

ANALYSIS OF INDONESIA'S DEFENSE DIPLOMACY IN FACING THE CRISIS ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA TO MAINTAIN THE STABILITY OF THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN REGION

Chayu Amrita Nanda¹, Yoedhi Swastanto², Amarulla Octavian³

Indonesia Defense University

(chayuananda@gmail.com, yoedhiswastanto83@gmail.com, rosseauherve@gmail.com)

Abstract – In a security perspective, the territory of Indonesia and the Southeast Asia region as a whole are strategic areas in economic, political and military aspects. This condition also has complex potential challenges and risks for creating tension among countries. After the Korean War and World War II the development of the crisis on the Korean Peninsula continued. North Korea chose to build and to increase its military capabilities. Indonesia as one of the adjacent countries to the Korean Peninsula, could get an impact to the sovereignty and security of the country. Especially caused by North Korea's nuclear testing activities. This study aims to determine the form of Indonesian Defense Diplomacy and how the roles of the involved actors in responding to the issue. By using qualitative research methods, this study discusses the issue with constructivist theory and the concept of defense diplomacy for the analysis. The result of this research is a form of Indonesian defense diplomacy in response to the crisis on the Korean Peninsula.

Keywords: ASEAN, defense diplomacy, denuclearization, defense strategy, regional security

Introduction

Estimates of threats and challenges in the implementation of national defense can be determined through analysis of strategic environmental developments. In a security perspective, the territory of Indonesia and the Southeast Asia region as a whole are strategic areas in economic, political and

military aspects. It also has complex potential challenges and risks for creating tension among countries.

Several Southeast Asian countries have modernized their defense forces as results of advances in defense industry and technology. The progress is to anticipate or prevent the situation from the possibility of tension as a result of uncertainty in the strategic situation.

¹ Defense Diplomacy Study Program, Defese Strategy Faculty, Indonesia Defense University.

² Defense Diplomacy Study Program, Defese Strategy Faculty, Indonesia Defense University.

³ Maritime Security Study Program, National Security Faculty, Indonesia Defense University and Staff and Command School of Indonesian Navy.

However, this technological progress has undergone significant changes and influenced the changing trends in contemporary forms of conflict. Within the scope of ASEAN, there are at least regional key issues which then become strategic issues and focus on regional defense and stability. Namely terrorism, the South China Sea conflict, Rohingya conflict, and the crisis on the Korean Peninsula. This research will focus on threats that might be faced by Indonesia related to the issue of the Korean Peninsula crisis.

The tension on the Korean Peninsula was also influenced by North Korea as a result of its actions in developing various types of missiles. The Korean People's Army (KPA) which is the name of the North Korean army consists of Ground Force, Naval Force, Air Force, Special Operations Force, and Rocket Force. According to the United States Department of State, in 2012 North Korea had the fourth largest army in the world, with around 1.21 million armed personnel

and around 20% of men aged 17–54 in the regular army. North Korea also has the highest percentage of military personnel per capita compared to many countries in the world, with around 1 enlisted army for every 25 residents.⁴ In addition, it also included ownership of 4,060 tanks, 2,500 APCs, 17,900 artillery, 11,000 air defense weapons and around 10,000 MANPADS and anti-tank control missiles. North Korea also has 915 ships in the Navy and 1,748 aircraft in the Air Force, of which 478 are fighters and 180 are bombers. According to official North Korean media, military spending in 2010 reached 15.8% of the state budget.⁵

Then how do the neighboring countries of the Korean Peninsula respond? In 2017, the United States and South Korea explained that they would use the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) for their country's defense systems against North Korea.⁶ Japan responded by deploying an additional missile defense system in Hokkaido, because for the second time the North Korean missile had slid past its

⁴ U.S Department of Defense, *Military and Security Developments Involving the Democratic People's Republic of Korea* 2012, 2013.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ BBC News, "AS Mulai Pasang Sistem Pertahanan Rudal Thaad di Korea" (Indonesian), on <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-39189535>, accessed on July 15, 2018.

airspace.⁷ Previously, Japan had deployed PAC-3 missile defense systems at a number of sites in Hokkaido. Then China and Russia continued to maintain good relations with North Korea while remaining the main trading partner.



Figure.1. Explosion Range of North Korea Missile

Source: express.co.uk

Indonesia is also one of the countries adjacent to the Korean Peninsula region. Although not directly bordering land or sea, all activities carried out by the countries on the Korean Peninsula may impact the sovereignty and security of Indonesia, especially the nuclear testing activities carried out by North Korea. So that Indonesia must aware in term of national security to protect the defense of the nation and

state. Indonesia's national identity as a mediator country and as a country that has ratified the Convention on Anti-Nuclear Tests or the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) is committed to encouraging the creation of a world safe from all forms of nuclear weapons tests and explosions.

Indonesia has some impacts that also need to get attention regarding the launch of North Korea's nuclear weapons, such as:

1. The level of the Indonesian economy will decline, especially those using trade routes by sea.
2. Indonesia's economic growth at the global level will decline.
3. The economy of the Southeast Asia region is threatened.
4. The security of the Southeast Asian region is threatened.
5. Widespread battlefields from East Asia to Southeast Asia.
6. The emergence of extremist movements.

A forum or platform initiated to reduce tension in this crisis has been established, namely in the Six-Party Talks forum. The forum consists of 6 influential

⁷ CNN News, "Waspada Korut, Jepang Kerahkan Pertahanan Rudal Tambahan" (Indonesian), on <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/>

20170919095239-113-242639/waspada-korut-jepang-kerahkan-pertahanan-rudal-tambahan, accessed on July 15, 2018.

countries, namely South Korea, Japan, China, Russia, the United States and North Korea itself. In this forum it discusses ideas as well as various compromises that are tried to be built among member countries to reduce tensions. However, this forum has not progressed with the absence of ongoing compromises among its member countries.

Because the Six-Party Talks Forum does not run optimally, it seems that there is a need for support from the neighboring countries, namely Southeast Asian countries. ASEAN is a forum that can channel ideas to resolve this issue. Indonesia as a country whose leadership is recognized in ASEAN, and which has a good relationship with North Korea which has been explained previously, can be a good modality for Indonesia to be able to contribute ideas regarding the resolution of this case. For this reason, Indonesia must participate in efforts to maintain national and regional security.

Conceptual Framework

In conducting the research, the authors used several previous studies which

became sources of information and background data to support the research. The previous study that will be used by the first author is a book written by L. Carl Brown entitled *Diplomacy in The Middle East: The International Relations of Regional and Outside Powers*. Then the journal article was written by Andi Parwono and Ahmad Saifuddin Zuhri, entitled *Role of North Korean Nuclear as an Instrument of International Political Diplomacy*. And a book entitled *Diplomacy and Security in the Twenty-first Century* by James E. Nolan.

This paper also uses the Constructivist theory and the Concept of Defense Diplomacy. The Constructivist theory describes relations between countries that are constructed through interests, intentions, identities, and languages. The figures in this theory are Kratochwil, and Alexander Wendt. Alexander Wendt, a constructivism thinker from Germany, stated that there was an international system transformation from the Hobessian system (which had nuances of conflict and war) to Lockean (rivalry and competition) and Kantian

(friendship/cooperation).⁸ So that the dynamics of contemporary international relations always the results of from the Lockean system to the Kantian or vice versa. According to Wendt⁹, the transformation is caused by three main variables, namely:

1. Interdependence

Interdependence can then strengthen and cement the relations of countries in mutually beneficial cooperation.

2. Common Fate

A sense of pride that can then form a solidarity at the regional to global level.

3. Homogeneity

A common identity which can then encourage countries to be able to understand each other and accept differences.

The three variables then, according to Wendt,¹⁰ will affect relations between countries and will later continue in Lockean or Kantian.

The next is the concept of defense diplomacy. In the book of *Peluang dan Tantangan Diplomasi Pertahanan (Indonesian)*”, it is explained that Defense Diplomacy can be defined as art

to achieve national interests by using defense capabilities and resources. Defense diplomacy is carried out to build trust (trust building), to shape public opinion, to decrease the intentions of opposing parties to do things that do not benefit their own country, to increase capability, to provide a detrimental effect to other countries (deterrence effect), etc.

According to Andrew Cottey and Anthony Forster in *Reshaping Defense Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance: Introduction*, involves the use of cooperatively armed forces and related infrastructure (especially the ministry of defense) as a foreign and security policy tool.¹¹ Defense diplomacy includes a variety of activities which may in the past have been described as military cooperation or military assistance. Defense diplomacy activities can be carried out in some activities, including the following:

1. Establishment of bilateral and multilateral relations between military officials and senior defense civil officials.

⁸ Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 335-339.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ A. Cottey and A. Forster, *Reshaping Defense Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*, (New York: Routledge, 2004).

2. Appointment of defense attaches abroad.
3. Bilateral defense cooperation agreement.
4. Joint training between foreign and civil-military defense personnel.
5. Provision of expertise and advice in the control of armed forces democracy, defense management and in the military-technical field.
6. Exchange of military personnel and units, and ship visits.
7. Placement of military and civil personnel in the ministries of defense or military of friendly countries
8. Deployment of the coaching team.
9. Provision of military equipment and other material assistance.
10. Bilateral or multilateral military training.

Reflected in the opening of the 1945 Constitution, which states that Indonesia participates in carrying out world peace based on independence, lasting peace and social justice. It is concluded that Indonesia is obliged to carry out Defense Diplomacy. Furthermore, international cooperation in the context of Defense

Diplomacy can also be one of the conflict preventions through preventive or deterrence diplomacy.

Research Methodology

This research uses a qualitative method. The advantages of using it are that the researcher can describe it comprehensively, systematically and deeply. This research also aims to provide an overview related to processes, assumptions and relations of interaction and communication in the social life. The qualitative approach method used in this research is the Qualitative Explanatory. The research aims to find out why and how social phenomena occur among research variables.¹²

Results and Discussion

Each country has its own security system that has been carefully designed by adjusting its domestic conditions. According to Lippman, a country can be regarded as safe when it is not in danger or threatened and can solve problems in a state of peace without fighting. Even if they must fight, they have a considerable

¹² Agustinus Bondur, *Penelitian Kualitatif: Metodologi, Desain dan Teknik Analisis Data*

dengan NVivo 11 plus (Indonesian), (Jakarta: Mitra Wacana Media, 2016), p.49.

defense to win it.¹³ Although national security then changes into broader and undergoes changes in the political, economic, social and cultural areas, other changes also become diverse. Some of them are starting to strengthen the sense of nationalism, the existence of the industrial revolution, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and so on. So that the state is still the main actor in protecting national security.¹⁴

This new dimension of security issues then encouraged Barry Buzan to formulate aspects of security issues, as outlined in his writing entitled *New Pattern of Global Security in the Twentieth Century*. In the article Buzan formulates five aspects of security¹⁵, namely:

1. Political Security

Where there is a guarantee to defend political rights, free from pressure due to reality, and freedom to maintain a political regime.

2. Military Security

Freedom from foreign military threats and external military intervention.

3. Economic Security

Guaranteed access to natural resources, financial resources, and global markets that can support activities to achieve social welfare

4. Social Security

Free from the threat of horizontal conflict between groups either for primordial reasons such as (ethnicity, religion, and race) or for control for natural, financial and market resources.

5. Environmental Security

Free from the threat of environmental damage that can lead to humanitarian disasters

In terms of related aspects of national security, according to Buzan above, Indonesia has sufficient grounds to protect its national security from the Korean Peninsula crisis. Indonesia is currently a developing country and its economy in the past year has tended to increase. In case something happens in the region of the Korean Peninsula then it will have a direct impact on the development of the Indonesian economy,

¹³ Walter Lipman in Allan Collin, *Contemporary Security Studies*, Second Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

¹⁴ Norrin. M Ripsman & Paul T.V, *Globalization and the Natural Security States*, in Angga Nurdin Rachmat, *Keamanan Global:*

Transformasi Isu Kemananan Pasca Perang Dingin (Indonesian), (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2015),p. 6.

¹⁵ Barry Buzan, "New Patterns of Global Security in the Twentieth Century", *International Affairs*, Vol.67, No.3, 1991, pp. 439-451.

especially those using sea lanes. So that national security is a condition where the state would like to do anything to reduce the potential threat. For this reason diplomacy plays a role in this matter.

In the book of “*Peluang dan Tantangan Diplomasi Pertahanan* (Indonesian)”, it is explained that Defense Diplomacy can be defined as art to achieve national interests by using defense capabilities and resources.¹⁶ Defense diplomacy is carried out to build trust (trust building), to shape public opinion, to decrease the intentions of opposing parties to do things that do not benefit their own country, to increase capability, to provide a detrimental effect to other countries (deterrence effect), etc.

Based on the 10 Defense Diplomacy activities According to Andrew Cottey and Anthony Forster in *Reshaping Defense Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance: Introduction*,¹⁷ Indonesia has at least carried out 3 activities in response to the crisis on the Korean peninsula. The three activities are the establishment of

bilateral and multilateral relations between military officials and senior defense civil officials; Appointment of defense attaches abroad, and bilateral defense cooperation.

The establishment of bilateral relations between Indonesia and North Korea has existed for a long time. As previously explained in terms of history, Indonesia has a special closeness with North Korea. It continues to this day. This relationship is always strengthened through international events and forums. For example, in the Foreign Minister's Meeting between the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs and the North Korean Minister of Foreign Affairs in the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Non-Aligned Movement in May 2011 in Bali and in the Foreign Minister's Meeting between the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs and the North Korean Minister of Foreign Affairs in the 18th ASEAN Regional Forum in July 2011.¹⁸ On the occasion of the meeting between the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs and the North Korean Minister of Foreign Affairs in the event of the 50th

¹⁶ Parulian Simamora, *Peluang dan Tantangan Diplomasi Pertahanan* (Indonesian), (Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu. 2013), pp. 28-31.

¹⁷ A. Cottey and A. Forster, *op.cit.*

¹⁸ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Buku Diplomasi 2011* (Indonesian), (Jakarta: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011).

anniversary of the Non-Aligned Movement in May 2011 in Bali, the two countries agreed to continue to try to identify new opportunities in the fields of trade, investment and people-to-people contact. It was also followed by carrying out a bilateral meeting with Foreign Minister Ri Su Yong, on August 13, 2014.¹⁹

The second activity is the appointment of defense attaches abroad. Indonesia's defense attache for North Korea is currently concurrent with Indonesia's defense attache for China. But this does not rule out the possibility of making relations between the two countries worsening. Since 2014 Indonesian Diplomacy has been directed at seeking solutions, bridging differences towards understanding and encouraging the realization of consensus on the challenges.²⁰ Diplomatic efforts include the reactive and proactive steps of the Indonesian government in addressing the development of national interests and developments in both regional and global conditions. The direction of Indonesian diplomacy throughout 2014 was directed not only to directly answer and overcome challenges, but also to turn challenges

into opportunities for achieving national interests. Therefore, Indonesian diplomacy has created innovative approaches to sharpen the government's efforts to answer, to overcome, and to change all forms of challenges faced by Indonesia and other countries.

The third activity is the establishment of bilateral defense cooperation. In this case there is no direct bilateral cooperation with North Korea. But as an effort to respond to the crisis on the Korean Peninsula, Indonesia is committed through cooperation with South Korea and strategic partner countries.

The other seven Defense Diplomacy activities that have not been implemented by Indonesia are not a failure of diplomacy, but as opportunities that there are challenges in the future for Indonesia to be able to develop potentials in terms of Defense Diplomacy with North Korea. For example, activities for the provision of military equipment and other material assistance. In 2005 North Korea offered weapons to Indonesia.²¹ North Korea offered the Indonesian government to buy weapons,

¹⁹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Buku Diplomasi 2014* (Indonesian), (Jakarta: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2011), p. 50.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. iii.

²¹ Tempo, "Korea Utara Tawarkan Senjata kepada Indonesia" (Indonesian), on <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/55617/korea->

including submarines and radars. At that time the Director General of Defense Strategy, Major General (Ret.) Sudrajat said this offer was an effort to realize defense cooperation between Indonesia and North Korea. The Ministry of Defense recognized that the weapons offered by North Korea were far cheaper than Western countries'. But the Indonesian government will first study the weapons, whether the weapons can meet the needs of the Indonesian weapons system.

Indonesia's bilateral cooperation with other strategic partner countries also show expansion and deepening in terms of cooperation. This is an approach with the aim of showing the potential synergy of other countries with Indonesia's national interests. Especially with ASEAN countries. Next we will discuss the ASEAN Defense Diplomacy and Indonesian Defense Diplomacy in the ASEAN.

Indonesian Defense Diplomacy in the ASEAN

According to Article 44 of the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 37 of 1999 concerning Foreign Relations, one of the reasons is that diplomacy is provided with firmness in principle and establishment,

firmness in attitude, perseverance in an effort that is flexible and rational in an approach based on self-confidence. So that a country can use its resources in handling and solving problems, including defense resources.

In the book of *Peluang dan Tantangan Diplomasi Pertahanan* (Indonesian) it is explained that Defense Diplomacy can be defined as art to achieve national interests by using defense capabilities and resources.²² Defense diplomacy is carried out to build trust (trust building), to shape public opinion, to decrease the intentions of opposing parties to do things that do not benefit their own country, to increase capability, to provide a detrimental effect to other countries (deterrence effect), etc.

As the chair of ASEAN in 2011, Indonesia demonstrated leadership in encouraging the achievement of three priorities in the Indonesia's leadership in 2011, namely (i) Significant progress in achieving the ASEAN Community in 2015 (ii) Maintaining a safe and stable Asia-Pacific region (iii) rolling out ASEAN's vision for the next ten years according to the theme of "ASEAN Community in a

utara-tawarkan-senjata-kepada-indonesia, accessed on January 5, 2019.

²² Parulian Simamora, *op.cit*, pp. 28-31.

Global Community of Nation".²³Indonesia also plays an important role in the process of establishing regional architecture in the Asia Pacific. The Indonesian concept regarding dynamic equilibrium in the region and the expansion of the membership of the East Asia Summit (EAS) that covers the United States and Russia has been accepted by countries in the region.

Of the several countries that have established strategic partnerships with Indonesia (China, Japan, India, the United States, Russia, South Korea and Australia), the Republic of South Korea is the most active country in following up on Strategic Partnerships. For South Korea, Indonesia has a strategic meaning and is a top priority in defense and security cooperation among ASEAN countries because of 99 percent of oil imports and 30 percent of the Republic of Korea's trade pass through the Malacca Strait.²⁴

Indonesia as a country that ratified CTBT is also committed specifically to the disarmament. Significant developments

have been achieved, namely the completion of negotiations between the partners of ASEAN countries and nuclear weapons countries regarding the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone and the completion of the CTBT ratification process in 2011.

In the Asia Pacific region itself, since the beginning of the year the presence of the United States Navy in the region has increased significantly. In February 2017, an American naval aircraft carrier combat group led by USS Carl Vinson entered the South China Sea.²⁵ Since then, US forces have often demonstrated joint military exercises with South Korea. Competition for military power between the United States and North Korea in the region has also become the center of international attention. In 2017, North Korea had conducted 19 nuclear weapons tests, greater amount compared to 2016 where North Korea had only 8 nuclear weapons tests.

ASEAN has strategic values and economic attractiveness, becomes an international market and the center of

²³ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Buku Diplomasi 2011* (Indonesian), *op.cit.*, p. 4.

²⁴ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Buku Diplomasi 2014* (Indonesian), *op.cit.*, p. 30.

²⁵ The Global Review, "Indonesia Dapat Menjadi Pemain Kunci Dalam Penyelesaian Krisis di

Semenanjung Korea" (Indonesian), on <http://theglobal-review.com/ri-bisa-menjadi-aktor-kunci-penyelesaian-krisis-di-semenanjung-korea/>, accessed on January 3, 2019.

world economic growth ensuring security stability in the region and certainly must be a nuclear weapons-free zone. In this capacity, Indonesia can become an important actor in ASEAN in overcoming tensions that occur on the Korean Peninsula. Indonesia has had a good modality as one of the leaders of ASEAN with a background of historical relations and good relations with North Korea since the President Soekarno regime.

Besides bilaterally, Indonesia also plays a role in multilateral cooperation, such as in the ASEAN + 1 forum, namely ASEAN centrality with the United States, ASEAN with China, ASEAN with Russia, and others. So through the ASEAN + 1 forum, Indonesia can become an important actor in resolving the Korean Peninsula crisis. On a global level, Indonesia consistently gives special attention and plays an active role in the United Nations in dealing with issues of international security and peace.

In terms of disarmament and nonproliferation, Indonesia in 2011 continued to play its role as one of the countries that was consistent in promoting disarmament and non-proliferation (disarmament and non-

proliferation), particularly weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, biological and chemical), and issues related to the arrangement of conventional weapons (arms control). Since 1994, Indonesia has been the Coordinator of the Working Group on Non-Aligned Movement Countries on the issue of disarmament. Indonesia continues to play an active role in every multilateral meeting on disarmament, both in UN forums and other forums, such as the Committee I of the UN General Assembly in New York which discusses various issues of International Security and Disarmament; United Nations Disarmament Commission (UNDC) in New York; and Conference on Disarmament/CD in Geneva.²⁶

Regarding the issue of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, Indonesia has always emphasized the importance of all aspects related to the peaceful uses to be carried out in a balanced manner, both in terms of safeguards, safety and security. Indonesia continues to work with other countries, especially in the context of the capacity building of these areas.

In the context of nuclear security, Indonesia continues to participate in various Sherpa and Sous-Sherpa level

²⁶ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Buku Diplomasi 2011* (Indonesian), *op.cit*, p. 206.

meetings regarding the follow-up on the Nuclear Security Summit (NSS). Indonesia has been appointed as one of the facilitators of the topic of discussion on the model of legislation/ratification treaty related to nuclear security.

The steps that can be carried out by ASEAN are in line with the constructivism theory used in this research, which is to approach actors who have common challenges to be able to formulate a joint policy. Looking at the strategic points Indonesia has, Indonesia can play more important roles, such as:

1. In the nonfunctional forum of Six-Party talks, Indonesia can still position itself as an observer in the forum.
2. Inviting countries in the Southeast Asian region to put pressure on North Korea to return to the dialogue in the Six-Party talks.
3. Inviting China and Russia to try to form a mechanism that can bring North Korea back again in the forum of Six-Party talks.
4. With good relations that have been fostered for a long time, Indonesia can always persuade North Korea to soften its attitude.

Also conveyed by Desra Percaya Ph.D, Director General of Asia Pacific and Africa, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the option that can be played by Indonesia is to use defensive realism, that is, in order to know intentions, communication and engagement is needed among the parties so that dialogue becomes crucial. Engagement is needed so that the parties understand North Korea's concerns on this conflict.

Next, according to the concept of international cooperation. Cooperation in the defense sector was further developed in bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation models to build a confidence building measure. It includes how communication related to defense and security issues can be dealt with together, increasing the capacity and capability of national defense. Increased capability and capacity through defense cooperation is implemented in the form of meeting defense equipment needs and increasing the professionalism of the army's. In addition, it also includes tasks related to military operations other than war such as counter-terrorism and natural disasters.²⁷

²⁷ Parulian Simamora, *op.cit*, p. 43.

Indonesia must ensure North Korea returns to international norms, the UN charter and the NPT regime. Desra sees that to make North Korea ignore its nuclear capacity is impossible because denuclearization is part of the negotiations themselves, not as preconditions or prerequisites for negotiations. Indonesia can do this with Indonesia's foreign policy posture using bridge-building or partner discussion. Peaceful solutions through negotiations remain important, while still creating the confidence building measure. Indonesia needs to immediately encourage the parties concerned to issue status. Then, steps that involve confidence building measure must always be pushed towards peace, not to cornering a country that is doing self-defense. Therefore, Indonesia must advocate not to corner one party so that peace can be achieved.

The Role of Actors Involved in the Korean Peninsula Crisis

The role of Indonesia and ASEAN member countries to continue a dialogue and synchronize goals to find new initiatives in resolving the crisis on the Korean

Peninsula still continues. However, it does not rule out the possibility of the emergence of actors other than those playing roles in handling this case.

In contrast to the extra-regional sponsored defense talks, the consultative platform centered in ASEAN has brought significant changes to the regional security order. The ASEAN Way which involves building consensus and a non-confrontational approach is considered the most acceptable strategy for maintaining regional peace and stability.

In the view of the Indonesian Defense Minister, the ADMM is a regional tool to achieve two main objectives.²⁸ First, defense talks centered in ASEAN help increase "technological parity" among Southeast Asian countries, by ensuring that domestic political developments and economic progress become mutually reinforced. Second, with the rise of China and India, the ADMM-Plus allows the creation of "strategic space" to accommodate the interests of extra-regional powers in the region.

In the ADMM forum, security issues on the Korean Peninsula are often

²⁸ Iis Gindarsih, "Roundtable on the Future of The ADMM/ADMM-Plus and Defense Diplomacy in the Asia Pacific", *RSIS Policy Report*,

(Singapura: Nanyang Technology University, 2016).

discussed. There are exchanges of ideas and views regarding this issue. ADMM members exchanged their views on regional and international security and defense issues. Some of the main focuses during the exchange of views are about terrorism and violent extremism, maritime security, nuclear weapons non-proliferation, cybersecurity, and High Availability Disaster Recovery (HADR).

Several countries condemned North Korea for launching ballistic missiles which violated many UN Security Council Resolutions. The meeting also joined the region and the rest of the world in calling on North Korea to abandon its nuclear weapons program and urge North Korea to comply with its obligations under the UN Security Council Resolution. Reaffirmed in the meeting is the common goal of achieving a complete verifiable and irreversible denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula as well as the resumption of dialogue to achieve this.²⁹

Japan as part of the Six-Party Talks has also agreed to push for policy shift of

North Korea.³⁰ Minister Onodera stated that the nuclear tests and repeated missile launches conducted by North Korea were direct challenges to the international community and pose an unprecedented, grave and imminent threat.³¹ Furthermore, Minister Onodera underscored that in order to urge a policy shift in North Korea to renounce all nuclear and ballistic missile programs. The international community needs to stand in solidarity and give maximum pressure to North Korea.³²

In a Japanese meeting with the United States there was also an agreement to share information about the situation of nuclear and missile development of North Korea, and agreed to ensure the best defense posture. They confirmed to promote closer cooperation on the operational side and work together in the introduction of new Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) assets. On the US side, Secretary Mattis is committed to renewing his strong determination in Japanese defense, including a commitment to longer

²⁹ ADMM Meeting, "Chairman's Statement On The Fourth Asean Defense Ministers' Meeting-Plus (4th Admm-Plus)", Manila, October 24, 2017.

³⁰ Japan Ministry of Defense Defense Minister's Participation in the 4th ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting-Plus, the 3rd ASEAN-Japan

Defense Ministers' Informal Meeting, and Bilateral and Trilateral Defense Ministerial Meetings, 2017, http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/exc/admm/admmplus_4.html, accessed on January 5, 2019.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

prevention. Mattis also stressed that they would coordinate closely on future steps, continue to put pressure on North Korea in a tangible way and promote close trilateral cooperation between Japan, the United States and the Republic of Korea.

Furthermore, in the ARF forum routinely held a Workshop on Raising Awareness and Promoting Cooperation on Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) Risk Mitigation. In the realm of the ARF, the actors still voiced each other's position. Especially related to the resolution to be achieved and the policies that will be implemented. Basically, North Korea wants to reduce this level of tension, but the threat must also be eliminated first. Because North Korea has always tried to be independent by all means, for that they became a closed country. This is one of the obstacles not only felt by Indonesia, but also the countries around it. In the ASEAN region, influential actors are not only ASEAN member countries, but also the neighboring countries.

For example, ASEAN has been cooperating well with South Korea. According to the South Korean

Ambassador to Indonesia, Kim Chang-beom, ASEAN played a significant role in achieving peace on the Korean Peninsula.³³ Besides Indonesia's success in uniting the two Koreas at the 2018 Asian Games, Indonesia through ASEAN also continues to build good relations. The ASEAN Summit in Singapore in 2018 was also conveyed in a joint statement by the ASEAN leaders released after the summit which also called for North Korea's commitment to denuclearize. These steps confirm the roles and contributions made by Indonesia through ASEAN in the process of peace-building. During the meeting, the leaders from ASEAN countries also again reminded North Korea's commitment to disarm all nuclear weapons and missiles tests.

The South Korean government also hopes ASEAN countries, including Indonesia, will help the peace process on the Korean Peninsula. This was stated by South Korea at the 22nd ASEAN-South Korea meeting held in Seoul. The Inter-Korea meeting held in April and May 2018, as well as the meeting of the United States-North Korea in June 2018 resulted in the highest commitment to peace and

³³ Valerie Dante, "ASEAN Berperan Penting dalam Perdamaian Semenanjung Korea" (Indonesian), on

<https://www.alinea.id/dunia/asean-berperan-penting-dalam-perdamaian-semenanjung-korea-b1UAj9f7v>, accessed on January 1, 2019.

denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.³⁴ Commitments like this have never been obtained before. According to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Retno Marsudi, South Korea asked ASEAN to give time for the peace process to continue, including by giving North Korea the opportunity to resolve its domestic political challenges first.

In addition, the hope of ASEAN to continue to play an important role in the peace process on the Korean Peninsula was conveyed by the South Korean government. One of them is to continue to give a positive response to the development of the peace process and if the time comes, ASEAN can contribute to the transition process in North Korea, given ASEAN's capacity for peace and peaceful political transformation.

Indonesia also welcomed the New Southern Policy initiative developed by the South Korean government as a commitment to increase cooperation with ASEAN and its member countries. This policy will pivot on three main issues: people, prosperity, and peace. Increasing

economic and cultural relations, as well as the more bound stability in Southeast Asia and East Asia are the reasons behind the formation of the policies initiated directly by the President of South Korea, Moon Jae-in.

President Moon assumed that with a stable Indonesian economic growth ratio of up to 5%, Indonesia was an important country in ASEAN. So that South Korea also encourages inclusive economic development with ASEAN countries, especially Indonesia.³⁵ Indonesia is the first ASEAN country visited by President Moon after being elected as the President of South Korea. In order to dramatically improve South Korea's relations with ASEAN, President Moon encouraged the implementation of the New Southern Policy. The scope of the cooperation with Indonesia extends to include the development and production of joint combat aircraft and submarines. The two countries will increase trade to 30 billion US dollars by 2022 and strengthen cooperation in the

³⁴ Victor, "Korsel Berharap ASEAN Bantu Wujudkan Perdamaian di Semenanjung Korea" (Indonesian), dalam <https://international.sindonews.com/read/1315942/40/korsel-berharap-asean-bantu->

wujudkan-perdamaian-di-semenanjung-korea-1529827154, accessed on January 5, 2019.
³⁵ Interview with the President of South Korea, "Relasi Antarmasyarakat Penting" (Indonesian), *Kompas*, September 7, 2018, accessed on January 5, 2019.

fields of petrochemical, automotive, and machine tool manufacturing.³⁶

Head of Commercial Banking of Korean Standard Chartered Bank Hyon Joo Park explained, in implementing this New Southern Policy, South Korea launched a planned investment of USD 2.6 billion to ASEAN countries. USD 1.9 billion of it will be invested in Indonesia.³⁷ The plan consists of six focus of cooperation which includes the restoration and revitalization of bilateral economic cooperation, such as³⁸:

1. Diversification in the field of economic cooperation.
2. Extending the scope of cooperation in the field of defense and health.
3. Increasing cooperation in the main industrial sectors.
4. Encouraging economic cooperation centered on human resource development.
5. Increasing support for small and medium scale companies.
6. Extending the scope of the trade sector which includes machinery and

consumer goods.

Indonesia has played an important role in leading the process of establishing and integrating ASEAN. At this time ASEAN also has an important role in the international arena. For this reason, President Moon also explained that increasing South Korea's relations with ASEAN should be equal to South Korea's relations with the four strong countries around it. This means that Korea wants to expand the scope of cooperation, not only in the economy, but in all fields, including diplomacy and security.

This is a vision of the New Southern Policy that South Korea declared in Jakarta in November 2017. The main goal is to build future partnerships for society, mutual prosperity and peace by expanding South Korea's cooperation with ASEAN.³⁹ This policy strengthens the foundation of friendly cooperation by increasing inter-community exchanges, increasing opportunities for mutual prosperity, and contributing to world peace and prosperity.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Berita Hati, "New Southern Policy Koresel, Tanam USD 1,9 miliar investasi di Indonesia" (Indonesian), <http://beritahati.com/berita/38908/New%2BSouthern%2BPolicy%2BKorsel%2BTanam%2BUSD%2B1%2C9%2Bmiliar%2Binvestasi%2Bdi%2BIndone>

sia, December 6, 2017, accessed on January 5, 2019.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Interview with the President of South Korea, "Relasi Antarmasyarakat Penting" (Indonesian), *Kompas*, September 7, 2018.

Conclusion

1. Defense diplomacy carried out by Indonesia in responding to the crisis on the Korean Peninsula can be optimized again in line with Indonesia's modalities, such as: a) In the nonfunctional Six-Party Talks forum, Indonesia can still position itself as an observer in the forum; b) Inviting countries in the Southeast Asia region to put pressure on North Korea to return to dialogue in Six-Party Talks; c) Inviting China and Russia to try to form a mechanism that can bring North Korea back in the Six-Party Talks forum; d) With good relations that have been fostered for a long time, Indonesia can always persuade North Korea to soften its attitude.
2. The roles of the actors involved in resolving the issue of the Korean Peninsula crisis are carried out through diplomacy and negotiations to maintain the security of the Southeast Asian region. This activity is not only by ASEAN member countries, but also by state actors outside ASEAN. In addition to the ARF forum, the actors also played many roles in the ADMM and ADMM-plus forums.

Recommendation

Indonesian diplomacy through bilateral relations and through ASEAN is suggested to be able to become material for further research, especially related to Indonesia's roles in regional or intra-regional conflict resolution that can be taken by using diplomacy as a method of solving problems in a peaceful way.

As a country that plays an important role in the international system, the advice that can be provided from this research to the Ministries and other related institutions involved in policy-making is to better utilize the potentials of Indonesia. Indonesia's current potentials and position are very strategic and possesses the power to influence the system. As a country whose leadership is recognized in the region, Indonesia has the potential to be further recognized by strategic partners. For this reason, this can be an advantage for Indonesia to become one of the influential countries which contribute to the international system.

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