

Policy Implementation Indonesian Naval Diplomacy In Facing The Aukus Challenge To Realize Stability In The Indo-Pacific Region

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Citation: Lukman Yudho Prakoso, et al. (2024), Policy Implementation Indonesian Naval Diplomacy In Facing The Aukus Challenge To Realize Stability In The Indo-Pacific Region, *Educational Administration: Theory and Practice*, 30(3), 562-572, Doi: 10.53555/kuey.v30i3.1323

ARTICLE INFO

ABSTRACT

The stability of the Indo-Pacific Region has heated up again after the agreement AUKUS trilateral defense pact. Various reactions from several regional countries in responding to AUKUS. The purpose of this article is because of research that has been carried out to see how Indonesia implements naval diplomacy policies. The research method uses qualitative phenomenology with Van Matter and Van Horn's policy implementation theory. The research results show that there are supporting factors in the implementation of the Nalal Diplomacy policy and inhibiting factors. Supporting factors can be optimized with Naval Diplomacy which prioritizes the combined strength of ASEAN countries and simultaneously carries out Naval Diplomacy against parties with potential conflict. Inhibiting factors are eliminated together. The conclusion is that Indonesia has a great opportunity to implement naval diplomacy as a stabilizer in the Indo-Pacific region to prevent open conflict.

Keyword: Naval Diplomacy, Indo-Pacific, ASEAN, AUKUS

INTRODUCTION

After the geopolitical cold war, the Asia Pacific region experienced a quite sharp upward trend and was competitive with other developed countries. In the book *The Geographic Pivot of History* written by Sir Halford Mackinder, Eurasia, especially the interior of the continent, became the pivot region for world politics and power. So, the assumption that applies is that whoever has full control over Eastern Europe will have full control over the heartland. Whoever controls the heartland will have complete control over the Eurasian continent. Whoever has complete control over Eurasia will rule the world. The scope of the heartland includes the Baltic Sea, in the west the Black Sea and in the east the Yenisei River.

Various integration efforts through cooperation forums are a priority scale carried out by countries in the Asia Pacific Region which aim to encourage political and economic legitimacy in realizing the national interests of each country. From a strategic macro perspective, the future of the Asia Pacific is determined by the following factors: first, the balance of policy priority interests of China, Japan, the United States and Russia. Second, the Korean duo problem. Third, the regional energy factor that is considered will cause defense and security conflicts in Asia Pacific countries such as the South China Sea conflict.

One of the multilateral cooperation forums in this case is the formation of the AUKUS security pact which consists of trilateral cooperation between Australia, United Kingdom, United States which was formed on September 15, 2021, by US President Joe Biden, British Prime Minister Boris Johnson, and Australian Prime Minister namely Scott Morrison. The aim of forming the AUKUS alliance is an effort to strengthen military cooperation, increase stability in the Asia Pacific region and the tendency to resist Chinese hegemony and the escalation of the South China Sea conflict between China and ASEAN countries. The existence of AUKUS in the Asia Pacific Region has been responded to in different ways. Like Indonesia and Malaysia who are against AUKUS. Meanwhile, Vietnam and the Philippines take opposing stances regarding the South China Sea dispute (Prakoso, 2021).

China responded strongly to the formation of AUKUS because it had the potential to lead to unhealthy competition and an arms race. From a realism perspective, for the US and its allies, the AUKUS alliance is a form of manifestation of balancing power with other state entities and the formation of world power poles. The positive impact of the formation of AUKUS is the opportunity to strengthen defense and security in the South

China Sea dispute. However, the negative impact for ASEAN countries has resulted in increased conflict and competition for nuclear weapons such as nuclear submarines.

For Indonesia, the AUKUS alliance has violated the nuclear non-proliferation agreement (NPT) (CNN Indonesia, 2021). This attitude was demonstrated in the form of canceling Indonesia's meeting with the Australian Prime Minister after the announcement of the alliance. Australia has the potential to cross Indonesia's maritime borders and trigger a violation of the Southeast Asia nuclear weapon Free Zone (SEANWFZ). Indonesia and Australia have persistent security complex characteristics. In the last decade, this has triggered a tendency towards enmity or amity relationships. Indonesia, with its free and active foreign policy principles, assumes that there is no partiality and supports world peace. Indonesia has cooperation in the economic sector, while Indonesia's relationship with AUKUS is in the national interest in the defense sector. Indonesia can have a strategic role with the principle of free and active politics by implementing naval diplomacy policies.

Naval diplomacy provides support for state policies, especially during negotiations and national interactions. Booth (1977) also explained that naval diplomacy is an effort made to carry out the function of increasing prestige and a positive image as well as projecting fleet strength and deterrence effects. This concept of naval diplomacy has relevance to the concept of the Indonesian Navy in accordance with Law no. 34 of 2004. Ken Booth Navies and Foreign Policy states that the Navy has three roles (trinity of naval functions), namely military, police and diplomatic roles. The Indonesian Navy must be skilled at using its influence and strategic role to maintain and minimize conflict in the Asia Pacific Region.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Naval Diplomacy

Ken Booth explains the concept of naval diplomacy in a book entitled *Navies and Foreign Policy*. The trinity of Navy functions is military, police and diplomacy. This is described as follows:

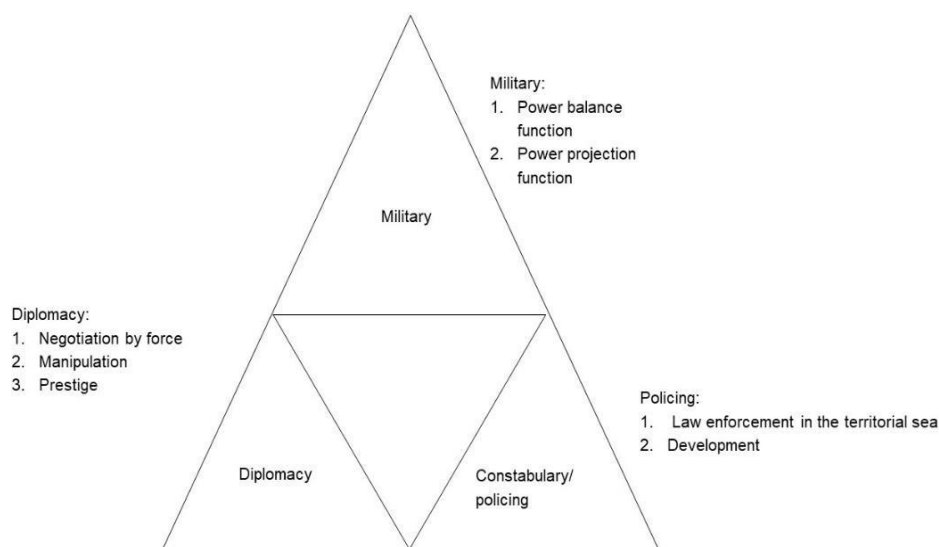


Figure 1. Trinity of Navy Functions Source: Booth, 1977, p. 16 (Reworked)

The function of diplomacy is carried out by reducing the use of military force in efforts related to foreign policy. In this case, the navy plays an active role in the negotiation process in international interactions. Apart from that, the navy can strengthen its bargaining position in facing proxy threats. Next is prestige, which means it is used to build the image, military credibility, and reputation of a country. Prestige will make the diplomatic process of a country easier because of its positive reputation in the eyes of the world. According to Ken Booth in Poespojoedho (2019), there are 6 (six) main aspects that can be analyzed to describe naval diplomacy, namely (1) power and influence, (2) influencers and influence, (3) assets and liabilities, (4) naval influence, (5) tactics, and (6) effects caused by naval diplomacy. Naval diplomacy is a strategy that can be used by a country to increase its influence in selecting cooperation offering options. This approach involves the navy as a supporting element or represents certain tasks given by the state to its navy (Booth, 2014). Following the views of Booth (2014) in Kharis, L. (2022), every navy in the world has three main roles which are referred to as the "Trinity of naval roles," namely the military role, the police role, and the diplomatic role.

Theory and Model of Public Policy Implementation Generation I (Top-Down)

The theory of the public policy implementation model used in this research is a top-down model, which means that the implementation is carried out by the government and the ranks below the government follow the implementation in accordance with established regulations. This implementation model has a prescriptive

approach in policy interpretation which is called input and its implementation as output. In this research, the approach that is relevant to the top-down model is the model by Donald Van Metter and Carl Van Horn or often called A Model of the Policy Implementation (1975). Implementation of this policy is based on political decisions, implementation and performance of public policies which are influenced by:

3. Measures and Policy Objectives.

Policy implementation must have realistic benchmarks and be in line with the socio-cultural scope that can be implemented at the implementing level.

4. Resource

Resources in this case depend on the good management process of aspects of national resources consisting of humans, nature, and information. On January 6, 2020, TNI headquarters established the TNI Maritime Information Center (Pusinfomar TNI) as the central implementing agency under the direct command of the TNI Commander. The task of the TNI Pusinfomar is to maintain and improve maritime security through communication, coordination and collaboration with operations centers and maritime information centers in Indonesia and at the international level. This aims to increase the stability of Indonesia's maritime security by utilizing integrated capabilities with information centers from other interested parties such as the TNI, Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs, Ministry of Transportation, KKP, BMKG, BNPB, Basarnas, etc., as well as information centers from other countries. (Harris A. L., 2021 in Shobirin, L.Y, 2023).

5. Characteristics of Implementing Agents

Implementing agents as referred to are formal and informal organizations according to their characteristics in implementing policies, for example ministries and related institutions.

6. Attitudes/Tendencies (Disposition) of implementers.

Attitudes are shown in the form of acceptance and rejection from policy implementers. The implementer has a very important role, so that the attitude or disposition of the implementing agent is a dominating factor in implementing the policy.

7. Interorganizational Communication and Implementation Activities.

Communication between organizations and implementers is manifested in the form of coordination. Good coordination will produce good output in implementing a policy.

8. Economic, Social and Political Environment.

The economic, social, and political environment as a driving factor in the success of policy implementation. Therefore, a conducive environment is needed so that all forms of causes and obstacles can minimize the risk of failure.

METHOD

The method used is a qualitative phenomenological approach. According to Alase (2017) phenomenology is a qualitative methodology that allows researchers to apply their subjectivity and interpersonal skills in the exploratory research process. Data collection from this research was obtained by observation and interviews, including using in-depth interviews. This in-depth interview is used to obtain details about the phenomenon under study. This type of interview also aims to get "something" from what is not yet visible. The data obtained from this in-depth interview was then analyzed using the DAPA (Data Analysis Procedure by Application) tool, namely tree analysis for defense investment priorities in the form of implementing naval diplomacy policies.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The sea is very important for human life. The sea functions as a transportation, information, and trade route. The vast function of the sea makes it an element that has an important role in building international cooperation as well as being a source of international disputes. Three quarters of the world's population live in coastal areas (Dipua, L.Y, 2020). Indonesia is experiencing significant regional growth in its development. Initially, Indonesia's territorial boundaries were determined by the Territoriale Zee en Maritieme Kringen Ordonantie (TZMKO) 19394 which stipulated that Indonesian seas were only 3 nautical miles wide from land. However, as the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) progressed, the Government struggled to realize the concept of Archipelago Insight. This concept was first drafted in the Djuanda Declaration on December 13, 1957, and then confirmed in Law No.4/prp of 1960 concerning Indonesian Waters. The law aims to combine the Indonesian islands into one geographical and maritime unit owned by Indonesia. This is done by drawing a straight baseline connecting the outermost points of Indonesia's outer islands (Hermawan, L.Y, 2020). As a country that plays an important role in the region, Indonesia needs to have military strength that is comparable and balanced with other countries. When economic conditions have recovered and stabilized,

the Indonesian people should pay more attention to the needs and strengthen the main weapons system (alutsista) they have. With the increase in the number and technology of defense equipment, it will create a deterrent or deterrent effect for surrounding countries (Listiyono, L.Y, 2019).

Policy Standards and Targets/Policy Measures and Objectives

The target of the naval diplomacy policy carried out by the TNI AL is to establish defense cooperation with Indo-Pacific countries by means of meetings with actors who have the highest authority of the TNI AL, Navy To Navy Talks (NTNT), information sharing, increasing maritime security, education, field cooperation military and joint exercises and port visit activities. This strategic target is carried out to maintain the stability of the Indo-Pacific Region due to the formation of the AUKUS alliance and to prevent potential threats of regional instability. The targets of this policy are in accordance with Law No. 34 of 2004 in article 9C regarding the discussion of the role of the Indonesian Navy in carrying out diplomatic functions to support government policies relating to foreign cooperation relations. Even though this law has been implemented through the legitimacy of the law, at the operational level the implementation of TNI AL policies still does not have implementation instructions (juklak) as standard operating procedures (SOP). Moreover, the diplomatic function carried out by the Indonesian Navy is related to ministries and institutions. SOPs and standard implementation instructions become a priority scale in policy targets.

Resource

In facing the explicitly visible hegemony of China and the US, Indonesia has various resources that have been managed well, including the following:

Human Resources

Human resources are an important asset in an institution in determining and implementing public policies (Siagian, 2008). HR problems that cause institutional failure are the quality of human resources, attitudes, and mindset. Thus, individual competence and performance will influence the institution. Human resources are potential personnel in efforts to develop the defense industry with elements of expertise, competence, intellectual property, and information in accordance with the specified professional code of ethics. In policy implementation, information has two forms. First, information about how policies should be implemented. Second, information regarding compliance with government regulations that have been determined by policy implementers. The existence of AUKUS in the Indo-Pacific Region requires the provision of human resources in the form of recruitment, military education, training, and others (Prakoso, 2021).

As is known, the AUKUS alliance prioritizes improving Australia's maritime security and nuclear-powered submarines where the funding comes from the UK with \$6 billion which will be invested over the next 2 years. The construction of this nuclear submarine will be equipped with conventional weapons according to designs from the UK and technological support from the US which will be made at the shipyard in Barrow-in-Furness in northwestern England which is predicted to be completed in 2030. This technology development is being carried out by the AUKUS alliance can be an opportunity and a challenge for Indonesia. There is a great opportunity to establish cooperation in the military sector as written in Australia's defense white paper which lists Indonesia as one of the countries invited to cooperate for its national interests. Indonesian human resources can improve defense technology, design, and other military education capabilities. However, Indonesia must also prepare for the challenges it will face in the future by managing visionary human resources through creativity, reliability, high intelligence, and competitiveness. Moreover, the relationship between Indonesia and Australia always experiences ups and downs in terms of amity and enmity tendencies.

In the era of President Joko Widodo's leadership, Indonesia's defense priority scale was to fulfill the defense posture in accordance with the MEF with the target of 2024 having been fulfilled properly. This modernization is US\$ 7.74 billion for 3 dimensions, namely land, sea, and air in 2019. The budget distribution is as follows: TNI-AD amounting to US\$ 1.51 billion, TNI-AL amounting to US\$ 3.27 billion and TNI-AU amounting to US\$ 2.85 billion (Jakarta Greater 2016). Meanwhile, in 2021, the TNI AD was given a budget of IDR 2.65 trillion, the TNI AL IDR 3.75 trillion, and the TNI AU a budget of IDR 1.19 trillion (Ministry of Defense, 2021). The Indonesian Navy's budget itself is not enough. The government must be able to provide proportional support for the success of diplomacy carried out by the Navy. Coordination, communication and cooperation between relevant Ministries and Institutions is mandatory for the success of the Indonesian Navy in carrying out the country's diplomatic role (Dipua, L.Y, 2021). The budget can support the implementation of the goals, objectives and content of policies related to national defense in facing threats, however the budget support is inadequate and the amount is minimal, its use is optimal in carrying out the main tasks and responsibilities according to the respective areas of duty of the implementer (Prakoso, 2021). From this budget, it shows that the Indonesian Navy's defense equipment budget is larger than others to support the nation's national interests in defense and deterrence strategies in the international domain. In 2021, Global Fire Power data leaves no doubt about Indonesia's military strength. This is proven by Indonesia which is in 15th position. For the Indonesian Navy, it is in 10th position in the world, first in the Southeast Asia region and third in the Asia

Pacific region after North Korea and China. This military power is used to resolve conflicts in the South China Sea through diplomacy.

UU no. 34 of 2004 article 9, the TNI AL has duties in maritime dimensions, law enforcement, diplomacy, construction, and development as well as empowering maritime areas as best as possible. The lack of optimal resources for the Navy's army and its skills development means that efforts are needed through defense cooperation to improve the Navy's skills in the field of mastering technology. This is because defense equipment is currently equipped with artificial intelligence, cyber capabilities, and quantum computing, for example with nuclear submarines (Tom Corben, Ashley Townshend, Susannah Patton, 2022). In fact, Australia is developing Sovereign Guided Weapons and Explosive Ordnance Enterprise, and the US is developing Unmanned Underwater Vehicles as a step to carry out espionage (Prime Minister of Australia's Office, 2021).

Natural resources

According to the head of the Maritime Security Agency (Bakamla), the formation of the AUKUS alliance has triggered an increasing escalation of conflict in the South China Sea. China is increasingly showing its massive aggressiveness by escorting fishing boats along with coast guards and establishing traditional fishing areas. This has an impact on the international relations of countries involved in SCS conflicts and increases contestation at sea, leading to the potential for war and horizontal conflict between people. The concept of safety at sea describes the protection of ships and marine installations with the primary aim of protecting professionals and the marine environment. Maritime security is also related to progress in the economy, which involves the important role of the sea in trade and fisheries. (Prasetyo, L.Y, 2020)

Indonesia is in a strategic position both geopolitically and geoeconomically. Indonesia is located on world shipping lanes. Indonesia acts as a Sea Line of Communication or SLOC in international ship shipping. Strategic position between the continents of Asia and Australia, the Indian and Pacific Oceans (TNI Navy Hydrographic and Oceanographic Center, 2017). The length of the coastline is 108,000 kilometers, ranking second in the world and efforts to optimize sea power. The potential that Indonesia has in the fields of marine biotechnology industry, deep ocean water, marine minerals and improving the maritime industry. Indonesia's marine and fisheries sector can be utilized for community welfare and national defense (Ministry of Fisheries and Maritime Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2017).

Indonesia also has a forest area of 99 million hectares and is declared the third largest forest in the world. However, forest destruction occurs from year to year. In 2019 and 2020 the level of forest destruction reached 11%. In 2021 the level of forest destruction will reach 12%. As a maritime country, the natural wealth stored in Indonesia's seas is very abundant, starting from marine biota and fish which reaches 6 million tons per year. Even in 2009, Indonesia was ranked fourth in terms of potential marine wealth in the world. Apart from that, Indonesia's seas store various types of petroleum and natural gas around 2.8 trillion cubic meters. Even with its abundant natural gas reserves, Indonesia exports to several countries in the Asia-Pacific region, China, and the US. In implementing the Indonesian government's policies in the maritime sector, it is necessary to pay attention to the consequences of maritime security which still require searching for weak points, but we must not forget the importance of land and air areas as strategic resources that can be utilized to become a unity (Listiyono, L.Y, 2019).

Military Power

The existence of the AUKUS Alliance raises potential opportunities and challenges for Indonesia regarding the nine-dash line and EEZ conflicts which also involve China's unilateral claim to the North Natuna Sea. With this claim and the existence of the AUKUS alliance, Indonesia is strengthening its military strength to build several infrastructures as a deterrent effect and to shape a positive image of Indonesia in the eyes of the world. Military bases have a crucial function as the main front line of defense against conventional threats, a place to facilitate monitoring and mobilization processes in border areas. Maritime bases have an important role as places for developing sea power in operational areas or "deployment troop positions", and as "Main Bases" which have 5-

R criteria, namely: est, Refresh, Refuel, Repair and Replenishment (Prakoso, 2021).

Logistical supplies for military needs at military bases such as fuel, food and others are met from public ports built around the border area. Thus, systematic logistics operations are needed to regulate the availability of materials needed to maintain the resilience or sustainability of troops on the battlefield. From the perspective of sea power and defense equipment currently owned by the Indonesian Navy, Indonesia has bargaining power regarding the existence of the AUKUS alliance. The Indonesian Navy has carried out its diplomatic function through prestige and manipulation which has created a good reputation in the maritime sector. The deployment of the Indonesian Navy's strength in the use of defense equipment instruments such as warships and others in conflict negotiation efforts can increase the country's credibility and reputation in choosing cooperation options. This model of diplomacy has shown the military strength of the Indonesian Navy to be a supporting factor or strength that represents certain tasks given by the state to the navy (Booth 2014). This represents that the Indonesian Navy has demonstrated the deployment of force in a humane and peacekeeping manner. Indonesia's 2014 joint exercise, Latma Komodo in Batam, with ASEAN countries and others was a form of uniting national interests in the form of maintaining regional stability (TNI, 2014).

Based on the 2014 Indonesian defense white paper (BPPI), Indonesia has a layered defense strategy with defense priorities in line with deterrence or deterrence effect. In conditions where the country is not at war or in times of peace, the deterrence effect creates a strong country through the concept of reliability to prevent conflict and war between countries. The deterrence effect carried out by Indonesia in facing the existence of the AUKUS alliance was the construction of a military base in the North Natuna Sea in 2018 as a conflict area involving Indonesia. Apart from that, Indonesia has several TNI-AL Main Bases, which consist of 63 TNI-AL bases and posts and are an integral part of the 3 TNI-AL Fleet units on duty. To increase the deterrence effect of the multi-layered defense strategy, currently Indonesia has built 3 Indonesian Navy Military Bases, namely a Class A Main Base and Submarine Base located in the Natuna Islands, and a Class C Base in Kulonprogo, Special Region of Yogyakarta.

Based on Law No. 3 of 2002 concerning national defense, this geographical location is the basic formulation in determining a layered defense strategy. Understanding this, the deployment of the Indonesian Navy as the front guard to prevent attacks from other countries entering through maritime routes. The Indonesian Navy carries out a preemptive function before the enemy enters the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) (Ministry of Defense, 2014). The first layer of marine dimensions is under the responsibility of the Indonesian Navy as the outermost position in guarding the extensive coastline. The transition between TNI forces is carried out on the coast, so that all forces, both sea, land, and air, must provide mutual support for maritime security aspects. However, unfortunately infrastructure such as port characteristics do not yet meet quality and quantity standards to fulfill defense mobilization, distribute logistics properly and so on. So, it is necessary to develop adequate infrastructure to support naval diplomacy carried out by the Indonesian Navy. Based on data from the Ministry of Transportation (2019), port construction has reached 32 ports with the construction target reaching 80% in West Kalimantan, Bangka Belitung, West Java, East Nusa Tenggara, Bali, South Sulawesi. To support mobilization, connectivity ports have been built in 2022 such as Tua Pejat Port, Bahaur Port, Pantoloan Port, Tanjung Silopo Port, Atapupu Port, Bunyu Port, Wanci Port, Boepinang Port, Likupang Port, Sarimi Port, Moor Port, Bula Port, Port Tual, and Seba Harbor with varying physical realization.

Characteristics of the Implementing Organization

An institution has a good reputation and image if it has strong characteristics to achieve a nation's national goals and interests (Borman, et al., 2003:2). Institutions will rely on the attributes and behaviors of fundamental characters that transcend ideological and cultural boundaries. The strength of HR character can increase the competitive advantage of an institution (Sarros, et al., 2005:2).

The Indonesian National Army Navy or often called the TNI AL was formed on September 10 1945 under the name the People's Security Agency (BKR) Marine and was formed by veteran sailors who had served in the ranks of the Koninklijke Marine or Royal Dutch Navy and Kaigun (Imperial Japanese Navy). However, the BKR was disbanded in 1949 and changed to the People's Security Army (TKR), then the sea TKR changed its name to the Republic of Indonesia Navy (ALRI). For 10 years (1949-1959), the ALRI began to increase its capabilities and strength with the formation of a fleet, marine corps (Navy Command Corps/KKO AL) and Maritime Regional Command as regional defense. The Indonesian Navy has 3 forces in the form of Fleet Command (Koarmada) I located in Central Jakarta, Koarmada II located in Surabaya and Koarmada III located in Sorong. Supported by the Military Seaborne Command (Kolinlamil), the Naval Hydro Oceanographic Center (Pushidrosal), and the Marine Corps. The characteristics of TNI institutions, especially the Navy, are manifested in the form of the Jalesveva Jayamahe doctrine, which means our glory is at sea. The spirit and soul of the TNI AL's doctrine is Eka Sasana Jaya, which means One teaching that will lead to Navy superiority on the battlefield. This doctrine is a representation and characteristic of the Indonesian Navy which has a central role in implementing naval diplomacy in facing the AUKUS alliance.

To strengthen the characteristics of the Indonesian Navy, a defense posture is needed that is based on the Minimum Essential Force. The government, through the Ministry of Defense, must increase the mobility of the Indonesian Navy to carry out its main tasks and naval diplomacy by strengthening the maritime defense equipment of striking forces, both units at the central level and units at regional levels, as well as preparing standby forces, especially for handling natural disasters and world peace mission tasks, including maritime diplomacy. In the Navy, the use of their forces in peace and war situations to support diplomacy is common. Because of this, there are known terms such as gunboat diplomacy (warship diplomacy) and then the term naval diplomacy (navy diplomacy) also emerged (Prakoso, 2022).

The current problem is that the TNI AL's posture has only reached the target of 68.72% of the MEF. This percentage still cannot optimize naval diplomacy to maximize potential and protect maritime assets for civilians and the military (Presidential Decree, 2017). The TNI AL's naval diplomacy lacks defense equipment and human resources as well as a lack of synergy with other maritime stakeholders so that the implementation of naval diplomacy is not optimal.

The current conditions are not yet optimal, the Indonesian National Army (TNI), which is a military institution, of course also hopes that its members will be able to contribute to the success of the institution. For this reason, we need leaders who can man the TNI well. Military doctrine has long stated that character and values are critical for successful military leaders (Matthews, et al., 2006:58). However, the fact is that doctrine and codes

of ethics do not make TNI personnel show good character. Several violations occurred against Indonesian Navy personnel in 2012 which were carried out by 105 members during law enforcement operations. This violation shows that the character is still weak. The implication of this problem is the weak institutional characteristics of the Indonesian Navy. So, leaders are needed who are examples and role models in efforts to build character and strengthen character (Syahnakri, 2009).

Attitude of Implementers

Indonesia is defensive about the existence of the AUKUS alliance to prevent the division of the ASEAN camp with the national interests of each member country. To ensure the implementation of Indonesia's defensive stance and realize Indonesia's foreign policy interests, the TNI AL with Law No. 34 of 2004 carries out diplomatic, police and military functions. In this case it can be said that the Indonesian Navy is the leading sector in implementing naval diplomacy. The role of the TNI AL in carrying out functional diplomatic activities must be optimized by means of the TNI AL having superior character, institutional characteristics, operational capabilities and improving defense technology (Marsetio 2014).

As previously explained, the factors inhibiting the implementation of naval diplomacy are the limited quantity and quality of Indonesian Navy personnel and the minimal amount of defense technology and maritime equipment. The development of military technology has realized market segmentation in the expansion of products and producers of this technology in each country. Cooperation becomes broader with all the consequences in international relations (Prakoso, 2022). The implication of this problem is that superior operational capabilities are not yet optimal. Stakeholders in the maritime sector consist of 13 maritime institutions with their respective legal bases, rules, duties, and authorities. The attitude of every maritime institution supports the Indonesian Navy in carrying out naval diplomacy. However, the limitations and lack of optimal coordination and cooperation between each institution require synergy to achieve national interests and optimize naval diplomacy in maintaining world peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific Region.

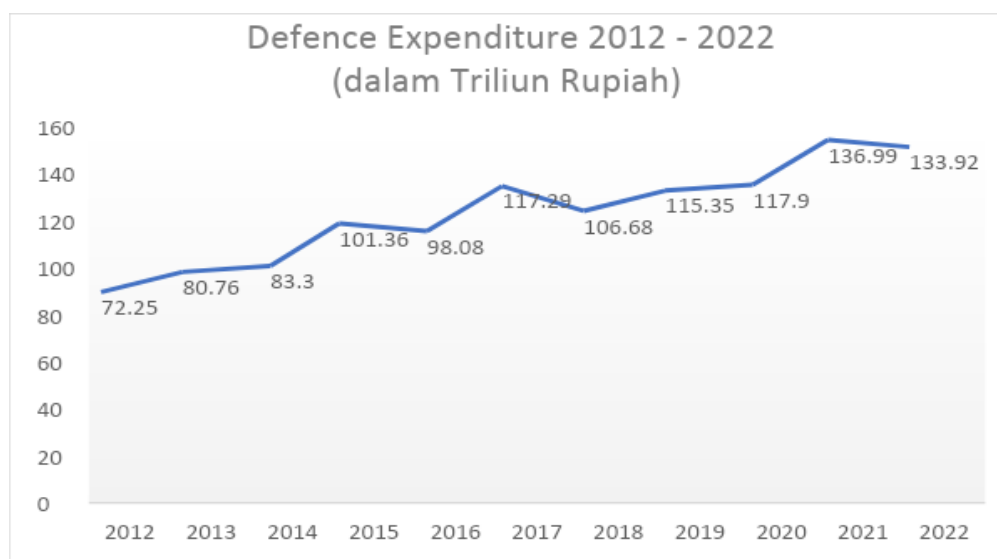
Relevant Interorganizational Communications and Implementation Activities

The stakeholders involved in the maritime sector are 13 maritime institutions. Various inhibiting factors in the implementation of naval diplomacy, such as limited defense equipment, human resources, and infrastructure, really require synergy to overcome existing problems. Apart from that, strengthening cross-agency coordination is the first step in efforts to encourage the performance of the Indonesian Navy as a leading sector in implementing naval diplomacy. These efforts and hopes can be achieved with communication and coordination from maritime stakeholders to hold regular cross-agency forums involving various government elements to establish harmonious interactions to resolve sectoral ego problems. To be able to implement two-way interaction, each stakeholder must clearly understand their obligations, functions, and roles in accordance with the established rules. The coordination and cooperation mechanisms expected in involving 13 maritime agencies in countering the impacts and potential threats arising from the formation of the AUKUS alliance can be explained as follows:

1. The TNI AL carries out coordination and cooperation with the Ministry of Defense to support the acceleration of defense equipment procurement to meet the TNI AL's defense equipment needs in supporting TNI AL diplomacy, to support maritime diplomacy and government maritime policies in the context of realizing Indonesia as the World Maritime Axis.
2. The TNI AL carries out coordination and cooperation with the domestic defense industry to support the acceleration of defense equipment procurement to meet the TNI AL's defense equipment needs in supporting TNI AL diplomacy, to support maritime diplomacy and the government's maritime policy in the context of realizing Indonesia as the World Maritime Axis.

Social, Economic and Political Environment

From an economic perspective, the State Expenditure Budget (APBN), Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and economic growth have a significant impact on naval diplomacy. As is known, in the last decade the APBN experienced a deficit and the largest deficit occurred in 2021 amounting to -5.7% and in 2022 amounting to -4.85%. Apart from that, it is known that the largest APBN in 2020 was 2,233 trillion and the highest state spending started from 2020 which reached 2,540 trillion rupiah, in 2021 it reached 2,750 trillion rupiah and in 2022 it amounted to 2,714 trillion rupiah. there was a decline in national economic growth to -2.07 in 2020 when the COVID-19 pandemic was in the emergency phase. In 2021, Indonesia managed to recover with an economic growth rate of 3.69% and in 2022 this figure will almost match the economic growth in 2013 of 5.31%. Meanwhile, the rate of Gross Domestic Product under normal conditions is at the level of 4-5%, and experienced a decline of -5.32 during COVID-19.



Graph 1 Defense Budget 2012 – 2022

Source: Ministry of Defense, 2023

Based on graph 1, it is known that the defense budget will increase in 2021 by 16.19% from 2020 and in 2022 it will decrease by 2.2% from 2021. Throughout the last decade, the defense budget has been in the COVID-19 emergency situation. In 2020 there was a significant increase after the COVID-19 pandemic. Based on data from the Ministry of Finance, the realization of Indonesia's defense budget was IDR 136.87 trillion in 2020. This figure increased 18.66% compared to the previous year which was only IDR 115.35 trillion. The Ministry of Defense recorded a budget realization of IDR 34.62 trillion or 25.3% of the total defense budget realization last year. Then, the Headquarters (Mabes) of the Indonesian National Army (TNI) reported budget realization of IDR 10.37 trillion or 7.58%. Furthermore, Army Headquarters (AD) recorded a budget realization of IDR 56.85 trillion or 41.54% of last year's total budget realization. This realization is the largest compared to other budget realizations. After that, the Indonesian Navy (AL) showed a budget realization of IDR 19.78 trillion (14.43%) and the Indonesian Air Force (AU) Headquarters recorded a budget realization of IDR 15.24 trillion (11.13%).

According to the type of expenditure, the largest defense budget is for personnel expenditure, reaching IDR 48.69 trillion or 35.37% of the total 2020 budget. The next largest budget is for capital expenditure worth IDR 44.91 trillion or 32.82% and for goods spending IDR 43.28 trillion or 31.62%. The value of Ministry of Defense equipment and machinery increased IDR 10.88 trillion (9.3%) to IDR 127.7 trillion in 2020 compared to IDR 2019 worth IDR 116.82 trillion. In the 2022 Draft State Revenue and Expenditure Budget, the government allocated IDR 134.08 trillion for the defense budget. This figure increased by 11.6% *outlook* 2021 amounting to IDR 120.16 trillion.

The use of the defense budget in dealing with non-military threats is directed at state defense policy within the scope of managing the development and development of Human Resources (HR) for TNI soldiers. Therefore, defense resource development programs as well as soldier professionalism and welfare programs are the focus of budget absorption to face the threat of the COVID-19 pandemic. In addition to the above programs, integrated and sustainable fulfillment of the minimum essential force (MEF) is deemed capable of supporting defense interests. Strong defense is built on the quality of highly competent, professional human resources supported by the main tools of modern weapons systems to achieve deterrence standards. This is different from non-military defense which is built and developed to achieve national resilience standards in the multidimensional field.

On the other hand, the defense budget starting from the 2012 fiscal year shows a significant increase from previous years. In previous years, the growth of the defense budget could be said to be artificial because it did not reflect a significant increase/growth in the ratio of the portion of the defense budget to total GDP. This means that the proportion of defense budget growth in ratio to GDP has not changed much when compared to the total value of GDP which has also experienced growth from year to year. On the one hand, Indonesia's GDP from year-to-year experiences normal growth in the range of 5%-5.5%, while the defense sector budget ratio is still in the range of 0.85%-0.90% of GDP, so acceleration efforts are needed (acceleration) which accommodates the growth of the defense sector budget so that it can achieve the target ratio of 1.5% of GDP. This lack of optimal defense budget could have an impact on strengthening the defense posture of the Indonesian Navy's defense equipment in implementing naval diplomacy.

Naval diplomacy carried out by the TNI AL still has limitations in defense equipment, human resources, lack of stakeholder synergy which has implications for government policy if supporting defense equipment is not fulfilled so that government policy is less than optimal in naval diplomacy, the HR of the TNI AL which carries out naval diplomacy is not optimal so that government policy in naval diplomacy is not optimal, coordination

and synergy of maritime stakeholders in the implementation of naval diplomacy was not realized so that government policies were not achieved properly. Another big implication is that if government policy in implementing naval diplomacy is not supported by less-than-optimal naval diplomacy then Indonesia will not be able to maintain the stability of the Indo-Pacific Region.

Several inhibiting and supporting factors in the implementation of the naval diplomacy policy, process hierarchy (tree analysis) to determine the Government's priority scale in determining maritime policy in accordance with the criteria for the number of competent human resources, program time and costs required. With the current defense budget used divided by 3 for personnel expenditure 35.37%, capital expenditure 32.82% and goods expenditure 31.62%, the investment cost is 35%, the program period is 35% and the number of human resources with high competence is 30 % with the following uncertainty decision model:

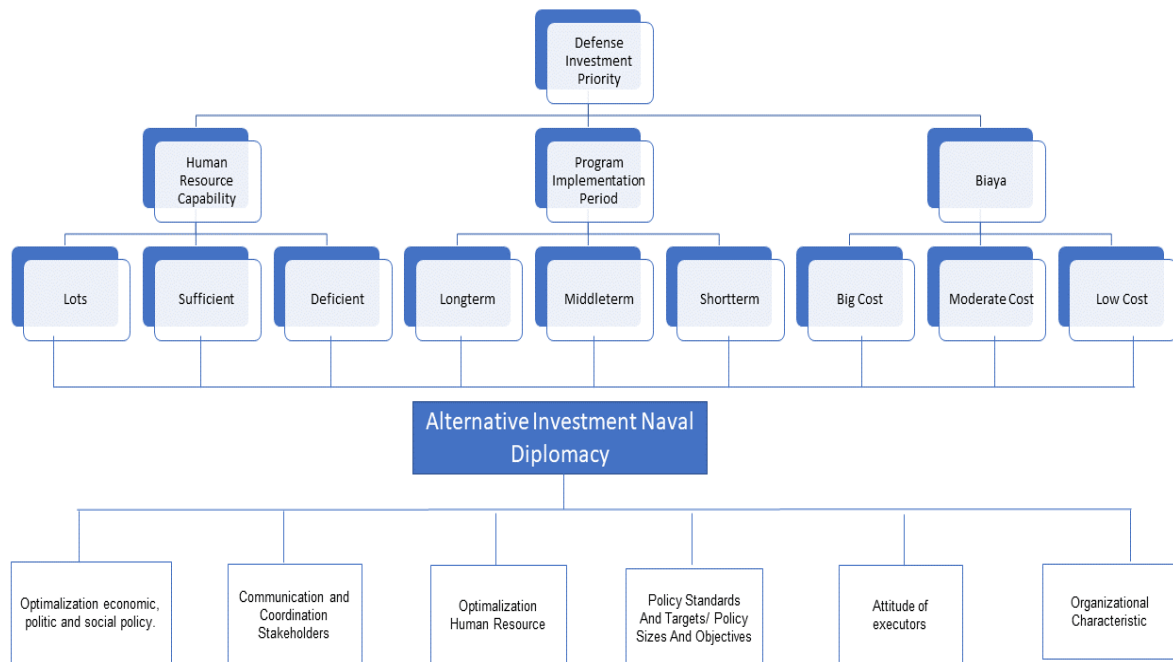


Figure 1 Tree Analysis

Source: Data processed by researchers, 2023

From the tree analysis, strategies whose implementation has low investment costs in accordance with the defense budget for goods or capital expenditures, competent human resources are available in large numbers and long/sustainable program terms are as follows:

1. Optimizing economic, political, and social policies with the following strategies:
Defense budget allocation for priority procurement of Indonesian Navy defense equipment.
2. Improving coordination and communication with maritime stakeholders in the following ways:
 - a. Strengthening the synergy of maritime stakeholders and the Indonesian Navy to optimize naval diplomacy through communication, coordination, FGD, information sharing, clear legislative legitimacy.
 - b. Procurement of defense equipment to strengthen the Indonesian Navy by planning bottom-up operational requirements which are prepared based on operational needs and considerations to support maritime diplomacy and maritime policy as well as the deterrence effect through the Indonesian Navy's warship plans.
 - c. Defense Industry Development
 - d. Strengthening the maritime defense system with defense technology and communications and communications units (satkomlek).
 - e. Development of marine infrastructure to facilitate the mobility of the Indonesian Navy, such as ports, considering natural resource conditions and the length of the Indonesian coastline.
 - f. Increased security of border areas and outermost small islands (PPKT).
3. Optimize existing resources such as human resources, military strength, and natural resources in the following ways:
Increasing the competency of Indonesian Navy human resources through training, recruitment, education, and joint exercises with countries in the Asia Pacific region.
4. Policy Standards and Targets/Policy Measures and Objectives.
5. Build and direct the attitude of the executors to be better.
6. Strengthening the characteristics of implementing organizations.

Closing

In policy implementation Indonesian naval diplomacy in facing the challenges of aukus to realize stability in the Indo-Pacific region through tree analysis using (1) The target of the naval diplomacy policy carried out by the TNI AL is to establish defense cooperation with Indo-Pacific countries by means of meetings with actors who have the highest authority of the TNI AL, Navy To Navy Talks (NTNT), information sharing, increasing maritime security, education, field cooperation military and joint exercises and port visit activities, (2) resources consisting of natural resources, human resources and military strength, (3) characteristics of the implementing organization. In an effort to strengthen the characteristics of the Indonesian Navy, a defense posture is needed that is based on the Minimum Essential Force. The government, through the Ministry of Defense, must increase the mobility of the Indonesian Navy to carry out its main tasks and naval diplomacy by strengthening the maritime defense equipment of striking forces, both units at the central level and units at regional levels, as well as preparing standby forces, especially for handling natural disasters and tasks of world peace missions, including maritime diplomacy, (4) Attitude of implementers. The inhibiting factors in implementing naval diplomacy are the limited quantity and quality of Indonesian Navy personnel and the minimal amount of defense technology and maritime equipment. The implication of this problem is that superior operational capabilities are not yet optimal. Stakeholders in the maritime sector consist of 13 maritime institutions with their respective legal bases, rules, duties, and authorities, (5) Communication between related organizations and implementation activities. The TNI AL carries out coordination and cooperation with the Ministry of Defense to support the acceleration of defense equipment procurement to meet the TNI AL's defense equipment needs in supporting TNI AL diplomacy, to support maritime diplomacy and government maritime policy in the context of realizing Indonesia as the World Maritime Axis, (6) Social, Economic Environment and Politics. Naval diplomacy carried out by the TNI AL still has limitations in defense equipment, human resources, lack of stakeholder synergy which has implications for government policy if supporting defense equipment is not fulfilled so that government policy is less than optimal in naval diplomacy, the HR of the TNI AL which carries out naval diplomacy is not optimal so that government policy in naval diplomacy is not optimal, coordination and synergy of maritime stakeholders in the implementation of naval diplomacy was not realized so that government policies were not achieved properly.

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