

INDONESIA'S PERSPECTIVE AND POSSIBLE STRATEGIES AS THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF ASEAN 2023 IN RESPONDING TO THE EMERGENCE OF AUSTRALIA-UK-USA DEFENSE PACT

PERSPEKTIF INDONESIA DAN STRATEGI YANG MUNGKIN SEBAGAI KETUA ASEAN 2023 DALAM MERESPON MUNCULNYA PAKTA PERTAHANAN AUSTRALIA-INGGRIS-AMERIKA SERIKAT

Alma Evelinda Silalahi¹, Rodon Pedrason², Rizerius Eko Hadisancoko³, Surachman Surjaatmadja⁴, Hikmat Zakky Almubaroq⁵, Agung Risdhianto⁶

UNIVERSITAS PERTAHANAN RI

(almasilalahi99@gmail.com, rodonpedrason65@gmail.com, rizerius87@gmail.com, isur.atmadja@gmail.com, ag_ung85@yahoo.co.uk)

Abstract – The formation of the AUKUS Defense Pact (Australia-UK-US) has the potential to trigger militarization and regional instability. Indonesia, poised to lead ASEAN in 2023, is concerned about the impact of heightened tensions and threats to regional security. If AUKUS alters the role of external powers in this region, the centrality of ASEAN's role in preserving regional stability could be disrupted. This study aims to analyze the perspectives and strategies that Indonesia, on behalf of ASEAN, can adopt in facing AUKUS. A qualitative research method is employed with a descriptive approach. Data collection involves comprehensive interviews and a literature review. The SWOT method is used to formulate suitable strategies and perspectives, particularly those that reaffirm ASEAN's central role. The research findings reveal that the emergence of AUKUS has triggered security dilemmas within ASEAN, accelerated regional arms races, and potentially altered the balance of military power. As ASEAN Chair in 2023, Indonesia is committed to fostering unity within ASEAN to preserve regional stability and interests. The SO strategy (Strengths-Opportunities), through diplomatic efforts, economic cooperation, and multilateralism coordinated by ASEAN, is identified as the way for Indonesia to reinforce ASEAN's central role and respond to AUKUS. Consequently, Indonesia can promote regional cooperation, stability, and resilience.

Keywords: AUKUS, Indonesia, Security, ASEAN Chair, strategy

Abstrak – Aukus memiliki potensi untuk meningkatkan militerisasi atau ketidakstabilan di kawasan. Indonesia sebagai kepemimpinan ASEAN 2023 sangat prihatin dengan potensi peningkatan ketegangan di kawasan dan dampaknya pada keamanan regional. Jika Aukus mengarah pada peran yang lebih besar untuk kekuatan eksternal di wilayah tersebut, ini dapat berdampak pada sentralitas ASEAN untuk memainkan peran utama dalam mempromosikan stabilitas dan keamanan regional. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui bagaimana perspektif dan strategi yang dapat Indonesia lakukan atas nama ASEAN sebagai Keketuaan ASEAN 2023 tahun ini untuk menyikapi kemunculan AUKUS. Studi ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dengan desain penelitian deskriptif kualitatif. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui wawancara dan studi literatur yang komprehensif. Kemudian data diproses dengan analisis SWOT untuk menentukan strategi yang terkait dengan strategi dan perspektif Indonesia yang mungkin sebagai ketua ASEAN 2023 untuk menegaskan sentralitas ASEAN. Hasilnya menunjukkan munculnya AUKUS telah membawa ASEAN ke dalam dilema keamanan, memicu perlombaan senjata di kawasan dan berpotensi memengaruhi keseimbangan kekuatan militer. Indonesia, sebagai ketua ASEAN 2023, berkomitmen untuk membangun ASEAN yang lebih kuat dan bersatu untuk menjaga

kepentingannya dan mempromosikan stabilitas regional. Penggunaan strategi SO (*Strengths-Opportunities*), termasuk upaya diplomatik, kerja sama ekonomi, dan multilateralisme yang dipimpin oleh ASEAN, dapat membantu Indonesia menegaskan sentralitas ASEAN dan mempromosikan kerja sama regional, stabilitas, dan ketahanan dalam merespons AUKUS.

Kata Kunci: AUKUS, Indonesia, Keamanan, Ketua ASEAN, Strategi.

Introduction

AUKUS (Australia, UK, USA) is a defense agreement established on September 15th, 2021 by the President of the United States, Joe Biden, the British Prime Minister, Boris Johnson, and the Australian Prime Minister, Scott Morrison. It involves Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America. The agreement aims to assist Australia in developing and deploying nuclear-powered submarines, as well as deploying Western militaries in the Pacific region (Prakoso, 2021).

The establishment of the AUKUS cooperation is intended to enhance security and stability in the Indo-Pacific region. It involves building nuclear-powered submarines for Australia and strengthening cooperation in cyber security, artificial intelligence, and underwater security (Singarimbun, 2021).

AUKUS is seen as part of the United States' strategy to counter China's growing influence in the region. China's influence has expanded through policies like the Nine-Dash Line, One China Policy,

and the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), along with significant economic and military advancements (Santoso, 2021). Before AUKUS, the United States reinforced cooperation with the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) and Five Eyes to address China's developments. Australia is considered a key ally in the Indo-Pacific conflict between the United States and China within the framework of AUKUS.

AUKUS was initially focused on constructing nuclear-powered submarines for the Australian Navy, making Australia the seventh country to operate such submarines. This technology enables faster and stealthier submarines compared to conventional ones. While nuclear-powered submarines can stay submerged for extended periods and have a greater missile range, Australia has explicitly stated it won't deploy nuclear warheads (Kurniasih & Umar, 2022).

Southeast Asian states, including Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Vietnam, are closely observing the China-

US rivalry. While they have economic ties with China, they also depend on the US and other Western nations for defense and security support. The emergence of AUKUS has the potential to impact these relationships and add complexity to the region's geopolitical situation (Nurfauzi et al., 2022).

Southeast Asia has become a strategically important region, attracting foreign interests that sometimes clash with the interests of nations in the area. Foreign states aim to ensure regional stability for their own security needs, while globalization has blurred boundaries and fostered regional integration. Consequently, states in Southeast Asia are interdependent, and regional dynamics impact their behavior, particularly in terms of security and defense (Rusfiana, 2018).

AUKUS aims to address the perceived power imbalance in the region caused by China's military growth. ASEAN member states had varying responses, with Malaysia and Indonesia expressing concerns about an arms race, while Singapore, Vietnam, and the Philippines were more receptive to the agreement (Choong & Storey, 2021). ASEAN, as the closest regional organization, will be significantly impacted by AUKUS both

presently and in the future. There is also a concern that Indonesia's pursuit of the Bangkok Treaty or the Southeast Asian Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone (SEANWFZ) as the chairmanship of ASEAN 2023 might be affected.

As the chairmanship of ASEAN 2023 is also important to see the current relationship, particularly in the defense and security field between Indonesia and AUKUS member states. Hence through the patterns of this relationship, the ideal possible strategies to respond to the emergence of AUKUS can be arranged.

The US has provided assistance to Indonesia in counterterrorism, disaster response, and maritime security. In 2020, the US approved the sale of eight Apache helicopters to Indonesia for anti-ship and anti-submarine warfare (HeliHub, 2020). Despite concerns about AUKUS, the US, and Indonesia have conducted joint naval exercises, including one in the Java Sea in September 2021. The exercise aimed to enhance interoperability and maritime security (Archus, 2021).

Based on the statements above Indonesia's role as the chairmanship of ASEAN 2023 will be to promote regional cooperation and integration, enhance ASEAN's profile and influence, facilitate dialogue and cooperation with external

partners, ensure regional peace and stability, and uphold the ASEAN Charter and ASEAN's principles. However, the emergence of AUKUS could potentially disrupt this delicate balance and complicate Indonesia's efforts to sustain a serene and secure regional atmosphere.

The AUKUS partnership has raised concerns in Indonesia regarding increased regional militarization, potentially leading to tensions and an arms race. Indonesia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed these concerns, emphasizing the importance of Australia's commitment to non-proliferation and regional peace. They also called for peaceful discussions and invited relevant parties to engage in addressing the issue (Statement on Australia's Nuclear-Powered Submarines Program, 2021).

Quoted from the vision of Indonesia's Chairmanship of ASEAN 2023, Indonesia, as the Chairman of ASEAN in 2023, aims to strengthen ASEAN institutions and enhance the centrality of ASEAN to ensure resilience in the face of potential crises. It will lead efforts to review institutional capability and efficacy, enabling ASEAN to address regional and global challenges such as

rivalries, power projection, and conflicts in the South China Sea (Putro, 2021).

Indonesia is deeply concerned about any potential escalation of tensions in the region and the impacts AUKUS might have on the security of the region. If AUKUS leads to a greater role for external powers in the region, this is an obstacle to Indonesia as the chairman of ASEAN 2023 to play a leading role in promoting regional stability and security. Hence, this research aims to find out the perspective and possible strategies for Indonesia as the chairman of ASEAN 2023 in responding to the emergence of AUKUS.

Research Methodology

This research methodology is quasi-qualitative, where the use of theory is still possible as a research tool, from finding problems and collecting data to analyzing data (Rahmat, 2009). The form of research according to the level of analysis is descriptive research. The data from the interviews are collected from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia and the Ministry of the Defense Republic of Indonesia.

Then the data is processed with a SWOT analysis to formulate a strategy about Indonesia's potential approaches

as the ASEAN Chair for 2023, to reinforce ASEAN Centrality. Several possible informants to obtain actual data regarding this research, as follows:

1. Middle Policy Analyst for CB, CBM & Preventive Diplomacy, Directorate of International Cooperation, Ministry of Defense of The Republic of Indonesia, Colonel Imam S. Cahyono, S.S., M. Sc
2. Head of the Sub-Directorate of National Defense Policy Formulation and Implementation, Directorate of Defense Strategy Policy, Ministry of Defense of The Republic of Indonesia, Marine Colonel DR. Steven T. Sambouw, S.H., S.KEP., M.H., M.AP.
3. Director of ASEAN Political and Security Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Rolliansyah Soemirat.

Results and Discussion

Indonesia's Perspective as the Chairman of ASEAN 2023 in Responding to the Emergence of AUKUS

The theory proposed by Hart and Henry (1967) is that in forming a strategy, a Strategy Framework is needed which consists of ends, ways, and means. Ends are defined as the final goals to be realized from the strategy formed. Ways are defined as actions or efforts made to

achieve the final goal. Means are defined as the resources used in action to achieve the final goal (Lykke, 2015). These three (3) elements are used to achieve strategic success, which if there is a failure means that one aspect has not been implemented well. The elements of means, ways, and ends are used to formulate the proper possible strategies.

The strategy has 3 elements and is linked with national defense theory, concludes that: Ends: What is the purpose of national defense strategy (to maintain regional security stability and protect national interests)? Means: What are Indonesia's resources (Law No. 23 of 2019 concerning Management of National Resources for National Defense)? Ways: How does Indonesia implement the possible strategies (by continuing to carry out peace dialogues between the parties)? Indonesia has to develop a strategy that is very dependent on developments in the global, regional, and national strategic environment. Formulate the possible strategies based on threats, national environment, and state political policies. The strategy will not be the same in all situations. War expert Tsun Zu said, "Don't use one strategy in two conditions".

From the theory used and the results of the interviews above, it can be explained that Indonesia's perspective and possible strategies as the chairmanship of ASEAN 2023 in responding to the emergence of AUKUS, including:

1. AUKUS raises concerns among ASEAN states over power balance and security implications, while Australia asserts stability as its goal.
2. Indonesia, as ASEAN Chair in 2023, focuses on unity, resilience, and decision-making amidst major power rivalries.
3. AUKUS aims to address China's influence through maritime security and technological cooperation.
4. ASEAN under Indonesia's leadership prioritizes transparency, security cooperation, and ASEAN centrality for peace and stability.
5. Indonesia promotes regional stability through dialogue, transparency, and trust-building measures.
6. Differing views on the US-China rivalry weaken ASEAN's centrality, requiring Indonesia's focus on unity.
7. Indonesia's chairmanship prioritizes ASEAN centrality, utilizing ASEAN

Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP) for cooperative regional security and progress.

Seeing the crucial existence of AUKUS in the conflict between the US and China for regional security stability has led to various responses from ASEAN member states, especially the six main maritime states in Southeast Asia.

The difference in response between ASEAN member states does not reflect ASEAN's attitude as an organization but this affects the centrality and unity of ASEAN in the region. Furthermore, ASEAN member states also pursue their national interests, making it challenging for the organization to present a unified collective stance. Nonetheless, it remains crucial for ASEAN to articulate such a joint position to prevent divisions caused by major powers' behavior. ASEAN is expected to become an independent and effective regional stabilizer in maintaining security and stability in the region. Thus, ASEAN needs to maintain its centrality in the region and show its collective attitude.

ASEAN needs to strengthen the implementation of ASEAN centrality and unity in the region to maintain peace, security, and stability. Furthermore, AUKUS will shake up the ASEAN centrality

architecture, the Southeast Asia Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone (SEANWFZ), and the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation (TAC). Before the formation of AUKUS, Australia as a neighboring ASEAN member state did not even think about discussing the AUKUS with ASEAN. The commitment of Western states to promoting peace, stability, and respect for the centrality of ASEAN can be said to be superficial acknowledgment.

Possible Strategies for Indonesia as the Chairmanship of ASEAN 2023 in Asserting ASEAN Centrality Following the Emergence of AUKUS

After interpreting the interview results and conducting literature research, the collected data was processed using SWOT Analysis to determine Indonesia's possible strategies as the chairmanship of ASEAN 2023 in asserting the role of ASEAN centrality after the emergence of AUKUS. In the SWOT analysis, weighting and rating of each internal factor (IFAS) and external factor (EFAS) are carried out based on the level of urgency and/or influence on the situation and conditions of the role of ASEAN centrality after the emergence of AUKUS.

Table 1. IFAS Weighting and Scoring

IFAS Item	Weight (W)	Score (S)	Weight x Score (WxS)	
	0-1	1-4		
Strength				
S1	Geostrategic Location	0,1	4	0,4
S2	Economic Influence as a Regional Organization	0,1	3	0,3
S3	Inclusive ASEAN-Led Multilateral Mechanism	0,05	3	0,15
S4	Regional Connectivity and Infrastructure Development	0,05	2	0,1
S5	ASEAN member states strong commitment to creating political stability and security in the Southeast Asian region through TAC	0,1	3	0,3
S6	A firm method of diplomacy known as the ASEAN Way	0,1	3	0,3
S7	Cultural Diversity and Cooperation	0,25	1	0,25
S8	Indonesia strong leadership	0,1	2	0,2
S9	Indonesia proactive diplomacy	0,1	2	0,2
S10	Indonesia's strong commitment to ASEAN	0,05	3	0,15
Total Strength		1		2,35

IFAS Item		Weight (W) 0-1	Score (S) 1-4	Weight x Score (WxS)
Weaknesses				
W1	Differences in interests and ideologies	0,2	1	0,2
W2	Uneven Economic & Military Development	0,2	2	0,4
W3	Dependence on External Powers	0,15	1	0,15
W4	Limited Cooperation in Security Affairs	0,1	2	0,2
W5	Limited Institutional Capacity	0,05	2	0,1
W6	Human Rights Concerns	0,025	3	0,075
W7	Environmental Challenges	0,025	4	0,1
W8	Indonesia's domestic political instability	0,05	3	0,075
W9	Indonesia's limited military resources	0,1	2	0,2
W10	Indonesia's low technology readiness	0,1	2	0,2
Total Weaknesses		1		1,7

Source: Processed by The Researcher, 2023

Table 2. EFAS Weighting and Scoring

EFAS Item		Weight (W) 0-1	Score (S) 1-4	Weight x Score (WxS)
Opportunities				
O1	Enhancing regional security	0,2	3	0,6
O2	Strengthening defense capabilities	0,175	3	0,525
O3	Encouraging greater defense cooperation	0,2	2	0,4
O4	Promoting economic growth	0,025	1	0,025
O5	Supporting rules-based order	0,05	2	0,1
O6	Defense industry cooperation	0,025	2	0,05
O7	AUKUS as a Counterbalance of China's Hegemony	0,2	3	0,6
O8	Enhancing Capacity Building and Human Resources Development	0,05	1	0,05
O9	Developing Firm Trade and Investment Policies	0,025	1	0,025
O10	Promoting Regional Resilience	0,05	2	0,1
Total Opportunities		1		2,475
EFAS Item		Weight (W) 0-1	Score (S) 10-100	Weight x Score (WxS)
Threats				
T1	Territorial disputes in the South China Sea	0,15	2	0,3
T2	US-China Rivalry in the Indo-Pacific Region	0,1	1	0,1
T3	Increasing military tensions that can lead to an Arms Race	0,1	2	0,2
T4	The potential for a security dilemma	0,15	2	0,3
T5	Undermining ASEAN Centrality	0,2	1	0,2
T6	Challenging existing security frameworks	0,05	3	0,15
T7	Straining diplomatic relations	0,05	3	0,15
T8	Geographically, Potential to become a proxy battleground for US-China rivalry	0,1	1	0,1

T9	Potential for increased tension between ASEAN member states	0,075	2	0,15
T10	Fragmentation of ASEAN	0,025	3	0,075
Total Threats		1		1,725

Source: Processed by The Researcher, 2023

The process of analyzing the factors that influence strategic planning for affirming the role of ASEAN centrality, especially in response to the emergence of AUKUS, uses SWOT analysis to determine the Internal Strategic Factors Analysis Summary (IFAS), which consists of Strengths and Weaknesses, and External Strategic Factors Analysis Summary (EFAS) which consists of Opportunities and Threats.

These factors were obtained from processing data collected through interviews and literature studies. This analysis will then produce a strategy related to the intersection of each group of factors and the determination of weights and rankings. The weight rating of each factor has a scale ranging from 0.0 (not important) to 1.0 (most important). Then, multiply by the rating on a scale of 1 (poor) to 4 (excellent) for the Strengths and Opportunities Scale and the rating on a scale of 1 (Excellent) to 4 (poor) for Weaknesses and Threats. Which produces a total score to show how Indonesia on behalf of ASEAN reacts to its internal and external strategic

factors. The following is the interpretation of the data according to the IFAS and EFAS tables:

1. Strength

ASEAN's strengths through the chairmanship of Indonesia 2023 in asserting its centrality:

- a. Geostrategic Location: The researcher gives a weight 0.1 because of this factor has helped Indonesia to emerge as a key player in the global economy and diplomacy.
- b. Economic Influence as a Regional Organization: ASEAN is one of the fastest growing regions in the world, with a combined GDP of over \$3 trillion in 2020, hence the researcher gave the weight of 0.1.
- c. Inclusive ASEAN-Led Multilateral Mechanism: The researcher gives weight of 0.05 to this indicator due to it has helped to ensure that all member states have a voice in shaping regional policy and decision-making, regardless of their size or level of development.

- d. Regional Connectivity and Infrastructure Development: ASEAN has made significant progress in developing transportation, communication, and energy infrastructure to support economic growth and development in the region, hence the researcher gives the weight of 0.05.
- e. ASEAN member states strong commitment to creating political stability and security in the Southeast Asian region through TAC: The TAC has been instrumental in helping to resolve conflicts and maintain stability in Southeast Asia, hence the researcher gives the weight of 0.1.
- f. Firm method of diplomacy known as the ASEAN Way: The ASEAN Way has been critical in maintaining regional peace and stability by promoting mutual respect and understanding between member states due to that reason the researcher gives the weight of 0.1.
- g. Cultural Diversity and Cooperation: The researcher gives the weight of 0.25 due to the reason that despite these differences, ASEAN member states have worked together to promote cultural cooperation and exchange.
- h. Indonesia Strong Leadership: The researcher gives the weight of 0.1 due to the reason Indonesia has a strong leadership that is capable of providing the necessary guidance to navigate the complex geopolitical situation in the region.
- i. Indonesia Proactive Diplomacy: This research gives the weight of 0.1 due to the reason Indonesia has a long-standing tradition of proactive diplomacy, which has enabled it to take a leadership role in the ASEAN region. This proactive diplomacy can be used to build diplomatic bridges between AUKUS member states and ASEAN member states.
- j. Indonesia's Strong Commitment to ASEAN: The researcher gives the weight of 0.05 due to the reason Indonesia is a founding member of ASEAN and has been a strong supporter of the organization since its inception. Indonesia has actively participated in ASEAN-led initiatives such as the ASEAN Summit, the ARF, and the ASEAN+3 Summit, and has consistently made significant economic, political, and security contributions. Since 2011, Indonesia

has held the ASEAN chairmanship three times.

Furthermore, this research has a total weight that has been multiplied by a rating based on the influence of these conditions. Therefore, the result of the IFAS calculation which is a strength for ASEAN through the chairmanship of Indonesia 2023 in asserting its centrality is 2.35.

2. Weakness

Weaknesses of ASEAN through Indonesia's 2023 Chairmanship in Asserting Its Centrality:

- a. Differences in interests and ideologies: The researcher gives a considerable weight of 0.2 because ASEAN member states have diverse ideologies and national interests, and may have different priorities when it comes to regional issues.
- b. Uneven Economic & Military Development: The researcher assigns a weight of 0.2 due to some member states may feel that their economic and military interests are not being adequately represented, which can lead to disagreements and delays in decision-making.
- c. Dependence on External Powers: ASEAN's reliance on external

powers, such as the US and China, for economic and security support, poses a risk to the ASEAN's unity and independence, hence the researcher gives the weight of 0.15.

- d. Limited Cooperation in Security Affairs: The researcher gives weight of 0.1 because ASEAN's security cooperation is often limited by political tensions among member states, resulting in a lack of effective regional development.
- e. Limited Institutional Capacity: ASEAN's institutions and mechanisms for regional integration are often criticized for their limited capacity to enforce decisions and implement policies effectively, hence this research assigns a weight of 0.05.
- f. Human Rights Concerns: ASEAN has been criticized for being slow to respond to human rights abuses and violations in the region due to the diversity of political systems and approaches to human rights among member states, hence the researcher gives the weight of 0.025.
- g. Environmental Challenges: The researcher assigns a weight of 0.025 due to the reason that development

and economic activities such as mining, logging, and agriculture can have significant impacts on the environment.

- h. Indonesia's Domestic Political Instability: The researcher assigns a weight of 0.05 due to the reason Indonesia is currently facing a period of political instability which could hamper its ability to effectively respond to the emergence of AUKUS. The current political situation in Indonesia could also lead to a lack of commitment to the security of the region, thus making it difficult for Indonesia to respond effectively to the security challenges posed by AUKUS.
- i. Indonesia's Limited Military Resources: The researcher assigns a weight of 0.1 due to the reason Indonesia is facing financial constraints in terms of developing its military capabilities and enhancing its intelligence capabilities. This poses a challenge for Indonesia in terms of responding to the security threat posed by AUKUS.
- j. Indonesia's low technologies readiness: The researcher assigns a weight of 0.1 due to the reason

Indonesia still has a low rank in technology readiness, which affects its ability to use digital technologies to manage and monitor AUKUS activities. Indonesia also lacks the necessary infrastructure and technical capabilities to ensure effective monitoring of AUKUS activities.

Furthermore, the total weight is obtained which has been multiplied by a rating based on the influence of these conditions. Therefore, the result of the IFAS calculation which is a weakness for ASEAN through the chairmanship of Indonesia 2023 in asserting its centrality is 1.7.

3. Opportunity

ASEAN opportunities from the emergence of AUKUS through the chairmanship of Indonesia 2023 in asserting its centrality:

- a. Enhancing regional security: AUKUS is expected to enhance regional security in the region, which includes ASEAN member states. This could lead to greater stability and predictability in the region, which would benefit ASEAN, hence the researcher gives the weight of 0.2.

- b. Strengthening defense capabilities: The researcher gives the weight of 0.175 because AUKUS could lead to the development of new military technologies and capabilities that could be shared with ASEAN member states. This could enhance ASEAN member states defense capabilities and enable them to have better respond to regional security challenges.
- c. Encouraging greater defense cooperation: The researcher assigns the weight of 0.2 due to the emergence of AUKUS could lead to joint military exercises, intelligence sharing, and other forms of collaboration that could benefit ASEAN.
- d. Promoting economic growth: The development of new military technologies and capabilities could lead to the creation of new jobs and industries, which would benefit the region's economy, hence the researcher gives the weight of 0.025.
- e. Supporting rules-based order: The researcher gives the weight of 0.05 because ASEAN has the opportunity to work with its external partners to promote the rules-based order in the region.
- f. Defense industry cooperation: One potential area for cooperation is in defense research and development. ASEAN member states could explore opportunities to collaborate with AUKUS member states on the development of advanced defense technologies, hence the researcher gives the weight of 0.025.
- g. AUKUS as a Counterbalance of China's Hegemony: The researcher assigns the weight of 0.2 because by deepening its partnership with AUKUS, ASEAN can enhance its security capabilities and deter any potential aggression from China.
- h. Enhancing Capacity Building and Human Resources Development: The researcher assigns the weight of 0.05 because Indonesia can use its chairmanship to facilitate capacity building and human resources development programs for ASEAN member states. This can help ASEAN gain a better understanding of the implications of AUKUS and how to best respond to them.

- i. Developing Firm Trade and Investment Policies: The researcher assigns the weight of 0.025 because Indonesia can use its chairmanship to help ASEAN member states develop more firm trade and investment policies that will help them take advantage of the opportunities presented by AUKUS
- j. Promoting Regional Resilience: The researcher assigns the weight of 0.05 because Indonesia can use its chairmanship to promote greater regional resilience and ensure that ASEAN member states are better prepared to respond to the threats posed by AUKUS.

Furthermore, it has a total weight that has been multiplied by a rating based on the influence of these conditions. Therefore, the result of the EFAS calculation which is an opportunity for ASEAN from the emergence of AUKUS through the chairmanship of Indonesia 2023 in asserting its centrality is 2.475.

4. Threat

ASEAN threats from the emergence of AUKUS through the chairmanship of Indonesia 2023 in asserting its centrality:

- a. Territorial disputes in the South China Sea: These disputes involve

overlapping territorial claims by several ASEAN member states, as well as China, and have been a source of tension and conflict in the region for many years, hence the researcher gives the weight of 0.15.

- b. US-China Rivalry in the Indo-Pacific Region: The researcher gives the weight of 0.1 because the US-China rivalry has intensified in recent years, with both seeking to advance their strategic interests and influence in the region. This has led to increased competition and tensions, which have the potential to undermine ASEAN's ability to maintain its centrality and promote regional cooperation.
- c. Increasing military tensions that can lead to an Arms Race: These tensions can potentially lead to an arms race, which would further exacerbate the security situation in the region, hence the researcher assigns a weight of 0.1.
- d. The potential for a security dilemma: The researcher gives the weight of 0.15 due to the potential for a security dilemma further compounded by the complex web of alliances and partnerships which is not ASEAN-centric in the region.

- e. Undermining ASEAN Centrality: The emergence of AUKUS could undermine ASEAN's role as a regional mediator and provider of regional stability, potentially eroding its influence and centrality, hence the researcher gives the weight of 0.2.
 - f. Challenging existing security frameworks: The researcher gives the weight of 0.05 because AUKUS, which does not involve ASEAN member states, could be seen as a challenge to the TAC and the existing regional security architecture.
 - g. Straining diplomatic relations: AUKUS was announced without consultation with ASEAN or its member states, which could be seen as a lack of respect for ASEAN's centrality in the region, hence the researcher gives the weight of 0.05.
 - h. Geographically, the Potential to become a proxy battleground for US-China rivalry: This is because ASEAN is in a unique geographic position at the center of the Indo-Pacific region. ASEAN region is also home to a wide range of resources, including economic resources and strategic military bases, which makes them attractive to both the US and China, hence the researcher gives the weight of 0.1.
 - i. Potential for increased tension between ASEAN member states: ASEAN member states give various responses to AUKUS due to the various geopolitical, economic, and cultural issues that divide them. These differences can lead to increased tensions between member states as they attempt to find a resolution, hence the researcher gives the weight of 0.075.
 - j. Fragmentation of ASEAN: AUKUS could create a power imbalance within ASEAN, as AUKUS member states have significantly greater economic, political, and military power than the other members of ASEAN. This could lead to a situation where ASEAN is split between those states that are pro to AUKUS, and those that are not, hence the researcher gives the weight of 0.025.
- Furthermore, it has a total weight that has been multiplied by a rating based on the influence of these conditions. Therefore, the result of the EFAS

calculation which is a threat to ASEAN from the emergence of AUKUS through the chairmanship of Indonesia 2023 in asserting its centrality is 1.725.

Based on the IFAS and EFAS tables, it can be seen that ASEAN's strengths are weighted 2.35 and ASEAN's weaknesses are 1.7. Then in determining IFAS, the strength weight is divided by the weakness weight possessed by ASEAN so that the IFAS weight is 1.382. Then in calculating EFAS, researchers get an ASEAN opportunity weight of 2.475 and a threat for ASEAN of 1.725. In determining EFAS, ASEAN's opportunity weight is divided by ASEAN's threat weight to get an EFAS weight of 1.4202. As explained below:

Axis (x) - Internal Strategic Factors Analysis Summary (IFAS)

Total Strength Score: Total Weakness Score

$$2.35 : 1.7 = 1.382$$

Axis (y) - External Strategic Factors Analysis Summary (EFAS)

Total Opportunity Score: Total Threat Score

$$2.475 : 1.725 = 1.4202$$

Swot Analysis Coordinate Points

(X, Y)

(1.382, 1.4202)

Then, the conclusion that the external factors owned by Indonesia as the chairmanship of ASEAN 2023 are greater than the internal factors, or described as follows:

$$O/T > S/W$$

This research uses the SWOT method with the formulas that the researcher has explained. Quadrant calculation results in the previous sub-chapter have shown that the IFAS Quadrant result is 1.382 and the EFAS Quadrant result is 1.4202, these numbers are the SWOT coordinates. Then the two results are distributed in the Cartesian diagram in Figure 1.

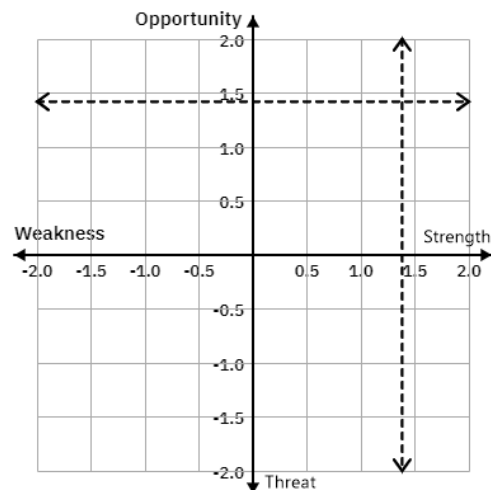


Figure 1. SWOT Cartesian Diagram
Source: The Researcher, 2023

Then, these weights were inserted into the SWOT Cartesian Diagram, as shown in figure 1 and found a point that became the starting point of Indonesia's

possible strategies as the chairmanship of ASEAN 2023 to assert the role of ASEAN centrality after the emergence of AUKUS. This point explains that the value calculated above produces a strategy Strength-Opportunity (SO). Then the results of the above interpretation will be further explained.

Based on the results of the study, the result found points in the SWOT quadrant matrix which in the end, these points become an ideal possible strategy for Indonesia as the chairmanship of ASEAN 2023 to assert the role of ASEAN centrality after the emergence of AUKUS. This analysis arises because of the cross between each group of factors, weighting, and rating. Based on the weighting and ranking results above, it is known that the total value of IFAS is 1.1 and the total value of EFAS is 0.8. Therefore, IFAS is larger than EFAS. Then according to the calculations applied to the SWOT quadrant matrix Cartesian diagram, the IFAS and EFAS points are between the Strengths and Opportunities quadrants. Therefore, the best possible strategy for Indonesia as the chairmanship of ASEAN 2023 to assert the role of ASEAN centrality after the emergence of AUKUS is S O (Strengths – Opportunities), and it can be concluded

that the SWOT analysis used by this research results in all powers of strengths being used to take advantage of the opportunities that exist, Indonesia can focus on strengths and opportunities factors as a tool to formulate a strategy in asserting ASEAN centrality through the chairmanship 2023 to response the emergence of AUKUS. The following is a detailed explanation of the results of the study:

a. Internal Strength Factor

In factor S1, Geostrategic Location. ASEAN is located at the intersection of the Pacific and Indian Oceans, making it a critical strategic location for trade, security, and geopolitics. As AUKUS strengthens its presence in the Indo-Pacific, ASEAN member states will need to work together to ensure that the balance of power is maintained and that regional security is not compromised. ASEAN's role in promoting dialogue, cooperation, and peaceful solutions to conflicts will be essential in asserting its centrality.

In factor S2, Economic Influence as a Regional Organization. With a combined population of over 650 million

people and a total GDP of around \$3 trillion, ASEAN member states form one of the largest and fastest-growing economic regions in the world. ASEAN can use its economic influence to promote its interests and values in the region and to build partnerships that support its objectives.

In factor S3, Inclusive ASEAN-Led Multilateral Mechanism. ASEAN has developed a range of multilateral mechanisms that are inclusive and open to other regional and global players. For example, the ARF brings together ASEAN member states and their dialogue partners to discuss regional security issues and promote dialogue and cooperation.

In factor S4, Regional Connectivity and Infrastructure Development. AUKUS has emphasized the importance of ASEAN's regional connectivity and infrastructure development, especially in terms of ensuring economic growth, sustainable development, and geopolitical balance in the region. ASEAN member states can strengthen their strategic position, and

counterbalance the influence of external powers such as AUKUS.

In factor S5, ASEAN member states strong commitment to creating political stability and security in the Southeast Asian region through TAC. TAC is a vital tool for ASEAN member states can build mutual trust and respect. TAC can be used to counterbalance external influences, such as AUKUS, in the region. By promoting ASEAN's centrality and unity, TAC can help to ensure that external powers respect ASEAN's interests and do not undermine regional stability.

In factor S6, the Firm method of diplomacy is known as the ASEAN Way. The ASEAN Way has been instrumental in promoting regional cooperation and stability in Southeast Asia for decades, and it has become more important after the emergence of AUKUS. The ASEAN Way promotes consensus-building, non-interference, respect for diversity, and promoting dialogue, all of which are important for promoting regional security and stability in the region.

In factor S7, Cultural Diversity and Cooperation. Cultural cooperation and exchange can strengthen regional identity, enhance people-to-people connectivity, promote economic development, and build resilience within the region. By promoting cultural cooperation and exchange, ASEAN can strengthen its regional identity and foster a sense of community among member states.

In factor S8, Indonesia Strong Leadership. Indonesia's experience in managing complex and diverse interests be useful in addressing the challenges posed by AUKUS, which is potentially to have significant implications for regional security, geopolitical dynamics, and economic relations. Indonesia's strong leadership can help to ensure that ASEAN member states are consulted and engaged in the decision-making processes and that their concerns and interests are taken into account.

In factor S9, Indonesia's proactive diplomacy. Indonesia has a long history of active engagement in regional and international affairs and has been a key proponent of

ASEAN's principles of non-alignment, neutrality, and peaceful coexistence. In the context of the emergence of AUKUS, Indonesia's proactive diplomacy can help facilitate dialogue and cooperation among ASEAN member states, as well as between ASEAN and other regional and international actors.

In factor S10, Indonesia's Strong Commitment to ASEAN. As a founding member of ASEAN, Indonesia has long been committed to promoting regional cooperation, solidarity, and stability. In responding to the emergence of AUKUS, Indonesia's strong commitment to ASEAN can help to ensure that ASEAN member states remain united and cohesive in the face of new challenges and uncertainties.

b. Internal Weakness Factor

In factor W1, Differences in Interests and Ideologies. Differences in interests and ideologies can lead to a lack of unity among ASEAN member states, which can weaken the regional response to external challenges such as AUKUS. Without a united

stance, ASEAN member states may find it difficult to negotiate with external powers or respond effectively to regional security challenges.

In factor W2, Uneven Economic & Military Development. ASEAN member states with weaker economies or militaries may also be more vulnerable to external powers. External powers may seek to exploit these vulnerabilities to pursue their interests, which can undermine ASEAN's unity and centrality.

In factor W3, Dependence on External Powers. ASEAN's dependence on external powers can undermine its position as a central in the region. When external powers such as the US, Australia, and China take the lead in addressing regional issues, it can weaken ASEAN's influence and centrality. ASEAN's dependence on external powers can limit its ability to address regional issues. Since external powers may have their own priorities and interests, which may not align with those of ASEAN member states.

In factor W4, Limited Cooperation in Security Affairs. AUKUS, which is seen as a response to China's growing military influence in the region, highlights the need for ASEAN to work together more closely on security issues. There are multiple security-related frameworks in the region, including the ARF, the East Asia Summit, and the ADMM Plus. However, these frameworks do not always work together effectively, which can undermine the role of ASEAN centrality in addressing security challenges.

In factor W5, Limited Institutional Capacity. ASEAN's limited institutional capacity limits its ability to implement agreements and initiatives related to regional cooperation. This makes it difficult for ASEAN to effectively address regional challenges, including those related to security stability. This can make it difficult for ASEAN to compete with external powers, such as the US and China, who have significantly greater resources to devote to regional development.

In factor W6, Human Right Concerns. Human rights violations

by some ASEAN member states can undermine the organization's legitimacy, particularly from the point of view of external parties like AUKUS. This can make it more difficult for ASEAN to advocate for its interests and to play a leading role in regional affairs.

In factor W7, Environmental Challenges. AUKUS, as a new strategic partnership, could potentially increase competition for natural resources in the region, such as oil, gas, and minerals. This can exacerbate environmental challenges and put pressure on ASEAN member states to exploit their natural resources, potentially leading to environmental degradation.

In factor W8, Indonesia's Domestic Political Instability. Domestic political instability can have an impact on Indonesia's ability to effectively engage with other ASEAN member states and external partners and can undermine its credibility and effectiveness as an ASEAN leader this year. In responding to AUKUS, Indonesia's domestic political instability can make it more difficult

to articulate a clear and consistent position on key issues related to regional security and cooperation.

In factor W9, Indonesia's Limited Military Resources. In responding to the emergence of AUKUS, Indonesia's limited military resources can make it more challenging to effectively respond to potential security threats in the region. This can create vulnerabilities for ASEAN as a whole and may limit Indonesia's ability to effectively lead ASEAN in addressing regional security challenges.

In factor W10, Indonesia's low technology readiness. Indonesia's low technology readiness can be a weak indicator for its ASEAN chairmanship in 2023 and may pose challenges in responding to the emergence of AUKUS and other regional and global challenges. This can limit Indonesia's ability to keep up with technological advancements in the region and beyond and may affect its ability to effectively respond to emerging security challenges.

c. External Opportunity Factor

In factor O1, Enhancing regional security. ASEAN could seek to work with AUKUS to promote regional security and stability through dialogue and joint exercises. ASEAN can also enhance its partnership with other regional powers such as China, Japan, and India, to promote greater security cooperation and build trust.

In factor O2, strengthening defense capabilities. ASEAN could enhance its defense cooperation mechanisms, such as the ADMM+, to promote greater defense collaboration and sharing of best practices among its member states. ASEAN could also seek to engage in joint military exercises with external partners, including the US, UK, and Australia, to enhance its defense capabilities.

In factor O3, Encourage Greater Defense Cooperation. ASEAN can encourage greater defense cooperation by promoting joint military exercises and training among member states and with AUKUS member states. This can help build trust and interoperability between military forces and enhance the effectiveness of joint

operations in response to security challenges.

In factor O4, Promoting economic growth. ASEAN can explore opportunities to deepen economic cooperation with AUKUS member states, particularly in areas such as defense technology, innovation, and cyber security. This can help boost economic growth and create new job opportunities in the region.

In factor O5, Supporting Rules-Based Order. ASEAN should ensure that any new initiatives and developments align with existing international norms and frameworks, such as the UNCLOS and the ARF. ASEAN must also continue to promote its initiatives aimed at promoting a rules-based order in the region, such as the TAC and the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the SCS (DOC). ASEAN can work to build greater support for these initiatives among its member states and external partners, including AUKUS member states.

In factor O6, Defense Industry Cooperation. ASEAN member states seek to modernize and

upgrade their defense capabilities, they may look to AUKUS member states for new technologies and expertise. This could provide opportunities for ASEAN defense industries to collaborate with AUKUS member states on joint research and development projects, technology transfers, and joint production of defense equipment.

In factor O7, AUKUS is a Counterbalance of China's Hegemony. AUKUS could potentially provide an opportunity for ASEAN to counterbalance China's hegemony and assert its interests in the region. AUKUS could encourage ASEAN member states to band together and work more closely on issues related to security and defense. By promoting greater regional cooperation and collaboration, ASEAN could potentially enhance its influence and become a more effective counterbalance to China's hegemony.

In factor O8, Enhancing Capacity Building and Human Resources Development. Indonesia's ASEAN chairmanship in 2023 has an opportunity to take a

leadership role in promoting capacity building and human resources development in the region, and for ASEAN as a whole to benefit from Indonesia's expertise and experience in this area. By leveraging ASEAN's collective resources and expertise, and by working closely with other ASEAN member states, Indonesia can help to build a more resilient and prosperous ASEAN community.

In factor O9, Developing Firm Trade and Investment Policies. Developing firm trade and investment policies can help to mitigate the potential impact of AUKUS on regional trade and investment flows. By promoting greater economic integration and cooperation within ASEAN, the region can become less dependent on external major power states for trade and investment, and more resilient in the face of external influences.

In factor O10, Promoting Regional Resilience. By working closely with other ASEAN member states, Indonesia can help develop a coordinated approach to regional security and stability and promote

policies that strengthen regional institutions and enhance military capabilities. Through building greater resilience within the region, ASEAN member states can become less dependent on external powers for security and more capable of addressing regional security challenges on their own.

d. External Threat Factor

In factor T1, Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea: China's territorial claims overlap with ASEAN member states, leading to confrontations and tensions in the region. AUKUS could complicate the situation further.

In factor T2, US-China Rivalry in the Indo-Pacific Region: The rivalry could increase military presence and exacerbate territorial disputes, putting pressure on ASEAN states to take sides and potentially harming unity.

In factor T3, Potential for an Arms Race: AUKUS technology transfer could escalate tensions and trigger a regional arms race as states enhance their military capabilities in response.

In factor T4, Security Dilemma: AUKUS may increase tensions and defense capabilities, creating insecurity, miscalculation, and potential conflict in the region.

In factor T5, Undermining ASEAN Centrality: AUKUS could reduce ASEAN's influence, policy-shaping ability, unity, and negotiating power on territorial disputes and other issues.

In factor T6, Challenging existing security frameworks. AUKUS may potentially challenge existing security frameworks in the region, such as the ASEAN-led TAC and the ARF. AUKUS may potentially divert attention and resources away from these frameworks, and shift the focus towards a more exclusive security alliance, thereby undermining the role of ASEAN centrality and the spirit of inclusivity in regional security cooperation.

In factor T7, Straining diplomatic relations. This could lead to a deterioration of trust and cooperation between ASEAN and AUKUS member states, and even potentially impact ASEAN's relationships with other nations in

the region. Moreover, AUKUS may also exacerbate existing tensions between ASEAN member states and China, as China sees the agreement as a threat to its interests and influence in the region. This could further strain diplomatic relations and create a more challenging security environment for ASEAN.

In factor T8, Geographically, Potential to become a proxy battleground for US-China rivalry. AUKUS has raised concerns about the potential for Southeast Asia to become a proxy battleground for US-China rivalry, which could have significant implications for regional security and stability. As ASEAN chairmanship in 2023, Indonesia will have an important role to play in mitigating this threat and promoting regional peace and stability.

In factor T9, Potential for increased tension between ASEAN member states. The emergence of AUKUS has the potential to upset the regional balance of power, and this may lead to increased tension between ASEAN member states as they seek to protect their interests

and ensure their security. This could manifest in various ways, including territorial disputes, economic competition, and strategic alignment with external powers.

In factor T10, Fragmentation of ASEAN. ASEAN's strength lies in its unity and collective action, but the emergence of AUKUS and other external factors could potentially create divisions among ASEAN member states, leading to fragmentation and weakening of the regional organization. This could have significant implications for regional security and stability, as well as economic integration and cooperation.

According to the weighting and rating results above, it is known that the total IFAS value is 1.382 and the total EFAS value is 1.4202. Therefore, EFAS is greater than IFAS. Then according to the calculations applied to the SWOT quadrant matrix, the IFAS and EFAS points are between the Strength and Opportunity quadrants. Therefore, the best possible strategy for Indonesia through the chairmanship of ASEAN 2023 in asserting ASEAN centrality after the

emergence of AUKUS is SO (Strengths - Opportunities), namely:

1. Indonesia as ASEAN 2023 chair uses its strategic location and various approaches to enhance regional security after AUKUS.
2. Leveraging economic strength and diplomatic ties, Indonesia promotes economic cooperation and defense capabilities in ASEAN.
3. The ASEAN-led multilateral mechanism facilitates dialogue and trust-building among member states to address AUKUS challenges.
4. Infrastructure investments and connectivity support both the economic and security aspects of ASEAN.
5. Indonesia emphasizes adherence to international law and norms for peaceful dispute resolution and a rules-based order.
6. Using the ASEAN Way, Indonesia fosters defense industry cooperation and joint military exercises within ASEAN.
7. Cultural diversity in ASEAN strengthens unity and

cooperation while engaging AUKUS member states.

8. Indonesia's leadership enhances capacity building and human resources development in ASEAN.
9. Proactive diplomacy and collaboration with ASEAN states promote regional response to AUKUS and external challenges.
10. Indonesia's commitment to ASEAN fosters solidarity, resilience, and the strengthening of institutional frameworks for regional security.

Conclusions, recommendations, and Limitations

The emergence of AUKUS, an agreement between Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States to share technology for nuclear submarines, raises concerns for ASEAN's centrality and security. AUKUS could trigger an arms race in the region and challenge the military power balance. Indonesia, as the Chairmanship of ASEAN 2023, aims to build a stronger and united ASEAN, maintain transparency and good communication, and promote regional stability and security. The US-China rivalry can weaken ASEAN's bargaining power,

but Indonesia must ensure ASEAN remains united. ASEAN must emphasize its centrality in achieving a strong regional security defense that supports economic progress and promotes a cooperative approach to regional security.

Indonesia's strategy to assert ASEAN centrality after AUKUS can be achieved through the SO (Strengths-Opportunities) strategy. This includes using its geostrategic location to enhance regional security, leveraging economic strength and diplomatic ties, promoting an inclusive ASEAN-led multilateral mechanism, investing in infrastructure, promoting adherence to international law and norms, facilitating defense industry cooperation, leveraging cultural diversity, promoting regional capacity building and human resources development, working closely with other ASEAN member states, and reducing dependence on external actors. By doing so, Indonesia can help promote regional cooperation and stability, build a more resilient and prosperous ASEAN community, and navigate external challenges such as AUKUS.

Based on the results of this study, the researcher provides suggestions that can be used as input and considerations

before reaching out to ASEAN's external partners, Indonesia as the chairmanship of ASEAN 2023 must increase dialogue within ASEAN. We can see that within ASEAN there are still various opinions among ASEAN member states, such as Indonesia and Malaysia which have different views from Singapore, Vietnam, and the Philippines in addressing the emergence of AUKUS. Furthermore, dialogue can also be enhanced by presenting AUKUS as an external partner of ASEAN. In this dialogue, the possibilities that could occur in the cooperation between Australia, Britain, and the United States could be discussed which could affect the security of the ASEAN region. This dialogue is expected to produce cooperative security that is beneficial to both parties as well as help ASEAN to emphasize its centrality and unity in maintaining regional security stability.

Dialogue and cooperation with ASEAN's external partners should be enhanced to achieve mutual benefits and interests. Indonesia as the chairmanship of ASEAN 2023 and geopolitically and geostrategically the most recognized state among ASEAN member states, has an important role in maintaining security stability in the region. Responding to the

emergence of AUKUS which triggers tension between AUKUS and China, which could lead to military conflict and nuclear war, Indonesia and ASEAN need to play a significant role in several ways, including (1) building ASEAN's collective stance by continuing to prioritize a neutral stance, (2) building strategic trust with defense diplomacy for confidence-building measures in the region in peaceful ways through dialogue and cooperation involving all relevant parties (AUKUS, ASEAN, China); and (3) asserting the principles contained in the ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific (AOIP), namely ASEAN Centrality and Unity.

Comprehensive follow-up research is needed regarding the centrality of ASEAN in the region after the emergence of AUKUS and what is the most ideal policy for ASEAN in responding to AUKUS so that ASEAN as a regional organization in the region is not marginalized as a form of perfecting this research. So that other research will help emphasize the centrality of ASEAN through building mutual trust, especially involving states that are members of AUKUS together with China and other states to build mutual trust through the mechanism of defense diplomacy for CBM which has

been initiated by ASEAN to maintain stability security in the region.

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