducing the issue of separatism, increasing the sense of trust or (CBM) to the five FPDA member countries, and increasing defence cooperation in the field of security maritime. Defence in maritime security is categorised as a priority interest because it concerns the survival of the Republic of Indonesia in the form of territorial integrity, national sovereignty, and the safety of the Indonesian nation.

The realisation of international cooperation both bilaterally and multilaterally to increase CBM can strengthen our identity and identity as an archipelagic country and maritime country, which refers to our foreign policy of being free and active, as well as overcoming common security issues through defence dialogue and strategic partnerships through friendly countries. Meanwhile, Indonesia's national interest is to change the views and perceptions of FPDA and maintain the centrality of ASEAN. This national interest is included in the category of supporters because these two interests seek to support world peace. It is explained in the defence doctrine book that the implementation of peace aims to create safe and harmonious relations by viewing other countries not as a threat and vice versa; other countries do not view Indonesia as a threat.

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<sup>36</sup> A Yani Antariksa, "Diplomasi Pertahanan Laut Indonesia Dalam Konteks Indonesian Naval Diplomacy In The Context Of Future Regional Geopolitical Downshift," *Jurnal Pertahanan* 4, no. 2 (2014): 1–24.

### C. EPILOG

Indonesia's maritime defense diplomacy strategy to the five FPDA member countries plays an important role in the relationship between Indonesia and the five FPDA member countries. With the priority objectives are building a sense of trust (CBM), maritime security and cooperation in the maritime sector for capabilities and the defense industry. This can be seen from the intensity of the implementation of activities which are dominated by state visits, dialogue and consultations, strategic information exchanges, declarations of strategic cooperation, officer exchanges, military education, good relations agreements, and joint exercises. In the implementation of maritime defense diplomacy practices in general, we can see that the focus of maritime diplomacy tends to be instruments in peacetime and there are almost no instruments of maritime defense policy in times of crisis, even ultimatums or wars.

From the results of this study, the four interests of Indonesia's maritime defense diplomacy to FPDA member countries (Singapore, Malaysia, Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom) can be proven by the following phenomena; 1) the results of the 10th FDMM (FPDA defence ministers meeting) after Indonesia fulfilled the invitation as an observer in 2016. Where this meeting is influential for Indonesia to build a sense of trust (CBM); 2) Cooperation in the field of maritime defense, we can

see this with the cooperation between the governments of Indonesia and Singapore to improve the quality of human resources in the field of maritime defense. Not only that, cooperation with Malaysia in facing the problem of human trafficking between the two countries' territorial borders. The diplomacy that has been carried out between Indonesia and Malaysia has a significant impact on the security and defense of their respective regions;

3) Reducing the issue of separatism that occurs in the eastern part of Indonesia. The Indonesia-Australia security agreement is Indonesia's effort to prevent the proliferation of separatist movements in eastern Indonesia. Where the importance of maritime defence diplomacy aims to maintain the centrality function of ASEAN, which leads to the fulfilment of regional stability in ASEAN member countries.

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