

# THE INDONESIA IDEA OF INDO-PACIFIC TREATY: PROSPECTS AND PROBLEMS

## GAGASAN INDONESIA MENGENAI INDO-PACIFIC TREATY: PROSPEK DAN MASALAH

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**Abstrak** - Kawasan Indo-Pasifik merupakan kawasan yang menjadi perhatian dunia saat ini, karena kekuatan di bidang politik, ekonomi dan militer dari negara-negara yang ada didalam kawasan tersebut. Permasalahan keamanan yang terjadi di kawasan tersebut menjadi perhatian dunia dan Indonesia merasa perlu berperan aktif dalam menciptakan perdamaian dan keamanan di kawasan. Oleh karena itu, melalui mantan Menteri Luar Negeri Marty Natalegawa, Indonesia mengajukan sebuah gagasan pembentukan *Indo-Pacific Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation* untuk menjaga keamanan kawasan. Artikel ini bermaksud mengetahui makna dan tujuan gagasan pembentukan traktat ini, serta prospek dan masalah dalam mewujudkannya. Di akhir penelitian ditemukan simpulan bahwa gagasan dan tujuan dari pembentukan *Indo-Pacific Treaty* ini adalah menciptakan mekanisme untuk mempromosikan cara damai dan saling percaya dengan tidak menggunakan cara pengerahan kekuatan militer dan tidak merugikan pihak-pihak lain di dalam kawasan. Walaupun untuk saat ini prospek mewujudkan gagasan ini masih kecil dikarenakan adanya sejumlah masalah yang menghadang, namun gagasan ini tetap dapat diwujudkan di masa depan dengan menggunakan strategi yang mendapat dukungan dari negara-negara lain di kawasan.

**Kata kunci:** gagasan, *indo-pacific treaty*, prospek, masalah, keamanan kawasan, kerjasama keamanan

**Abstract** - *Indo-Pacific region is an area of concern for the world today, because of the power in politics, economics and military of the countries that are in this region. Security problems that occur in this region become the attention of the world and Indonesia felt it necessary to play an active role in establishing peace and security in the region. Therefore, through the former Minister of Foreign Affairs Marty Natalegawa, Indonesia proposed the idea of establishment an Indo-Pacific Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation for maintaining regional security. This article intends to determine the meaning and purpose of the idea of this treaty, as well as the prospects and problems in realizing them. In conclusion, the idea and the purpose of the establishment of Indo-Pacific Treaty is to create mechanisms to promote peaceful means and mutual trust without deployment of military force and*

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*harming other parties in the region. Although for now the prospect of realizing this idea is still small due to a number of problems facing, but this idea can still be realized in the future by using a strategy that has the support of other countries in the region.*

**Keywords:** *idea, indo-pacific treaty, prospects, problems, regional security, security cooperation*

## Preface

**A** sia-Pacific region that stretches from Asia to the America and has an area bordering the Pacific Ocean is an area of concern to the world today. In the Asia-Pacific region, there are four major countries that have political, economic and military power as well as influential for the world, that is the United States, Japan, China and Russia.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which is an association of ten Southeast Asian countries, has joined forces to form a community for the common interest in politics and security, economics and socio-culture. With the joining of ten Southeast Asian nations within a community, ASEAN has become an influential subregional organization in Asia Pacific and is considered by major countries as well as other countries in the Asia Pacific region.

Currently there are several important events and momentum that occurred in the Asia Pacific region which is the concern of many countries in the world. Some of these incidents include

disputed territorial seizures in the South China Sea, in the East China Sea, China's rise and increasing defense budgets of several countries in Asia Pacific. The territorial dispute in the South China Sea involves six countries bordering on the territory. The six countries are China, Taiwan, Philippines, Brunei, Malaysia and Vietnam. The dispute began with China's claim to the South China Sea (including the territory of the Parcel archipelago and the Spratly islands) involving five other countries that felt its territory was claimed by China. The disputed territory is important because the region contains many potential resources such as fish, petroleum and natural gas, and is a strategic area as an international shipping lane that many pass by ships. If this dispute continues and evolves into the deployment of military power, it will pose a threat to other countries concerned with trade routes passing through this South China Sea region.

In other parts of Asia Pacific, precisely in the East China Sea, China and Japan also have a dispute over the claim of sovereignty over empty islands in the

East China Sea, namely in the Senkaku / Diaoyu archipelago. The claims of both countries are both trying to build military power to protect and achieve their national security interests in the disputed region<sup>2</sup>.

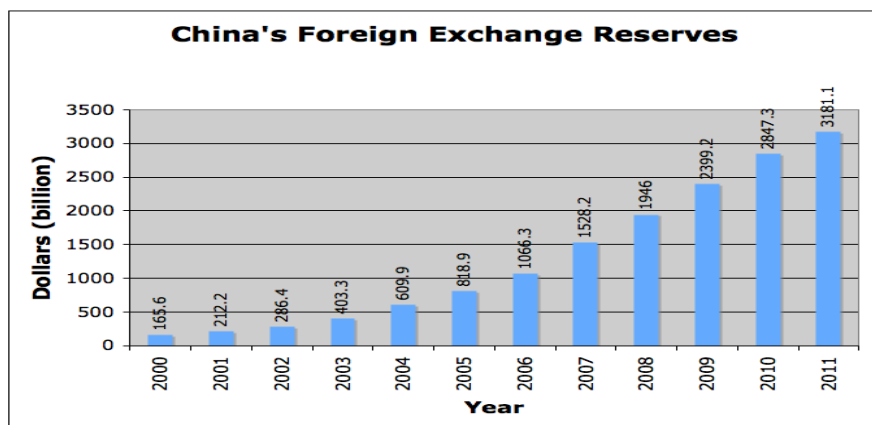
China's economic revival is a distinct phenomenon in the Asia-Pacific region, because of this strong economy, China can increase its military power in Asia Pacific. From Figure 1 below, it can be seen that China's foreign reserves continue to increase, from US \$ 165.6 billion in 2000 to US \$ 3,181.1 in 2011.

In addition, China's economic

growth from 2000 to 2012 has stabilized above 7% (see Figure 2)<sup>3</sup>.

From the revival of the economic sector, China can then increase its strength in the defense sector. Recorded in 2014, China's defense budget amounts to US \$ 129.4 billion and is the second largest defense budget country in the world after the United States (amounting to US \$ 581 billion) and is above the two other major economies in Asia Pacific, namely Russia ( amounting to US \$ 70 billion and in fourth place) and Japan (amounting to U \$ 47.7 billion and is in seventh position) (Figure 3)<sup>4</sup>.

Figure 1. China's State Reserves 2000 – 2011



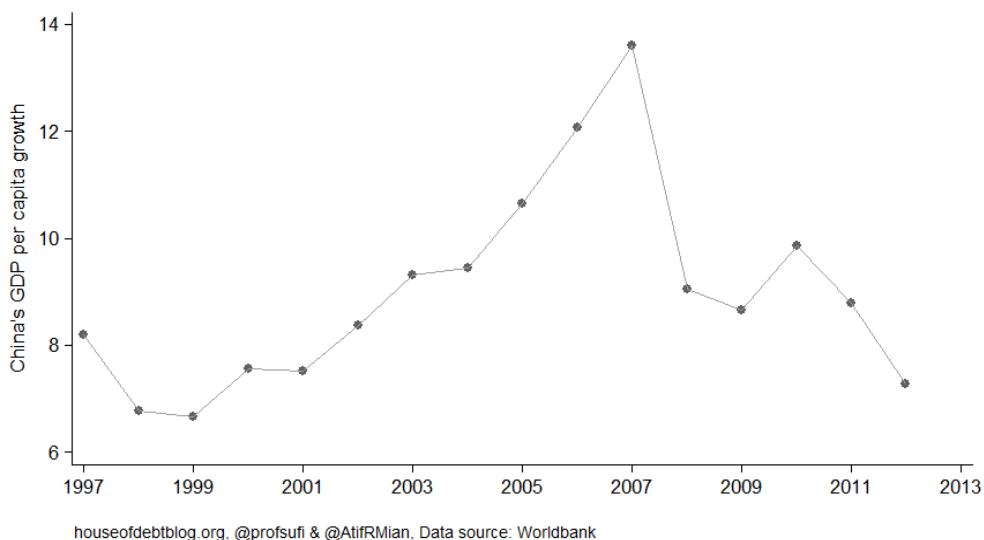
Source: <http://viableopposition.blogspot.com/2012/03/chinas-holdings-of-us-treasuries-what.html>

<sup>2</sup> Mur Mallarani, “Krisis Keamanan dan Eskalasi Politik di Asia Timur”, *Jurnal Mallarani*, dalam <http://jurnalmallarani.blogspot.com/2014/01/krisis-keamanan-dan-eskalasi-politik-di.html>, diunduh pada 4 Mei 2015.

<sup>3</sup> Atif Mian dan Amir Sufi, “China and the Dangers of Debt”, House of Debt, dalam <http://houseofdebt.org/2014/03/13/china-and-the-dangers-of-debt.html>, diunduh pada 24 Juli 2015.

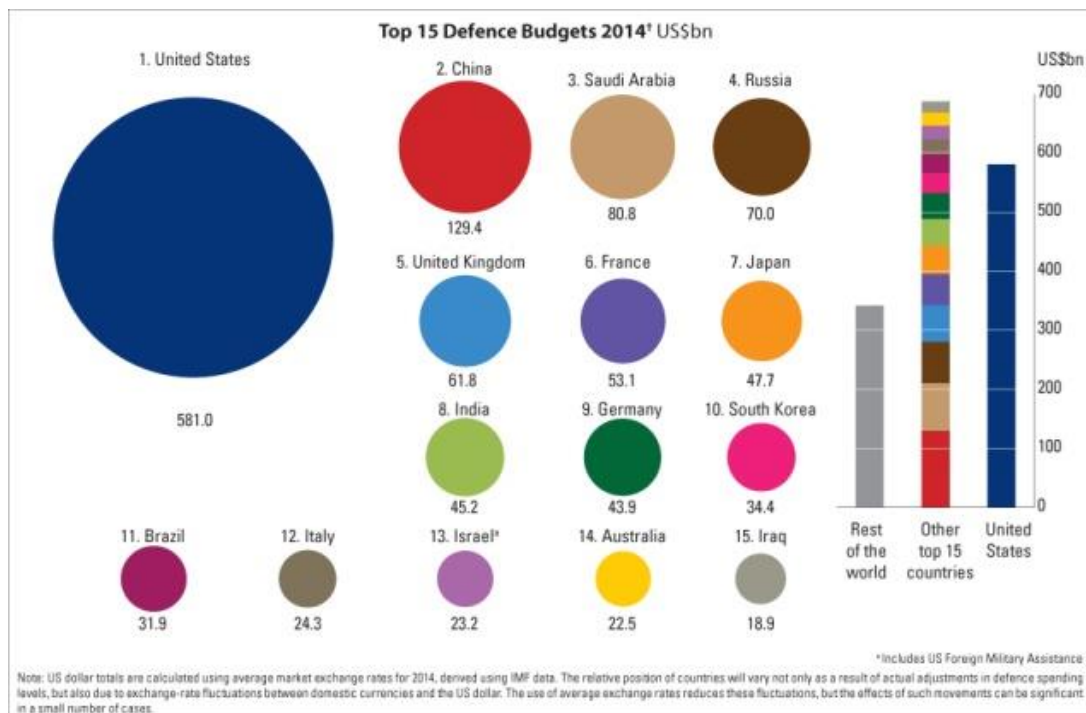
<sup>4</sup> Giri Rajendran, “Defence Budgets - Devil in The Detail”, The International Institute for Strategic Studies, dalam <https://www.iiss.org/en/militarybalanceblog/blogsections/2015-090c/february-8272/2014-top-defence-spenders-bb5d>, diunduh pada 24 Juli 2015.

Figure 2. China's Economic Growth of 1997 – 2013



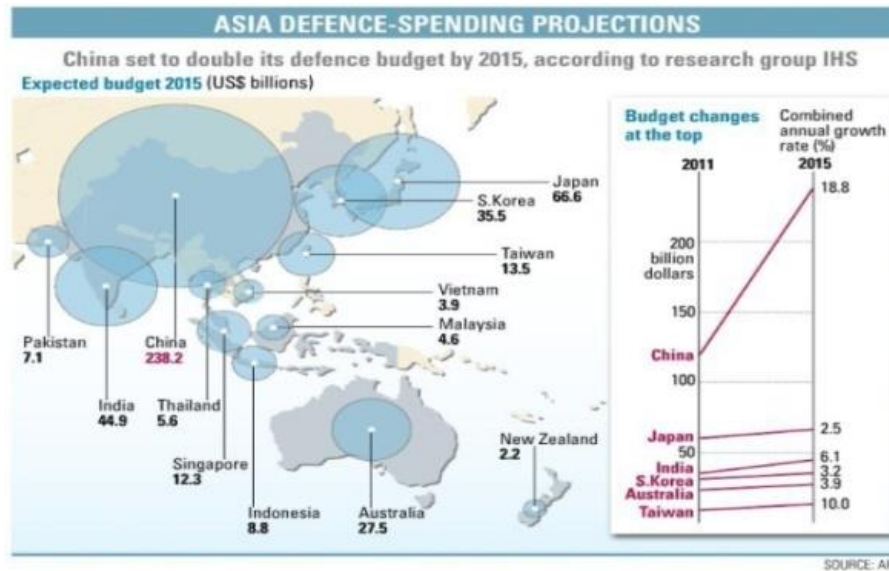
Source: <http://houseofdebt.org/2014/03/13/china-and-the-dangers-of-debt.html>

Figure 3. Top 15 Defense Budget in The World of 2014



Source: <https://www.iiss.org/en/militarybalanceblog/blogsections/2015-09oc/february-8272/2014-top-defence-spenders-bb5d>

Figure 4. Defense Budget Estimation in Asia of 2015



Source: <https://bigtalkmoney.wordpress.com/2012/02/15/asia-defence-spending-projections/>

In the Asia-Pacific region, in addition to China whose defense sector budget is expected to increase by 18.8% by 2015, other countries also increase their defense sector budget by 2015, such as Japan (2.5% increase in defense sector budget), South Korea (Increase 3.2% of defense sector budget), Australia (increase 3.9% of defense sector budget) and Taiwan (increase 10% of defense sector budget) (Figure 4)<sup>5</sup>. The Asia-Pacific region of the 21st century faces both traditional security issues as well as non-traditional security issues that disrupt relationships amongst regional countries

<sup>5</sup>“Asia Defence Spending Projections”, Big Talk Money, dalam <https://bigtalkmoney.wordpress.com/2012/02/15/asia-defence-spending-projections/>, diunduh pada 24 Juli 2015.

and inevitably have evolved. Due to the mixing of security issues faced in the Asia Pacific region, the strategy that has been used, in the form of dialogues in some security cooperation such as the dialogues conducted in the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), is considered to be inadequate to face the challenge Security is now faced in the region<sup>6</sup>. The current issues of security include attention to the post-Cold War Korean Peninsula, South China Sea dispute, bilateral tensions between East Asian countries, border disputes between several Southeast Asian nations, the growing of terrorism, narcotics and money laundering, As well

<sup>6</sup> Amitav Acharya dan See Seng Tan, *Asia-Pacific Security Cooperation*, (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2004).

as human security issues. The combination of security issues raises the need for a new security strategy to complement existing security strategy approaches, which may be useful for use in a particular region and period, but now require some formulation<sup>7</sup>.

In the 90s, there were a number of important developments that changed the design of security architecture in the Asia Pacific region and one of the most important and considered major sources of change was the establishment of ARF in 1993. ARF is the culmination of new ideas and initiatives the establishment of multilateral forums for regional security. ARF is the only multilateral forum addressing security issues in Asia Pacific<sup>8</sup>.

ARF was formed at the 26th meeting of the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting and Post Ministerial Conference held in Singapore on July 23<sup>rd</sup> – 25<sup>th</sup> 1993. Then on July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1994 the first ARF meeting was held in Bangkok. The purpose of forming ARF as designed in the first ARF Chairman's Statement in 1994 was to encourage constructive dialogue and consultation on political and security issues of mutual interest and concern. In addition, it aims to make a

significant contribution to efforts towards building trust and diplomacy that are preventive in the Asia Pacific region. In the 27th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting in 1994, it was stated that ARF could become an effective consultative forum in the Asia Pacific region in promoting open dialogue for cooperation in the field of politics and security in the region. To make it happen, ASEAN should work with ARF partners to bring a more predictable and constructive pattern of relationships in the Asia Pacific region. At present, participating countries or organizations participating in ARF have 27 participants<sup>9</sup>.

ARF's achievements among others managed to invite big countries like the United States, China, Japan and Russia to become participants in ARF.

This is beneficial because with the joining of the big country, it allows ARF together with other countries to engage in dialogue and find solutions to the political and security issues occurring in the Asia Pacific region, thus avoiding the emergence of excessive forces or warfare caused by problems that can not be resolved. Another achievement quoted from Beckman by Aisarieva is that ARF

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<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

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<sup>9</sup>“About The ASEAN Regional Forum”, ASEAN Regional Forum, dalam <http://aseanregionalforum.asean.org/about.html>, diunduh pada 23 Juli 2015.

until 2009 succeeded in making the South China Sea dispute issue not to cause open conflict between the countries involved in the dispute and one of the main reasons is that ARF can invite China to agree dialogue with ASEAN in Creating conflict prevention, although ARF still has to follow it up from conflict prevention to be a meaningful collaboration in resolving the dispute. As Aisarieva points out above that ARF is still limited in resolving conflicts in Asia Pacific. Therefore, it is necessary to initiate the establishment of a security cooperation mechanism that can solve the existing problems. Indonesia as an ASEAN member is expected to play a role in becoming part of the solution to global issues, including in the Asia Pacific region. In this case, Indonesia can act as mediator in existing problems such as regional disputes in the Asia Pacific region<sup>10</sup>. According to the 6th President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in a state address on August 16<sup>th</sup> 2013, Indonesia wants dynamic equilibrium in the Asia Pacific region, so there is no dominating power in the region. This

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<sup>10</sup> Ezra Sihite, "Indonesia Tak Mau Ada Kekuatan Dominan di Asia", BeritaSatu.com, dalam <http://www.beritasatu.com/asia/132049-indonesia-tak-mau-ada-kekuatan-dominan-di-asia-pasifik.html>, diunduh pada Agustus 2015.

dynamic balance is built into contents and confrontations can be avoided. To achieve this, Indonesia continues to encourage the realization of the idea of the Indo-Pacific Treaty for Friendship and Cooperation which aims to increase mutual trust and override the use of violence in resolving disputes<sup>11</sup>. The idea of Indo-Pacific Treaty was first established by Marty Natalegawa.

In May 16, 2013 at Washington D.C., former Indonesian Foreign Minister Marty Natalegawa, in the presence of a conference organized by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), put forward the idea of establishing the Indo-Pacific Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in the Asia Pacific region. The Indo-Pacific Treaty is considered in line with the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) held by ASEAN. Through the idea of the Indo-Pacific Treaty, Natalegawa stressed that changes in the economic, security and politics within the Indo-Pacific region will not end.

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

This is the main reason for the need for a new paradigm in managing bilateral and multilateral relations in Asia Pacific<sup>12</sup>. Given the influence and national interests of each of the major economies in the Asia-Pacific region, namely the United States, China, Japan and Russia, it can be seen that there are currently some security issues in the region such as regional disputes in the South China Sea and the East China Sea and the strengthening of defense forces of countries in the Asia Pacific region. The existence of ARF as a dialogue forum to resolve issues in politics and security in Asia Pacific has not been able to solve all these problems.

As Acharya and Tan point out that the development of security issues raises the need for a new security strategy to complement existing ones that may need to be reformulated in accordance with changing environmental developments. Marty Natalegawa's idea of establishing the Indo-Pacific Treaty could be an alternative in reformulating the region's security strategy in fighting for

sustainable peace cooperation in the Asia Pacific region even more broadly in the Indo-Pacific region. However, what exactly is the Indonesian idea of the Indo-Pacific Treaty? And how the prospects and problems that exist in realizing the idea?

## **Theoretical Basis**

### **Security Theory**

For many analysts, the word security has a beauty-like meaning because it is related to a subjective and elastic term in which the meaning will vary for each individual<sup>13</sup>. Security is therefore often referred to as an "essentially contested concept" which means that the term does not have a definite consensus on what the real sense is. This is because everyone has different security meanings with each other<sup>14</sup>. Most experts in International Relations have a concept that the definition of security is related to matters relating to the removal of threats to values that are considered valuable.<sup>15</sup>

There are currently two views on approaches to security studies, a narrow and focused view of the military and the state known as traditionalists and wider

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<sup>12</sup>Jack Georgieff, "An Indo-Pacific Treaty: An Idea Whose Time Has Come?", *The Diplomat*, dalam <http://thediplomat.com/2013/05/an-indo-pacific-treaty-an-idea-whose-time-has-come>, diunduh pada 11 Mei 2015.

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<sup>13</sup> Paul D. Williams, *Security Studies: An Introduction*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2008).

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*



new views<sup>16</sup>. The new view is as stated by Buzan in his book *People, States and Fear* published in 1983. Buzan argues that security is not only related to the state, but also related to all that is relevant to humans and is not limited to focusing only on the business of power military<sup>17</sup>. Buzan developed the framework that in terms of human-related security (not just the state) is influenced by factors in the five main sectors (military, political, economic, social, and environmental) each of which has its own focal point and way of prioritizing<sup>18</sup>.

### **Security Architecture Concept in the Asia-Pacific Region**

The current and future Asia-Pacific security architecture is not only evolving as a result of multilateral forums such as ARF and other forums. For some countries such as the United States and its allied countries, the alliance system is part of the security architecture in the Asia Pacific region and the system is considered ideal by the United States. Meanwhile, multilateral forums that do

not include the United States in it, are undesirable by the United States<sup>19</sup>.

In parallel, Ralf Emmers argues that security cooperation in Asia Pacific has been influenced by two types of approaches, namely bilateral and comprehensive cooperative and cooperative alliances. Both are two different types of security cooperation models. The Alliance focuses narrowly on military security and is by definition based on the idea that security must be increased against current or potential enemies. Security arrangements have traditionally been operated in anarchy systems where each country is responsible for their own security. In this case, security is approached in terms of competitive and win-lose.<sup>20</sup>

Meanwhile, a comprehensive and cooperative security concept adopts a broad sense of security and supports the idea that security must be enhanced through cooperation with others rather than against others. Although comprehensive and cooperative security

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<sup>16</sup> Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, dan Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, (Boulder : Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Paul D. Williams, *op.cit.*

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<sup>19</sup> Bantarto Bandoro, *Indonesia dalam Lingkungan Strategis yang Berubah*, (Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2014).

<sup>20</sup> Ralf Emmers, "Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific: Evolution of Concepts and Practices" dalam Amitav Acharya dan See Seng Tan, *Asia-Pacific Security Cooperation*, (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), hlm. 3-18.

has become a main key influencing the multilateral cooperation structure in Asia Pacific, bilateral alliances have dominated though in the future there may be a change<sup>21</sup>.

According to Bantarto, there are at least three options regarding regional security architecture in the Asia Pacific region. The three options are (1) continuity vs. change; (2) overlapping multilateral structures vs. single structure; And (3) Unipolar Asia Pacific vs. the power set (vs. concert of power) vs. community. The choice is not only emerging because of the need to design the ideal security architecture in the Asia Pacific region, but also because of the emergence of turmoil or security issues in the Asia Pacific region, both because of the influence of relations between countries as well as internal factors within countries in the region<sup>22</sup>.

In the first option, ie continuity vs. change, countries in the region are faced with the choice of using the current security architecture, centered on ASEAN and ARF which is a dialogue forum addressing security issues or choosing to form a new set of institutions. If continue to choose to use ARF, ASEAN will be

the strategic architecture of security in Asia Pacific and remain the cornerstone of security cooperation in the region even highlighted in it's ability to move ARF toward the stage of preventive diplomacy or the next stage in addressing security issues in the Asia Pacific region.<sup>23</sup>

In the meantime, if choosing to form a new institution might provide a solution to the stalemate facing ARF over the years. By establishing a new institution it is expected to be a real forum in conducting preventive diplomacy in resolving security issues without being hindered by state sovereignty. What needs to be a concern for the new institution is how to gain confidence in its efforts to resolve security issues in the region because the level of trust is a problem for ARF in the effort to move to the next stage in solving existing security problems<sup>24</sup>.

In the second option, ie overlapping multilateral structures vs. single structure, the Asia-Pacific region is faced with the choice of using the region's evolving security architecture from bound institutions such as ARF originating from ASEAN, or using a new, independent structure that is not bound by ASEAN.

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Bantarto Bantarto, *op.cit.*

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

What is meant in this second option is whether later countries in the Asia Pacific region will retain existing institutions such as ASEAN, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), ASEAN Plus Three (APT), and others. The region will only focus on solving traditional security problems, or building new single structures that function to coordinate and implement the various activities undertaken by existing institutions<sup>25</sup>.

The third option mentioned above is the unipolar Asia Pacific vs. the power set (vs. concert of power) vs. the community. The unipolar Asia Pacific is based on the belief that the United States still plays an important role in the Asia Pacific region and maintains its supremacy through its military strength. Countries in Asia have a role in maintaining US hegemony in the region. This is evident from the cautious attitude of Asia Pacific countries by seeking strategic alliances with the United States in addressing China's rise in the region. Furthermore, the United States is seen as a reliable partner for Asia in securing the region. The United States itself seems to be avoiding to support the regional security architecture that could

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

reduce its role and influence in the region<sup>26</sup>.

Meanwhile, the concept of power in the Asia Pacific region can be seen from the idea that has been proposed by Australia through the establishment of Asia-Pacific Community (APC). Concept of power is an expanded version of cooperative security, in which agreements are made on principles, rules and procedures for governing relations between countries. So as to increase trust and reduce the potential for misperceptions that can lead to inter-state crisis in the region<sup>27</sup>.

The security community can be a long-term goal in the Asia Pacific region as it will be very difficult if it is to be realized in the short term. The security community is becoming a much deeper security cooperation relationship than the existing cooperative collaboration in the Asia Pacific region. In the security community, national interests and ideas are under a supra-national system in which each country not only concerns the security issues of its own country, but also the security of other countries within the same security community. In the security community there is an agreed

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

mechanism for resolving disputes, and the use of force in resolving issues is considered invalid in the security community<sup>28</sup>.

### **International Cooperation Concept**

There are many views on the understanding of international cooperation, among which is put forward by Kalevi Jaakko Holsti in his book entitled *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis*. Holsti put forward several notions of international cooperation, among others:<sup>29</sup>

- a. The view that two or more interests, values, or objectives meet each other and can produce something, promoted or fulfilled by all parties at once. The views or expectations of a country which policies decided by other countries will help the country to achieve its interests and values.
- b. Approval or specific matters between two or more countries in order to exploit equality of interest or conflict of interest.
- c. Official or unofficial rules regarding future transaction conducted to acquire approval.

- d. Transaction between countries to fulfill their agreement

### **Balance of Power Theory**

In the context of international cooperation, also known as the term balance of power. The Balance of Power theory traditionally refers to a state in which no one country dominates over another. It also refers to the policy of promoting the balance of power with the assumption that unbalanced power is harmful. In the concept of Balance of Power explains that a large country must be balanced with one other big country to provide stability in a world's political conditions. In addition, the countries that balance the power must be similar strength and might. The concept of Balance of Power prevents the hegemony of one country in the world against other countries<sup>30</sup>.

Along with that, Hedley Bull revealed that the principle of balance of power is valuable because it is conducive to an international order that can produce a basic purpose of the meaning of social life: survival, security and stability for personal wealth. These goals are common to both individuals and

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Kalevi Jaakko Holsti, *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis* (6th ed.), (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1992).

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<sup>30</sup> Martin Griffiths dan Terry O'Callaghan, *International Relations: The Key Concepts*, (London: Routledge, 2002).

countries. Furthermore, the balance of power is very valuable for countries because it can prevent the emergence of hegemony. With this in mind, Bull supports a number of opinions stating that states should be independent agents who freely choose their own destiny. The moral value of freedom and mutual independence legitimizes the balance of power<sup>31</sup>.

### **Superpower State Theory**

The countries of the world are basically not the same or similar to each other. This is expressed by John Rennie Shor for the reason that every country has variations in power and influence. Superpower countries are countries that have a global capacity to influence events or incidents. For superpower countries, the surface of the world is like a giant chessboard where every step and counter-step will show changes in the Balance of Power<sup>32</sup>.

Superpower countries have a goal to maintain their top position in the world order. In addition, they also aim to incorporate as many other countries as possible within their influence. They gain

status as a superpower through the influence of their economic, military and political forces. The range of influence of a superpower state can be defined as the region in which the superpower country can use its power effectively. What makes these countries superpower is the scope and level of influence over other countries. Influence can be interpreted as the ability to achieve the desired result<sup>33</sup>.

Judging from its history, superpower states have two characteristics, namely:

1. Superpower states legitimize their dominance through ideology;
2. The superpower state will not last forever (because surely there will emerge new countries that can offset the strength of the superpower country)<sup>34</sup>.

### **Foreign Policy Change Theory**

Change is a thing done by a country to become a country that has better quality. Changes in a country's foreign policy are strongly influenced by the regime in power in the country. In fact, there is a tendency to conclude that regime change

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<sup>31</sup> Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (2nd ed.), (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

<sup>32</sup> John Rennie Shor, *An Introduction to Political Geography* (2nd ed.), (London: Routledge, 1993).

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<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

is almost the only way to achieve a major shift in a country's foreign policy<sup>35</sup>.

According to Charles F. Hermann, the concept of foreign policy is a program or plan designed to address some of the problems or pursue several objectives that require action against foreign entities. The program or plan specifies conditions and state apparatus<sup>36</sup>.

With this definition, foreign policy changes can be seen in four stages of change, among others:<sup>37</sup>

1. *Adjustment Changes*: are changes occurring at the level of effort and / or reach of the policy recipients (e.g. improvements to the target class). What it does, how it is done, and the objective remains unchanged.
2. *Program Changes*: are changes made to the method or manner in which the goal or problem is addressed. Unlike Adjustment Changes that tends to be quantitative, the Program Changes is qualitative and involves new states apparatuses (such as realizing goals through diplomatic negotiation compared to military forces). What is

done and how it is done will be changed but the purpose of it being done remains unchanged.

3. *Problem/Goal Changes*: are changes in which the level of problems or initial goal addressed in the policy is replaced or eliminated. In this change, the purpose of the policy is change.
4. *International Orientation Changes*: are the most extreme form of foreign policy change that involves the transfer of the entire orientation of the perpetrator to the world's problems. This orientation change involves a basic shift in the international role and activities of the offender. Does not only happens to one policy, but the change also happens simultaneously.

### **Long Cycle Theory**

*The Long Cycle Theory by George Modelski is a theory of the regularity pattern of operations in global politics that focuses particularly on the rise and fall of the world's forces. In this theory there is a concept described through a long cycle consisting of a sequence of four phases called "learning" long cycle. The four phases in "learning" that long cycle is:*<sup>38</sup>

1. *Agenda-setting*;

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<sup>35</sup> Charles F. Hermann, "Changing Course: When Government Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 1, 1990, hlm. 3-21.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

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<sup>38</sup> George Modelski, "Long Cycles in Global Politics", *International Relations*, Vol. 2, 2009, hlm. 230-252.

2. *Coalition-building*;
3. *Macrodecision*; dan
4. *Execution*.

The explanation of the four phases are as follows. The first phase, Agenda-setting, shows the emergence of a new conceptualization of global problems. The second phase, Coalition-building, refers to the ongoing alignments associated with the new agenda. The third phase, Macrodecision, is a systemic decision-making phase that selects new leadership and the winner's coalition agenda. The fourth phase, Execution, is the phase where the results of the third phase are implemented<sup>39</sup>.

## **Discussion**

### **The Idea of Establishing the Indo-Pacific Treaty for Friendship and Cooperation**

Geographically, the term Indo-Pacific in the idea of the Indo-Pacific Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation is an area that spans the two oceans, the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean. This area is also important as it passes through some of the most important shipping lanes in the world as the main world trade movement that connects the two oceans. In the field of politics and economics, the term Indo-Pacific refers to the region

where there are some countries with the most dynamic economies in the world that play a role in changing the world economy as well as in politics. Today the Indo-Pacific region is an economic power that acts as an engine in global economic growth and accounts for about two-thirds of global trade. The use of the term Indo-Pacific will be able to realize the interconnection between the Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean in the future. The Asia Pacific term for this paper is referred to as the Indo-Pacific.

The Indo-Pacific Region will face diverse challenges or multi-faceted challenges. The first challenge is the trust-deficit or deficit of trust. The challenges faced today are likely to develop into major threats even to the point of open conflict due to the increasing factor of distrust that can increase the tension of the problem. The way to solve it is to build trust and confidence, give priority to mutual restraint, build communication. Clear and open communication between the countries of the region is necessary to avoid conflicts caused by the confidence deficit between countries<sup>40</sup>.

The second challenge is unresolved territorial claims or unresolved territorial

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

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<sup>40</sup> Jack Georgieff, *op.cit.*

disputes. With regard to unresolved territorial disputes, it requires commitment from stakeholder parties to respect and resolve disputes peacefully in accordance with certain agreed rules to avoid miscalculation or the emergence of undesirable crises. Examples of the most crucial territorial dispute issues currently in the Indo-Pacific region are regional disputes in the South China Sea and East China Sea<sup>41</sup>.

The third challenge is managing the impact of change or managing change. Changes and transformations occur throughout the Indo-Pacific region in the political and economic spheres that have an impact not only on the country's internal but also the surrounding countries. In line with the emergence of change, there are also new challenges that can be faced by establishing partnership relationships or by competing<sup>42</sup>. In relation to this third

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<sup>41</sup> Ignatius Randy, "Relevansi Konsep *Indo-Pacific Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation* dengan Kebijakan Luar Negeri Indonesia di Indo-Pasifik: Menuju Indonesia sebagai Poros Maritim Dunia", Pusat Pendidikan dan Pelatihan Kementerian Luar Negeri RI, dalam [http://www.kemlu.go.id/pusdiklat/Documents/01%20Politik/Relevansi%20Konsep%20Indo-Pasific%20Treaty%20of%20Friendship%20and%20Cooperation%20\(Politik\).pdf](http://www.kemlu.go.id/pusdiklat/Documents/01%20Politik/Relevansi%20Konsep%20Indo-Pasific%20Treaty%20of%20Friendship%20and%20Cooperation%20(Politik).pdf), diunduh pada 26 Agustus 2015.

<sup>42</sup> Marty Natalegawa, *op.cit.*

challenge, as changes in the economic, security and politics of the Indo-Pacific region will not end, this is at the heart of a new perspective on managing security in the Indo-Pacific region<sup>43</sup>.

The Indo-Pacific region requires a new perspective that promotes a dynamic equilibrium. The word "dynamic" refers to the recognition that change is inherent and constant within the region. Meanwhile, the word "equilibrium" means that constant change does not have an anarchic implication in interstate relations, either because of the strong influence of one country, or because of the chaos or uncertainty associated with a multipolar region<sup>44</sup>.

Peace and stability within the region should be generated through the promotion of security, prosperity and mutual stability. Security can only be enjoyed by many countries if security is seen as a togetherness and not as something earned at the expense of others. A dynamic balance is generated through the promotion of a shared sense of responsibility in an effort to maintain peace and stability in the region. Former President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono argues that the spirit of dynamic

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<sup>43</sup> Jack Georgieff, *op.cit.*

<sup>44</sup> Marty Natalegawa, *op.cit.*



equilibrium shows a pattern of relationships based on the spirit of cooperation and partnership so that competition or confrontation should be kept away. Countries in Asia Pacific must be confident that the progress of a country is an opportunity for increased cooperation<sup>45</sup>.

To generate a dynamic balance in the Indo-Pacific region, it is proposed to establish an Indo-Pacific Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, which is a commitment of countries in the region to build confidence, resolve disputes peacefully, and promote security concepts that include all security as common property. The Indo-Pacific Treaty aims to increase mutual trust as well as override the use of force in resolving disputes between countries within the region<sup>46</sup>.

### **The Meaning behind Indonesia's *Indo-Pacific Treaty Idea***

Marty Natalegawa's idea of Indo-Pacific Treaty gets support because its meaning is judged according to the original idea of its formation. Among other things, it is said that the Indo-Pacific Treaty is conceptualized to be the mechanism of development of norms and principles for

an ever-changing and expected region with the Indo-Pacific Treaty that will be able to create common security that is generated by not sacrificing other parties within the region<sup>47</sup>. It is also supported by the statement of former President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono who defines the Indo-Pacific Treaty as a friendly and cooperative treaty with the aim of enhancing mutual trust and peaceful means of resolving disputes<sup>48</sup>.

From these opinions it can be said that the meaning of the idea of the Indo-Pacific Treaty is a commitment from countries in the region that constantly change and be conceptualized to become the mechanism of development of norms and principles. These norms and principles will be used in building and enhancing confidence, to resolve disputes in a peaceful manner and to promote a security concept that covers all where security is a common property and does not compromise other parties within the region.

Based on the analysis, the original idea of Indo-Pacific Treaty put forward by Marty Natalegawa is very true. This is supported by Buzan's security theory that security affairs not only focus on military

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<sup>45</sup> Ezra Sihite, *op.cit.*

<sup>46</sup> Ezra Sihite, *op.cit.*

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<sup>47</sup> Ignatius Randy, *op.cit.*

<sup>48</sup> Ezra Sihite, *op.cit.*

power affairs, there are other sectors that become the priority focus in the security field, namely the political, economic, social and environmental sectors. The equations that can be taken are on the meaning of the idea put forward on the concept of peace and dialogue in resolving disputes and to promote the concept of security that includes all where it is in accordance with the security theory of Buzan which states that security issues are not only about the affairs of military power alone.

From the results of the analysis, it can be argued that the initial idea of the meaning of the Indo-Pacific Treaty is very good, as it is supported and in accordance with the security theory. Therefore, the idea of establishing the Indo-Pacific Treaty is expected to be realized, agreed and implemented by countries in the Indo-Pacific region as a solution to resolve or avoid security conflicts in the region.

### **Goals and the Three Main Areas of the Indo-Pacific Treaty Idea**

Furthermore, the idea of establishing Indo-Pacific Treaty proposed by Marty Natalegawa is supported because it is in line with the initial idea of its formation. Ignatius Randy argues that the Indo-Pacific Treaty aims to create an area that

can contribute to peace and security, and enhance mutual trust and peaceful means of resolving disputes in the region<sup>49</sup>. Accordingly, Natalie Sambhi points out that the purpose of this idea is to encourage the idea of common security and promote confidence and dispute resolution by peaceful means<sup>50</sup>. By having these treaties, countries in the region will begin to think of themselves as members of the community responsible for common security<sup>51</sup>. Meanwhile, Rory Medcalf expressed his opinion on the purpose of the Indo-Pacific Treaty idea of being an alternative to the big power competition in the Indo-Pacific region<sup>52</sup>.

*The Indo-Pacific Treaty proposed by Marty Natalegawa is a treaty that will adopt and apply the construction of existing norms and rules used by ASEAN, namely TAC. But it can be said that the Indo-Pacific Treaty will be more ambitious than the TAC. This is because the Indo-Pacific Treaty aims to anticipate conflicts in the Indo-Pacific region as well as offer a*

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<sup>49</sup> Ignatius Randy, *op.cit.*

<sup>50</sup> Natalie Sambhi, "Do We Need An Indo-Pacific Treaty?", *The Strategist*, dalam <http://www.aspistrategist.org.au/do-we-need-an-indo-pacific-treaty/>, diunduh pada 18 September 2016.

<sup>51</sup> Natalie Sambhi, komunikasi personal, 28 September 2016.

<sup>52</sup> Rory Medcalf, komunikasi personal, 27 September 2016.

*pre-emptive mechanism for conflict prevention and resolution*<sup>53</sup>.

From these opinions, it can be concluded that the purpose of the idea of the Indo-Pacific Treaty is to contribute to peace and security by promoting trust and resolving disputes peacefully; offers a pre-emptive mechanism for conflict prevention and resolution; be an alternative to the great power competition in the Indo-Pacific region; As well as aiming for regional countries to start thinking about themselves as members of the community responsible for common security. In addition, the three main areas underlying the problems in the Indo-Pacific region and identified as potentially disrupting the security of the region as mentioned by Marty Natalegawa at the beginning of this idea are also gained support. The three main areas are: (1) the confidence deficit; (2) unresolved territorial disputes and; (3) managing change in the region. Randy expressed his opinion on the three main areas that the Indo-Pacific Treaty anticipates as follows:

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<sup>53</sup> Joseph Chinyong Liow, "What to make of Indonesia's Indo-Pacific Treaty", *The Straits Times*, dalam <http://www.straitstimes.com/news/opinion/more-opinion-stories/story/what-make-indonesias-indo-pacific-treaty-20141016>, diunduh pada 11 Mei 2015.

*“. . . The Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs expressed the concept to anticipate three challenges that emerged in the Indo-Pacific region, namely prolonged territorial disputes, geopolitical changes and increasing mutual trust among the major countries in the region. . . “*<sup>54</sup>.

On that note, Georgieff expressed his opinion as follows:

*“. . . Natalegawa outlined three key areas that could be addressed in the Indo-Pacific under his notion of a regional friendship treaty: the trust deficit; unresolved territory disputes; and managing change in the region. . . “*<sup>55</sup>

Meanwhile, Liow expressed his opinion on the three main areas in the Indo-Pacific Treaty as follows:

*“. . . The backdrop for this proposal was what Dr Natalegawa identified as three key areas that might potentially destabilise the region: A "trust deficit" between some states in the region, the existence of unresolved territorial claims and a rapid transformation of regional states that affects the relationships between them. . . “*<sup>56</sup>

Based on the analysis, the purpose of the idea and the three main areas in the Indo-Pacific Treaty are in accordance with Emmers' comprehensive and cooperative security concept. In a comprehensive and cooperative security concept, security is seen in a broad sense

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<sup>54</sup> Ignatius Randy, *op.cit.*

<sup>55</sup> Jack Georgieff, *op.cit.*

<sup>56</sup> Joseph Chinyong Liow, *op.cit.*

and should be enhanced through cooperation with others rather than against others. The concept is the same as the three main areas and the purpose of the idea, namely the issue of trust deficit, territorial disputes and changes in the region through the Indo-Pacific Treaty. It is attempted to be overcome and prevented by promoting trust and settlement in a peaceful way, and all parties within the region are responsible for common security.

From the results of the analysis, it can be said that in its purpose of the idea and the three main areas in the Indo-Pacific Treaty is very good. This is because it is in accordance with the concept of comprehensive and cooperative security, so as to enhance security cooperation in a peaceful way and avoid the use of violence or military force to resolve or prevent problems within the Indo-Pacific region. Therefore, it can be concluded that the idea of Indo-Pacific Treaty can be an alternative or solution in solving security problems in the Indo Pacific region.

### **Prospect in Realizing Indonesia's Idea Regarding Indo-Pacific Treaty**

The prospect of realizing Indonesia's idea of the Indo-Pacific Treaty at the moment is very small. Vignesh Ram argues that for

now the Indo-Pacific Treaty is not possible or feasible. Others see that there is little indication that the Indo-Pacific Treaty can be realized. Even if such a treaty materializes, it will be difficult to see how and why the Indo-Pacific Treaty will become a game-changer, as many existing institutions and mechanisms have struggled to improve tensions among countries in the region<sup>57</sup>.

The success of realizing the idea of the Indo-Pacific Treaty depends very much on who is pursuing for the idea. At present, there is the impression that there is not much encouragement in Indonesia on this issue. It also depends on whether the major countries in the Indo-Pacific region approve the idea<sup>58</sup>. Meanwhile, it is also said that the Indo-Pacific Treaty is an opportunity for countries in the Indo-Pacific region to be part of establishing norms and institutions in the region. Other international institutions established after World War II, such as the United Nations (UN) have been criticized for being away from the current dynamic forces<sup>59</sup>. Based on opinion of these experts, the idea of

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<sup>57</sup> Joseph Chinyong Liow, *op.cit.*

<sup>58</sup> Rory Medcalf, komunikasi personal, 27 September 2016.

<sup>59</sup> Natalie Sambhi, komunikasi personal, 28 September 2016.

these experts, the idea of the Indo-Pacific Treaty has not been implemented for now because there is little indication to make it happen and there is the impression that there is not much encouragement in Indonesia to realize the idea. Nevertheless, in fact the idea of establishing the Indo-Pacific Treaty is a good opportunity for countries in the Indo-Pacific region to be part of establishing norms and institutions for security in their region.

Based on the analysis, it can be argued that the idea of the Indo-Pacific Treaty should be realized because it can accommodate the interests of countries in the Indo-Pacific region of shared security within the region. It is based on the concept of international cooperation proposed by Holsti where in international cooperation which has been common in the current era of globalization, there is a meeting of interests, values or goals so as to produce something that is promoted and fulfilled by all parties at once.

This is in accordance with what is meant by the Indo-Pacific Treaty's notion that within the Indo-Pacific region there is a common interest and purpose for creating security for all and by promoting an increase in trust and a peaceful way of

dealing with emerging problems. In addition, the idea of Indo-Pacific Treaty is expected to produce a dynamic balance in the Indo-Pacific region in accordance with the Balance of Power theory which is a state where no one country dominates over other countries, thus preventing the emergence of hegemony in the Indo-Pacific region. From the results of the analysis, it can be argued that the idea of the Indo-Pacific Treaty, although still difficult to achieve for the time being, is the answer to the commitment required in security cooperation and the balance of power in the Indo-Pacific region.

#### **Challenges Encountered in Realizing Indonesia's Idea of *Indo-Pacific Treaty***

According to the analysis, there are three problems in realizing the idea of establishing the Indo-Pacific Treaty. Firstly, the absence of support from the big countries over the idea of the Indo-Pacific Treaty has been one of the problems in realizing this idea. Ram quoted a statement from Bandoro who argued that there would be no guarantee that major countries would approve as expected by Indonesia. Indonesia also does not have the ability to dictate the strategic direction of the major countries,

so the success of the Indo-Pacific Treaty is debatable.<sup>60</sup>

Correspondingly, Medcalf said that the problem of realizing the Indo-Pacific Treaty's idea indirectly lies in the agreement of the major powers on this idea. This problem also occurs in the TAC, where major countries express respect for existing institutions and agreements, but ultimately they are still trying to resolve their disputes through coercion and influence. For example the TAC can not stop China from using coercion and the threat of implicit power to change the status quo in the South China Sea<sup>61</sup>.

Furthermore, it can be argued that without the support of powerful states within the Indo-Pacific Treaty, the norms in this respect are the hope that countries will not use force or coercion, will not become necessary deterrents. Many countries will continue to rely on their traditional alliance partners for protection or to provide balance to other aggressive countries<sup>62</sup>.

From these opinions it can be concluded that there is no guarantee that big countries will approve this idea and Indonesia does not have the ability to

dictate the strategic direction of the big countries. Without such support, the norms and rules that will be made in this idea will not succeed in becoming a tool to prevent the use of force or coercion in the resolution of security concerns in the Indo-Pacific region.

The absence of support from the major powers in accordance with the superpower state theory proposed by Shor, concerning the global capacity of superpower countries to influence things, whether events or incidents, whether in the economic, military or political, and will keep trying to maintain the position And their influence to get results that they desire. Therefore, major countries in the Indo-Pacific region will seek to secure their influence over other countries in the region by not supporting the idea of establishing the Indo-Pacific Treaty.

The second problem is the absence of blueprints that clearly illustrate how to realize the idea of the Indo-Pacific Treaty. This is in accordance with the argument made by Liow that the noble purpose of the Indo-Pacific Treaty proposed by Indonesia is not accompanied by blueprints that clearly illustrate how to make it happen<sup>63</sup>. Related to the absence

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<sup>60</sup> Vignesh Ram, *op.cit*

<sup>61</sup> Rory Medcalf, komunikasi personal, 27 September 2016.

<sup>62</sup> Natalie Sambhi, *op.cit*.

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<sup>63</sup> Joseph Chinyong Liow, *op.cit*.

of such blueprints, it is because there is no chance to develop this idea further and occur largely because of a change of government where Marty Natalegawa as the originator of the idea no longer serves as the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia. Meanwhile, the ASEAN-owned TAC is considered to be a basic blueprint for the Indo-Pacific Treaty, but at the time this idea was put forward, Natalegawa was judged to have no strong idea<sup>64</sup>.

From these opinions, it can be said that the absence of blueprint becomes a separate problem in realizing this idea. Moreover, in the absence of the blueprint, Indonesia has no basis to convince major countries to provide support in realizing the ideas and objectives of the Indo-Pacific Treaty.

The third issue that becomes a problem in realizing the idea of Indo-Pacific Treaty, which is related to the continuation of the idea of Indo-Pacific Treaty after the change of government in Indonesia from Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono to Joko Widodo. It is unlikely that President Joko Widodo will continue the idea of establishing the Indo-Pacific Treaty. This is related to the number of

domestic problems inherited from the previous government and the opposition that dominates the parliament that must be faced by the government of President Joko Widodo. Therefore, it seems that the government of President Joko Widodo would not have the power to expand at the level of international diplomacy when compared to the previous administration that sought to engage in it<sup>65</sup>.

Another opinion says that the government of President Joko Widodo seems to not have any interest in pursuing diplomatic initiatives in the region such as Indo-Pacific Treaty. In order to take advantage of Indo-Pacific Treaty's ideas in practical initiatives, it seems that some external stimulus is needed to encourage Indonesia to become more actively involved in this idea, such as the emergence of Chinese provocation in the South China Sea<sup>66</sup>.

In line with this, it is also said that the government of President Joko Widodo is considered much more interested in pragmatic foreign policy than the approach through the norms of former President Yudhoyono and former

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<sup>64</sup> Natalie Sambhi, komunikasi personal, 28 September 2016.

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<sup>65</sup> Joseph Chinyong Liow, *op.cit.*

<sup>66</sup> Rory Medcalf, komunikasi personal, 27 September 2016.

Foreign Minister Marty Natalegawa. Therefore, the prospect of realizing the Indo-Pacific Treaty in the era of President Joko Widodo is considered small<sup>67</sup>.

With the change of government from former President Yudhoyono to President Joko Widodo, there was a change of foreign policy. This is supported by Hermann's theory of changes in foreign policy of a country that is strongly influenced by the regime in power in the country. With the change of foreign policy, the researchers see that there is a change in the stages of Problem / Goal Changes. In this stage of change, there is a change in the stages of Indonesia's foreign policy objectives, from international diplomacy policy to the principle of thousand friends, zero enemy into policies that support the maritime axis.

### **Strategy to Realize the Indo-Pacific Treaty Idea**

According to some experts, appropriate strategies are needed to realize the idea of the Indo-Pacific Treaty. Taking into account the current conditions in the region, Ram mentions a strategy that can be done as a first step if you want to realize the idea of the Indo-Pacific Treaty.

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<sup>67</sup> Natalie Sambhi, komunikasi personal, 28 September 2016.

First is to build trust and confidence among the major countries in the region. This is a very important requirement in order to successfully achieve anything. The next step is to institutionalize the architecture of the Indo-Pacific region. This step is a challenging task and requires a process related to the conflict of interest of the major countries in the region. Furthermore, to create consensus among the major powers, it is also necessary to create a common understanding among middle and developing countries such as Indonesia, India and Australia. It becomes vital and important considering that these countries have a strategic location<sup>68</sup>.

From Ram's opinion, it can be said that the proposed strategy consists of three steps as follows: (1) build trust and confidence among the major countries in the region; (2) creating a common understanding among middle and developing countries that have strategic locations within the Indo-Pacific region; (3) institutionalize the architecture of the Indo-Pacific region<sup>69</sup>.

The steps in the strategy corresponds to the phases that exist in Long Cycle Theory of Modelski. The first

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<sup>68</sup> Vignesh Ram, *op.cit.*

<sup>69</sup> Vignesh Ram, *op.cit.*



phase of Agenda-setting is seen from the unresolved security issues in the Indo-Pacific region as a whole. Later, the idea of forming the Indo-Pacific Treaty was established with the agenda of creating stability and security of the region through promoting mutual trust and peaceful means in solving regional security problems. The second phase of Coalition-building is seen from the step of building trust and confidence from the big countries as well as the middle and developing countries. With these steps it is expected the existence of understanding and alignment to realize the idea. The third phase of Macrodecision is seen from the last step that can be generated in decision making in the form of institutionalizing the architecture of the Indo-Pacific region and with that step the idea of Indo-Pacific Treaty will be more easily realized. The fourth phase of the new Execution will be visible after the idea is approved and implemented in the Indo-Pacific region.

Until now, by looking at the prospects and problems in realizing the idea of Indo-Pacific Treaty, it can be seen that the idea of the Indo-Pacific Treaty is new in the agenda-setting stage that is in the form of identifying the problems of regional security and the idea-making. So

that the steps in the proposed strategy it has yet to enter the phase of coalition-building, macrodecision, even the execution phase. However, if the idea of the Indo-Pacific Treaty is to be realized in the future, then the steps corresponding to the phases that exist in the Long Cycle Theory can serve as a strategy for realizing this idea. Therefore, it can be said that the idea can be realized if the strategies and steps in making it goes well, so that the idea can be agreed and accepted by countries in the Indo-Pacific region in the future.

### **The Ideas of Indo-Pacific Treaty Concerning the Concept of Regional Security Architecture**

At the end of this discussion, an analysis of the ideas for the formation of the Indo-Pacific Treaty will be linked to the conceptual choice of security architecture in the Asia-Pacific region, or in this study the Indo-Pacific region. First, the idea of the Indo-Pacific Treaty if it will be realized and agreed upon by countries in the Indo-Pacific region will be the choice of a "change" security architecture. In this option, the Indo-Pacific Treaty will establish a new and separate security mechanism from existing mechanisms in the region so far, such as ARF. This mechanism will be different from pre-

existing mechanisms, as the Indo-Pacific Treaty creates its own norms and rules and is expected to become an impasse breaker facing existing mechanisms in the face or anticipation of security issues in the region.

Furthermore, if later embodied then the idea of Indo-Pacific Treaty will be the choice of security architecture "single structure". In this option, the Indo-Pacific Treaty will use new structures and mechanisms that function to coordinate and implement existing mechanisms such as ASEAN, APEC, ASEAN Plus Three, so that the overall security concept includes in sectors other than military, such as politics, economics, Social and environmental conditions can be achieved through the Indo-Pacific Treaty.

In the end, if it is realized then the idea of Indo-Pacific Treaty will be the choice of security architecture "security community". In that choice, Indo-Pacific Treaty will be able to realize a security community that can be realized in the long term. It is based on the fact that the Indo-Pacific Treaty wants regional security to be the joint responsibility of all the countries in the Indo-Pacific region and there will be an agreed peace mechanism to settle disputes without using force. The concept is in accordance

with what is described as a security community. Therefore, it can be argued that realizing the idea of the Indo-Pacific Treaty will be able to produce a new regional architecture or security mechanism and benefit all countries in the region, because security will be a shared responsibility and no one will be harmed. This is because the settlement of disputes or issues will be resolved peacefully according to norms and rules and without the mobilization of force.

## **Conclusion**

### **Indonesia's Idea Regarding the Formulation of *Indo-Pacific Treaty***

The notion of the Indo-Pacific Treaty has a meaning as a commitment from countries in the ever-changing Indo-Pacific region. This idea is conceptualized to be the norm-building mechanism and principle in building and enhancing confidence, resolving disputes peacefully and promoting the concept of security. The desired security deposit is the security that belongs together and does not compromise the other parties within the region. The concept of peace and dialogue in resolving disputes and promoting the concept of security that includes all, according to Buzan's security theory which states that security issues

are not only about military strength, but there are other sectors that become the focus of priorities, namely political, economic, social and environmental. Therefore, it can be argued that the initial idea of the meaning of the Indo-Pacific Treaty is very good as it provides a solution to resolve or avoid conflicts in the field of security within the region.

Furthermore, the purpose of the idea of establishing the Indo-Pacific Treaty also fits with the initial idea of its formation, which is to contribute to peace and security by promoting trust and dispute resolution in a peaceful manner; Offers a pre-emptive mechanism for conflict prevention and resolution; Be an alternative to the large power competition in the Indo-Pacific region; As well as aiming for regional countries to start thinking about themselves as members of the community responsible for common security. There are three main areas that form the basis of problems in the Indo-Pacific region and are identified as potentially disrupting the security of the region as mentioned at the beginning of this idea proposed by Marty Natalegawa. The three main areas are: (1) the confidence deficit; (2) unresolved territorial disputes; And (3) management of changes in the region. The purpose of

the idea and the three main areas of the Indo-Pacific Treaty is very good because it is in line with a comprehensive and cooperative security concept so as to enhance security cooperation peacefully and avoid the use of coercion or military force to resolve or prevent problems within the Indo-Pacific region.

### **Prospect and Challenges in Realizing the Indo-Pacific Treaty Idea**

The notion of the Indo-Pacific Treaty can not be implemented at this time because there are few indications to make it happen and there is also the impression that there is not much encouragement in Indonesia regarding the idea. Nevertheless, the idea of establishing the Indo-Pacific Treaty is a good opportunity for countries in the Indo-Pacific region to be part of establishing norms and institutions for security in their region. Therefore, although it is still difficult to realize for now, it can be said that the idea of Indo-Pacific Treaty is the answer to the required commitment in accordance with the concept of security cooperation and provides a balance of power in the Indo-Pacific region.

Furthermore, the doubt on the success of the idea of establishment the Indo-Pacific Treaty can be seen from the three problems that exist in making it

happen, namely: (1) support from the big countries; (2) absence of blueprint; and (3) the continuation of the Indo-Pacific Treaty in the era of President Joko Widodo's administration.

To be able to realize the Indo-Pacific Treaty idea requires the right strategy in the following three steps: (1) building trust and confidence among the major countries in the region; (2) creating a common understanding among middle and developing countries that have strategic locations within the Indo-Pacific region such as Indonesia, India and Australia; (3) institutionalize the architecture of the Indo-Pacific region. The idea of Indo-Pacific Treaty can be realized properly if the strategies and steps in making it happen are executed so that the idea can be agreed and accepted by countries in the Indo-Pacific region in the future. When it comes to the choice of the concept of security architecture in the region, the idea of establishing the Indo-Pacific Treaty if it is later embodied and agreed upon by countries in the Indo-Pacific region will be the choice of security architecture (1) "Change" which constitutes a new security mechanism And apart from existing mechanisms in the region; (2) a "single structure" that uses new structures and mechanisms that

function to coordinate and implement existing mechanisms so that a comprehensive security concept including in sectors other than military, such as political, economic, social and environmental can be achieved through this Indo-Pacific Treaty; and (3) the "security community" that can be realized in the long term and want the security of the region to be the joint responsibility of all the countries in the Indo-Pacific region and there will be an agreed peace mechanism to resolve disputes that are not by the use of force.

### **Recommendation**

Based on the discussion and analysis, it can be recommended to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia to re-examine the existence of the idea of forming the Indo-Pacific Treaty. Seeing the goals that the Indo-Pacific Treaty wishes to achieve is very good for the security of the region, it is advisable for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to carry out its strategy and steps in collecting support to realize this idea. The support comes from other countries and other developing countries in the Indo-Pacific region. In addition, Indonesia as the initiator of this idea should be able to prepare a clear and detailed blueprint on the Indo-Pacific Treaty, so it will be easier

to explain to countries in the region the importance of the Indo-Pacific region has a security commitment in the form of Indo-Pacific Treaty, and therefore it will be faster to get support from them to realize this idea.

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