



Jurnal Pertahanan

Media Informasi tentang Kajian dan Strategi Pertahanan yang Mengedepankan *Identity*, *Nationalism* dan *Integrity*
e-ISSN: 2549-9459

<http://jurnal.idu.ac.id/index.php/DefenseJournal>



THE UTILIZATION OF MILITARY POWER IN FOREIGN POLICY: A CASE STUDY OF THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AS A DIALOGUE PARTNER FOR ASEAN

Kurniawan Firmuzi Syarifuddin

Republic of Indonesia Defense University
IPSC Area, Sentul, Sukahati, Citeureup, Bogor, West Java, Indonesia 16810
kurniawansyarifuddin@gmail.com

Anak Agung Banyu Perwita

Republic of Indonesia Defense University
IPSC Area, Sentul, Sukahati, Citeureup, Bogor, West Java, Indonesia 16810
banyu.perwita@idu.ac.id

Munif Prasajo

Republic of Indonesia Defense University
IPSC Area, Sentul, Sukahati, Citeureup, Bogor, West Java, Indonesia 16810
850159@gmail.com

Article Info

Article history:

Received : August 18, 2021
Revised : January 27, 2022
Accepted : April 29, 2022

Keywords:

ASEAN,
Foreign Policy,
Integrated Review,
Military,
United Kingdom

Abstract

The acceptance of the United Kingdom as a new ASEAN dialogue partner ended the 22-year moratorium and stepped over several other countries. Becoming an ASEAN dialogue partner is one of the focuses of the United Kingdom's attention after leaving the European Union. To secure its national interests, the United Kingdom also restructured its defense strategy, which combined security, development, and foreign policy strategies in the Integrated Reviews. One of the military maneuvers carried out is 'tilt' to the Indo-Pacific Region as one of the new strategies. This article examines whether the United Kingdom military can play a crucial role in preparing a country's foreign policy regarding the acceptance of the United Kingdom as an ASEAN dialogue partner. A qualitative descriptive method has been chosen to complete the research through a case study approach. The study results that the various military deployment efforts carried out by the United Kingdom ultimately led to acceptance as an ASEAN dialogue partner. However, the research found that various supporting foreign policy factors must be comprehensively and interrelated to obtain an optimal foreign policy.

DOI:

<http://dx.doi.org/10.33172/jp.v8i1.1335>

© 2022 Published by Indonesia Defense University

INTRODUCTION

August 5, 2021, is a historic date for the United Kingdom (referred to as the U.K.) and ASEAN when an event officially announced the dialogue partner of the U.K. (CNN Indonesia, 2021). The 54th meeting of ASEAN Foreign Ministers (AMM), which was held virtually on August 2, 2021, finally agreed on the acceptance of the U.K. as the 11th ASEAN dialogue partner after the acceptance process underwent a 22-year moratorium because ASEAN would like to intensify and concentrated into the existing partners. This status cannot be separated from the Brexit event, when on February 1, 2020, the U.K. officially left the European Union after a long process of negotiations for three years (Storey, 2019). Previously part of the European Union, the U.K. must apply independently in April 2021 to become an ASEAN dialogue partner. The Status makes the U.K. the only country in western Europe with this Status besides the European Union, bypassing several countries that are still waiting to get the same Status, such as Brazil and Pakistan (Parker, 2021).

This confirmation does not take long after releasing the U.K. government's security, defense, development, and foreign white paper in March 2021, better known as The Integrated Review (Cabinet Office, 2021). After Brexit, one of the focuses of the U.K.'s attention, which stated that it would realize "Global Britain" by playing a more significant role on a global scale, was to turn more attention to Southeast Asia (Haacke, 2021). The area for the U.K. is considered a region with a very high level of economic growth, an essential geopolitical environment, and an influence on a long history in common (Kliem, 2021). The Status as an ASEAN dialogue partner is the starting point for U.K.'s more intense involvement in various strategic meetings through The East Asian Summit and involvement in the ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) Plus defense cooperation forum (Darmawan, n.d.).

The U.K.'s acceptance as an ASEAN dialogue partner is also in a relatively short period with the presence of its newest aircraft carrier, HMS Queen Elizabeth II. She traveled to the Indo-Pacific and South China Sea as part of the Carrier Strike Group, formed after the Integrated Review. The task force is joining the United States fleet and its allies in carrying out the Freedom of Navigation Operation (FONOPS) in the South China Sea to challenge the rejected China's Nine-Dash Line (NDL). The tour also carries out joint training activities with allied countries along the way (Xuanzun, 2021). In recent years, the U.K. has also sought to reactivate the Five Power Defense Arrangements (FPDA), a defense alliance established in 1971, which at the Minister of Defense meeting in June 2021 agreed to strengthen cooperation in conventional military exercises (The Sun Daily, 2021). FPDA is not the only entry point for the U.K. military to play a role in Southeast Asia, but they also maintain several military bases in Brunei Darussalam and Singapore. Meanwhile, the U.K.'s desire to join ADMM Plus is still waiting for further decisions from the ASEAN Defense Ministers.

Foreign policy is an effort to realize the country's national interest, utilizing all the elements of its power, including its military (Bojang, 2018). The military is also one of the instruments that can be used to make this happen, in addition to information, diplomacy, and economics (Farlin, 2014). The instruments align with the U.K.'s latest white paper, which combines all of these instruments into a comprehensive unit in the Integrated review. The military's role is to realize the national interest to take a more decisive role in the global sphere after Brexit. One of the national interests as a manifestation of the Global Britain slogan is to turn attention to the Southeast Asian region (Brooke-Holland, 2021). So this is what further analysis is carried out, especially about how the U.K. military power takes a crucial role in the applied

foreign policy? Especially when trying to play an essential role in the Indo-Pacific region.

METHODS

This study uses descriptive qualitative research methods to find the process and meaning of the data obtained, presented clearly and in-depth (Sugiyono, 2014). In this case, the researcher seeks to analyze how a country's military power can be utilized in a country's foreign policy, using the theory of foreign policy analysis.

A case study approach is used to investigate and understand more about an event that occurred (Creswell, 2014), in this case, the acceptance of the U.K. as the 11th ASEAN dialogue partner after being in a moratorium for 22 years. Various information and data related to the research were obtained through primary data sources conducted through interviews with several Indonesian government officials assigned to foreign affairs in Europe and ASEAN and secondary data sources by studying various available literature and documentation.

The researcher uses the Miles, Huberman, and Saldana (2014) method to analyze the available data, consisting of several stages: data condensation, data presentation, and drawing conclusions or verification. The information and data collected will be condensed by selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014).

The Important Role of Foreign Policy in Realizing the National Interest

“Foreign Policy begins where domestic policy ends” is a statement delivered by Henry Kissinger, former Secretary of State of the United States of America, which means that the foreign policy is strongly influenced by various events in the country (Kissinger, 1966). So that to explore further the foreign policy set by the U.K. towards ASEAN, it is necessary to explore further the situation that occurs within the U.K. and

also the development of the strategic environment in the Southeast Asian region, which is the target of the application of U.K. foreign policy (Hudson, 2005).

Foreign policy is a relationship between countries that aims to explain and identify decisions, strategies, and the ultimate goal of relations with other countries. Foreign policy is a product of a political decision made by individuals or groups (Bojang, 2018). The purpose of implementing a foreign policy is to obtain various categories, ranging from political independence, regional unity, economic improvement, or the prestige of a nation, so that it can be said that foreign policy is an attempt by a country to protect the national interests of a country, by using all the strengths and abilities it has (Ahmed, 2020).

In formulating foreign policy, each country needs to pay attention to several basic principles, including that the foreign policy issued must be adapted to conditions from outside the country to minimize the impact that may be caused on domestic conditions. However, domestic conditions also need to be considered because they can influence how foreign policy is formulated or implemented (Khara, 2018). The foreign policy of a country also contains various ways that will be taken to achieve the expected national interests in conducting relations between countries, which will be adapted to various dynamic conditions during relations between countries (Dugis, 2007).

A country's foreign policy can be analyzed based on the source of origin of the birth of foreign policy, how the foreign policy process was formulated, and various kinds of actions taken to implement these policies (Alden & Aran, 2016). There is a very close relationship between domestic policy and a country's foreign policy, where changes in domestic policy will affect foreign policy to adjust the country's presence in international relations (Ahmed, 2020). Many foreign policy experts have long discussed the relationship between the

domestic and foreign environment, especially in seeing which factor is more dominant when a country determines its foreign policy. In the end, it is concluded that these two factors are considered to dominate one another. Others alternately depend on the type of problem being handled (Bojang, 2018).

Military Influence on Foreign Policy

Clausewitz said that military force for war is a solution to political problems in a different form (Clausewitz, 1976). The use of military force is also included in the preparation of a country's foreign policy. The presence of the military greatly influences both related to the country's external environment and the domestic sources based on its military capabilities. In addition, the military is also used as an instrument in the implementation of a country's foreign policy.

The influence of the military on the external environment that must be taken into account in making foreign policy is in the form of the country's involvement in an alliance and also how the country's existence is seen from the military strategy/arms race prevailing in the region (Ahmed, 2020). A country's participation in a defense alliance with other countries will make it easier for the country to allocate resources in other fields that are considered necessary. Meanwhile, a country's military capability will make that country more influential in implementing its foreign policy.

A military capability that is one of the country's domestic resources will also influence determining its foreign policy (Bojang, 2018). The excellent military capability can protect the country's integrity from external threats and change the foreign policy to become more aggressive. A country that does not have a strong military power tends to place it in a more defensive position and does not want to stand out or rely on a defense alliance or international organization to achieve its national interests.

The readiness of a country's military can also be an essential instrument in implementing a country's foreign policy (Dinesh, n.d.) because military power can be used as a pressure factor so that the national interest can be effectively achieved by using its foreign policy. Three factors determine the success of military readiness in supporting foreign policy, namely (1) technology and innovation in war machines; (2) elements of military leadership; and (3) the number and quality of its soldiers. However, the use of the military as an instrument of foreign policy runs less effective if it is not combined with diplomatic capabilities, economic strength, and the breadth of information that can be obtained.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The dynamics of the United Kingdom's national interests in the Indo-Pacific region

A country's foreign policy cannot be separated from the country's internal environment, which consists of several factors, including cultural and historical factors (Breuning, 2007). England was a great country in the past when its fleet had roamed all regions of the earth. The U.K. is also known as an imperialist nation, which has occupied territories almost worldwide. The occupied territories including in the Indo-Pacific region. The attachment to U.K. greatness can be seen in the number of countries that become members of the Commonwealth, including in the East and Southeast Asia region. This history later became one of the factors when the majority of the U.K. population decided to leave the European Union when U.K.'s big name had to be under the shadow of Germany, France, and the European Union itself. They want England to return to its former glory, playing a more vital role and influence internationally (BBC News, 2021).

Because of this desire, the U.K. government then developed a grand strategy that could accommodate the desire

to take the opportunity to interact more with the international community in the next decade. The U.K. Prime Minister Boris Johnson conveyed the goals to be achieved in the new strategy, including reiterating the ambitions of the U.K. in its international position and strategic plans for achievement through national security and foreign policy, by seeking to have capabilities that can accommodate these goals (Think Defence, n.d.). It is clearly stated that the strategy to achieve U.K. national security cannot be separated from implementing the right foreign policy and supporting economic capabilities, and is what then underlies the issuance of the Integrated Reviews, one of the most comprehensive strategies ever drawn up by the U.K., or perhaps the whole world. The Integrated Review becomes a strategy that combines strategies in national security, defense, foreign policy, and comprehensive economic development (Defence Committee, 2020).

Described in *Global Britain in the competitive age: The Integrated Review of Security, Defense, Development and Foreign Policy*, or abbreviated as the Integrated Review (Cabinet Office, 2021), various national interests that the U.K. wants to achieve in the next decade, especially in accommodating the desire to make the slogan 'Global Britain', or a global England, as a goal to be achieved. This goal includes playing a more intense role in the Southeast Asia region. U.K.'s desire to participate in the Southeast Asian region cannot be separated from U.K.'s national interest in the economic field. The Southeast Asia region is one of the fastest-growing regions because the countries' combined Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has reached \$2.8 trillion, the 5th largest globally and the 3rd largest in the Asian continent. The Southeast Asia region is diverse with a wide range of investment possibilities for U.K. companies, with trade value being the 4th largest after the European Union, the United States, and Japan. Despite being number 3 in Asia,

opening investment and trade in Southeast Asia is more profitable in the next decade (Parker, 2021).

U.K.'s efforts to divert attention to Southeast Asia are then described through a series of foreign policies (Storey, 2019), including:

1. Increasing the intensity of bilateral relations with countries in the Southeast Asia region, in the economic field, and education and culture.
2. Conduct multilateral relations with countries in the region by joining as a member of the Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) and applying to become ASEAN dialogue partners.

The main focus of U.K. foreign policy in the region is to become an ASEAN dialogue partner, especially in guarding interests in increasing trade value with ASEAN as a whole (Parameswaran, 2020). Becoming an ASEAN dialogue partner is not easy for the U.K., apart from the fact that it has experienced a moratorium since 1999, and U.K.'s hostility to Myanmar in the Rohingya case has also become an obstacle. Since 1999, ASEAN has had a moratorium for a new partnership with Dialogue Partners until an unspecified time so that ASEAN can intensify and consolidate its relationship with the existing Dialogue Partnership. In addition, ASEAN can focus on the regional integration effort as it has limited resources to forge a relationship with more Dialogue Partners. This rejection is due to the 'ASEAN Way' model in every decision-making in ASEAN, which means that if one member country does not agree, then the U.K.'s application to become a dialogue partner will fail. Despite this effort, the U.K. has made every possible effort, including placing an Ambassador in ASEAN in 2019 (Kliem, 2021). So that the U.K. then utilizes all the elements it has to support its foreign policy, including its military strength, in line with Hertenstein's opinion (2019), which states that diplomatic activities need to be

accompanied by the military to produce the necessary effectiveness.

This was later manifested in the Integrated reviews, which was the U.K.'s defense and security strategy, by starting to widen the focus of attention on its military power in the Indo-Pacific region. This is done to provide support for the U.K.'s national interests in the economic and political fields in the region, especially ASEAN.

U.K. Military Maneuver to oversee its foreign policy in the Indo-Pacific region

In particular, the U.K. is placing a prime interest in its strategic development in the coming decades in the Indo-Pacific region. This action is not only part of the "Global U.K." narrative, but more importantly, it is securing the U.K.'s national interest to increase the value of trade and investment in the Indo-Pacific region, especially in the Southeast Asia region. Boris Johnson refers to this policy as a "tilt" towards the Indo-Pacific by sending HMS Queen Elizabeth to the region in one paragraph with the U.K.'s desire to become an ASEAN dialogue partner (Haacke, 2021). This statement can be analyzed that the deployment of military forces is part of securing the U.K.'s national interests with ASEAN. The U.K. plans to permanently deploy a Freecat-type warship in Southeast Asia to establish a persistent maritime presence in the Indo-Pacific region by the end of the decade.

The diversion of attention to the Indo-Pacific region cannot be separated from the U.K.'s perception of China. So far, China has been a good and reliable trading partner for the U.K., but on the other hand, the U.K. and its allied countries consider China as a potential competitor that development must be blocked to make itself inferior. That foreign policy must be adaptive in anticipating changes in the situation, both external and domestic (Perwita, 2008). The U.K. then implemented this by blocking the pace of China's military development and jointly balancing China's power, which

began to dominate in the South China Sea area and was then considered a competitor who could later disrupt security stability in the region. However, China is not being made a permanent adversary, with the U.K. looking to improve trade and investment ties and tackle transnational threats, particularly climate change and environmental degradation.

The delivery of the Carrier Strike Group to the South China Sea is only a continuation of a series of U.K. military efforts to play an active role in the Indo-Pacific region. Several efforts to intensify the U.K.'s military presence in the region have been made since Brexit was chosen as the U.K.'s option in the future, and various kinds of exercises have begun to be held annually. Even at the 50th inauguration of the FPDA, in June 2021, the Ministers of Defense of the FPDA countries have agreed to hold conventional exercises after previously carrying out non-traditional exercises, such as handling disasters and counter-terrorism (The Sun Daily, 2021). The oldest joint security alliance in Southeast Asia, which was established in anticipation of the possibility of Indonesia invading Singapore and Malaysia, has become a source of vigilance from Indonesia. However, the U.K. always tries to ensure that FPDA activities are no longer directed when founded, even inviting observers from non-FPDA member countries, including Indonesia (Tim Huxley, 2017).

Meanwhile, the U.K. has tried to observe ADMM Plus activities, especially on several Experts' Working Groups (EWG) activities related to Maritime Security and Counter-Terrorism, which were presented at the ADMM Plus session in 2020, but still received a rejection from China and Russia at the time (Haacke, 2021). However, after the ASEAN Defense Ministers agreed at a virtual session in June 2021 regarding external engagement, coupled with the acceptance of the U.K. as an ASEAN dialogue partner, the U.K.'s participation in the next ADMM Plus activity will most

likely be approved (ADMM, 2021).

In addition, the U.K. continues to maintain the presence of its military bases in Brunei and Singapore. The U.K. base in Brunei regularly hosts jungle war games conducted by the U.K. army and troops from other countries. Meanwhile, according to the plan, the U.K. logistics base in Sembawang will be developed as a base for U.K. frigate ships that will be permanently stationed to operate in the Southeast Asian region (Beale, 2021).

Table 1. U.K. Military Involvement in the Indo-Pacific Region

Country	Engagement
Australia	Five Eyes, FPDA, 2013 Defence and Security Treaty
Brunei	Houses Infantry Battalion of Gurkhas and an Army Air Corps Flight of Bell 212
India	Bi-annual military exercises, 2019 Defense Equipment Memorandum
Indonesia	2019 and 2020 Joint Defence Cooperation Dialogue (JDCD)
Japan	Military Exercises, 2017 Defence Logistic Treaty
Malaysia	FPDA, Five Eyes
New Zealand	FPDA
Singapore	The U.K. Defence Singapore Support Unit (base) at Sembawang, FPDA, 2018 Defence Cooperation MoU
South Korea	Military Exercises, 2019 Protection of Classified Military Information Agreement
Vietnam	2017 Strategic partnership

Source: Processed by the Authors, 2021

U.K. military maneuvers in the Southeast Asia region are carried out together with countries in the region and with countries outside the region through bilateral and multilateral cooperation. Bilateral cooperation is carried out separately with India, Australia, Japan, and

also South Korea. Meanwhile, it is carried out multilaterally with the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) consisting of India, Australia, Japan, the United States, and the Five Eyes. The U.K. is also jointly carrying out operations in the Southeast Asian region, specifically in the South China Sea area, along with other NATO member countries such as Germany and the Netherlands (Siebold, 2021). Even to equip the F-35 aircraft on the deck of the HMS Queen Elizabeth, the U.K. is coordinating and cooperating with the United States.

The U.K.'s desire to be more active in the Asia Pacific region as in the past has begun to be carried out in the last decade, which was later clarified through the integrated reviews, with an Indo-Pacific tilt strategy. The recent maneuvers of the U.K. military are undeniably also a pressing factor to make the U.K. the newest ASEAN dialogue partner.

Analysis of the Use of Military in Support of U.K. Foreign Policy in ASEAN

From a series of explanations, it can be analyzed that the U.K. then utilizes its military capabilities and readiness to serve as part of its foreign policy in the Southeast Asian region. U.K. formed a kind of alliance, either by intensifying the FPDA, conducting joint training activities with QUAD, or operating with the NATO military. U.K. made its newest aircraft carrier HMS Queen Elizabeth reinforced with F-35 aircraft as part of a cutting-edge arms race with China, which previously launched its newest aircraft carrier and carried out drills as far as the Mediterranean. The U.K. has also increased various defense cooperation bilaterally with countries inside and outside the region. Meanwhile, the U.K. has also reorganized its military forces to secure the U.K.'s national interests in the Indo-Pacific region in the form of the formation of the Carrier Strike Group.

The U.K.'s desire to join as part of the ADMM Plus defense cooperation is also

part of the maneuvers carried out by the U.K. military, and this illustrates a strong desire to participate actively in building the defense capabilities of ASEAN countries. Cultural and historical factors cannot be separated from their influence when the U.K. is accepted as an ASEAN dialogue partner, especially with Brunei Darussalam, which in 2021 will have its turn to serve as ASEAN chairman. This relation is in line with what (Dinesh, n.d.) conveyed: all the factors that influence a country's foreign policy are essential and interrelated without the possibility of standing alone.

How much influence the intensity of military forces' deployment will have on the U.K.'s acceptance as the newest ASEAN dialogue partner cannot be predicted with certainty, but the inauguration did not last long with the presence of HMS Queen Elizabeth in the region. The influence of the closeness between the U.K. and several countries in the region is one of the determining factors influencing the decision to accept the U.K. as an ASEAN dialogue partner. Efforts from several other dialogue partner countries to reject the U.K.'s presence in ADMM Plus were eliminated when Brunei, as chairman, succeeded in proposing a new rule that limits the influence of non-ASEAN member countries that could influence decisions on the involvement of countries outside of ADMM Plus members.

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND LIMITATIONS

Based on the analysis described above, it can be concluded that the military's role, both in terms of strength, capability, and readiness, is very influential in making a country's foreign policy. This role is evidenced by the U.K.'s integration of foreign policy and defense strategy into one comprehensive unit so that the desire to become an ASEAN dialogue partner can be fulfilled so that the U.K.'s national interest in increasing the value of trade by engaging in the Southeast Asian region can be

achieved. U.K.'s military involvement is carried out in the domestic sphere by rearranging the defense strategy and taking into account involvement in the external environment both in the arms race and joining and intensifying existing alliances.

The military has been used to serve as an essential instrument in the formulation of U.K. foreign policy. However, military involvement cannot be separated from other instruments, such as Diplomacy, Economics, and Information. Military involvement cannot be separated from the influence of other elements of national power in influencing foreign policy, including cultural and historical factors. So comprehensive thought is needed when preparing an appropriate foreign policy to achieve an expected national interest, including the military factor.

The U.K. can be used as a lesson for Indonesia when formulating a foreign policy. One of the problems that can be implemented is when handling various cases in the North Natuna Sea. Although it appears that the military, economics, and diplomacy have gone hand in hand, a comprehensive strategy is needed and does not work alone. Involving the military in every negotiation on drafting The Code of Conduct at the South China Sea needs further consideration.

REFERENCES

- ADMM. (2021). Concept paper on the ADMM's External engagements.
- Ahmed, J. (2020). The Theoretical Significance of Foreign Policy in International Relations- an Analysis. *Journal of Critical Review*, 7(2), 78–792.
<https://doi.org/10.4236/OJPS.2019.92022>
- Alden, C., & Aran, A. (2016). Foreign Policy Analysis: New Approaches. In *Foreign Policy Analysis: New approaches*. United Kingdom: Routledge.
- BBC News. (2021, March 16). UK to Shift

- Foreign Policy Focus Following Review. Retrieved April 4, 2021, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-56410532>
- Beale, J. (2021, May 1). HMS Queen Elizabeth: Why is a UK Aircraft Carrier going on a World Tour? Retrieved June 4, 2021, from BBC News website: <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-57195317>
- Bojang, A. S. (2018). The Study of Foreign Policy in International Relations. *Journal of Political Sciences & Public Affairs*, 6(4). Retrieved from <https://www.longdom.org/open-access/the-study-of-foreign-policy-in-international-relations-2332-0761-1000337.pdf>
- Breuning, M. (2007). Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction. In *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230609242>
- Brooke-Holland, L. (2021, October 11). Integrated Review 2021: The defence tilt to the Indo-Pacific October. *House of Commons Library*. United Kingdom: Commons Library Research Briefing. Retrieved from <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-9217/CBP-9217.pdf>
- Cabinet Office. (2021, March 16). Global Britain in a Competitive Age: The Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy. Retrieved April 30, 2021, from <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/global-britain-in-a-competitive-age-the-integrated-review-of-security-defence-development-and-foreign-policy>
- Clausewitz, C. Von. (1976). *On War*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- CNN Indonesia. (2021, August 6). Inggris Resmi Jadi Mitra Dialog ASEAN. Retrieved September 5, 2021, from CNN Indonesia website: <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20210806091845-134-677151/inggris-resmi-jadi-mitra-dialog-asean>
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Penelitian Kualitatif & Desain Riset (memilih diantara lima pendekatan)* (3rd ed.; S. Z. Qudsy, Ed.). Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Darmawan, A. (n.d.). Even The British Are Coming: Asean and The Internationalization of The South China Sea. Retrieved August 5, 2021, from <https://law.ui.ac.id/v3/even-the-british-are-coming-asean-and-the-internationalization-of-the-south-china-sea-by-aristyo-darmawan-s-hll-m/>
- Defence Committee. (2020). *In Search of Strategy - The 2020 Integrated Review*. London. Retrieved from <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm5801/cmselect/cmdfence/165/165.pdf>
- Dinesh. (n.d.). National Power: Elements, Evaluation and Limitations. Retrieved April 30, 2021, from <https://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/india-2/national-power-elements-evaluation-and-limitations/48489>
- Dugis, V. (2007). Analysing Foreign Policy. *Jurnal Masyarakat, Kebudayaan Dan Politik*, 20(2), 113–124.
- Farlin, J. (2014). *Instruments of National Power: How America Earned Independence*. Carlisle: United States Army War College. Retrieved from <https://publications.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/87.pdf>
- Haacke, J. (2021, June 18). The United Kingdom's 'Tilt' Toward the Indo-Pacific. Retrieved August 30, 2021, from East Asia Forum website: <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2021/06/18/the-united-kingdoms-tilt-toward-the-indo-pacific/>

- Hertenstein, G. (2019, September 22). DIME Without the “M” is DIE: A Case for Conventional Military Power in Modern Strategy Discourse. Retrieved April 6, 2021, from <https://thestategybridge.org/the-bridge/2019/9/22/dime-without-the-m-is-die-a-case-for-conventional-military-power-in-modern-strategy-discourse>
- Hudson, V. M. (2005). Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 1(1), 1–30. <https://doi.org/10.1111/J.1743-8594.2005.00001.X>
- Khara, N. K. (2018). Determinants of Foreign Policy: A Global Perspective. *International Journal of Research and Analytical Reviews*, 5(3), 105–115. Retrieved from <https://www.ijrar.org/papers/IJRAR1903915.pdf>
- Kissinger, H. A. (1966). Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy. *Daedalus*, 95(2), 503–529. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20026982>
- Kliem, F. (2021, June 4). Is ASEAN too ‘Far East’ or Just Right for Global Britain? Retrieved April 30, 2021, from <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2021/06/04/is-asean-too-far-east-or-just-right-for-global-britain/>
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldana, J. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (3rd ed.). California: Sage.
- Parameswaran, P. (2020, January 24). What Does the UK’s New ASEAN Mission Say About Its Southeast Asia Engagement Post-Brexit? Retrieved April 6, 2021, from <https://thediplomat.com/2020/01/what-at-does-the-uks-new-asean-mission-say-about-its-southeast-asia-engagement-post-brexit/>
- Parker, E. (2021, July 5). Global Britain: Why the United Kingdom Needs ASEAN. Retrieved August 6, 2021, from <https://thediplomat.com/2021/07/global-britain-why-the-united-kingdom-needs-asean/>
- Perwita, A. A. B. (2008, January 12). Dinamika Keamanan dalam Hubungan Internasional dan Implikasinya bagi Indonesia. *Sidang Terbuka*. Bandung: Universitas Katolik Parahyangan. Retrieved from <https://repository.unpar.ac.id/handle/123456789/344>
- Siebold, S. (2021, August 3). German Warship Heads for South China Sea Amid Tension with Beijing. Retrieved September 6, 2021, from <https://www.reuters.com/world/china/german-warship-heads-south-china-sea-amid-tension-with-beijing-2021-08-02/>
- Storey, I. (2019). *The United Kingdom and Southeast Asia after Brexit*. Singapore: ISEAS Perspective. Retrieved from https://www.iseas.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/pdfs/ISEAS_Perspective_2019_33.pdf
- Sugiyono. (2014). *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan Kombinasi (Mixed Methods)*. Bandung: Alfabeta.
- The Sun Daily. (2021, June 24). FPDA Defence Chiefs’ Conference to Boost Military Training Cooperation in Conventional Warfare. Retrieved July 6, 2021, from <https://www.thesundaily.my/local/fpda-defence-chiefs-conference-to-boost-military-training-cooperation-in-conventional-warfare-AY8001288>
- Think Defence. (n.d.). Towards the Integrated Review. Retrieved April 5, 2021, from <https://www.thinkdefence.co.uk/towards-the-integrated-review/>
- Tim Huxley. (2017, June 1). Developing the Five Power Defence

Arrangements. Retrieved April 6, 2021, from <https://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/developing-the-five-power-defence-arrangements>

Xuanzun, L. (2021, July 21). UK Warships' S.China Sea Tour 'Threatens China Politically More Than Militarily.' Retrieved August 6, 2021, from <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202107/1229291.shtml>