



INNOVATIVE: Journal Of Social Science Research

Volume 4 Nomor 1 Tahun 2024 Page 5156-5169

E-ISSN 2807-4238 and P-ISSN 2807-4246

Website: <https://j-innovative.org/index.php/Innovative>

Future Maritime Security Cooperation Between Indonesia and Madagascar

Ravoavy Setriny Mahatsangy^{1✉}, Yoedhi Swastanto², Jonni Mahroza³

Universitas Pertahanan Indonesia

Email: ravsetrini@yahoo.fr^{1✉}

Abstrak

Indonesia dan Madagaskar merupakan dua negara yang memiliki hubungan dekat sepanjang sejarah dan geografi. Namun, kerja sama ini masih terbelakang meskipun terdapat kedekatan. Lebih lanjut, Indonesia dan Madagaskar menyatakan kesediaannya untuk lebih meningkatkan kerja sama keamanan maritim sebagai negara kepulauan dan bagian terpadu dari Samudera Hindia. Pertanyaan yang penulis ajukan adalah Bagaimana Indonesia dan Madagaskar dapat lebih mengembangkan kerja sama bidang maritim guna melindungi kepentingan nasional masing-masing? Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk menunjukkan bahwa Indonesia dan Madagaskar dapat memanfaatkan keamanan maritim dengan meningkatkan kerja sama bilateral mereka. Untuk memahami pertanyaan sentral tersebut, penulis melakukan penelitian dengan desain kualitatif melalui konsep Middle power diplomacy dalam konteks keamanan maritim yang menegaskan kebaruannya. Hasil yang peneliti simpulkan adalah kepemimpinan Indonesia di tingkat nasional, regional dan internasional cukup dapat diandalkan untuk meningkatkan keamanan maritimnya dengan Madagaskar. Selain itu, CBM dan peningkatan kapasitas memainkan peran besar untuk mencapai efektifitas kerja sama ini.

Kata Kunci: *Kekuatan Menengah, Diplomasi, Keamanan Maritim, Kerja Sama*

Abstract

Indonesia and Madagascar are the two countries having close relationship throughout history and geography. However, this cooperation is still underdeveloped despite of this closeness. Furthermore, Indonesia and Madagascar express their willingness to more cooperation in maritime security as being an archipelagic countries and integrated part of the Indian Ocean. The question that the author rises is How Indonesia and Madagascar can develop more cooperation maritime domain in order to protect their respective national interests? This paper aims to demonstrate that Indonesia and Madagascar can take advantage from maritime security by enhancing their bilateral cooperation. In order to understand this central question, the author conducts a research with qualitative design through the concept of Middle power diplomacy in the context of maritime security which confirms its novelty. The result that researcher concludes by Indonesia's leadership within national, regional and international is reliable enough for fostering its maritime security with Madagascar. In addition, CBM and capacity building play a great role to achieve effectively this cooperation.

Keywords: *Middle Power, Diplomacy, Maritime Security, Cooperation*

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is the largest archipelagic country in the world. Indonesia encompasses the three biggest amidst the 17400 islands gathering to make an unitary country. Indonesia is located between two oceans : Indian and Pacific configuring in the Indo-Pacific region. The Indo-Pacific region has been undergoing significant transformations in recent times, encompassing economic, strategic, and diplomatic dynamics among major powers. The creation of a single strategic system in the Indo-Pacific region by combining accelerated economic and security connections becomes the fulcrum between the western Pacific and the Indian Ocean.(Sen, 2018) The Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF) stands as a national grand strategy and policy initiated by President Joko Widodo. It rejuvenated Indonesia's maritime essence by placing maritime affairs as the central focus and developmental objective during his tenure. The strategy envisions the sea as a cornerstone for development, aiming to achieve national prosperity and enhance inter-island connectivity through infrastructure development and the safeguarding of maritime resources. (Shanna, 2018) Madagascar, the world's fourth largest island, possesses a distinctive and diverse natural environment. The political relationship between Indonesia and Madagascar is unique since there is also a psychological-historical relationship between the two countries. In 2022, the two nations engaged in discussions regarding the enhancement of bilateral defense and maritime security relations. As stated by the Malagasy Defense Minister, Richard Rakotonirina, "Indonesia's leadership plays a crucial role in upholding maritime area security in the Indo-

Pacific." Madagascar perceives itself as an Indian Ocean Island nation and faces challenges in preventing unauthorized fishing vessels from accessing its waters and exclusive economic zone.(Kilic, 2023) In the realm of International Relations, a middle power refers to a state positioned within the international power hierarchy that sits between a superpower, which possesses significantly superior influence over all other states, and a great power. While not wielding the overwhelming influence of a superpower or the same level as a great power, a middle power still possesses enough capability to impact and mold international events. A middle power can be defined in two ways: the first considers a state's military prowess, capabilities, and strategic position, while the second emphasizes its leadership qualities namely, being seen as liberal, inclined towards democracy, and having valid interests in global politics.(Baç, 2023) Jordan (2003) advance the distinction between Middle powers to traditional and emerging. Firstly, The traditional middle powers are typically affluent, stable, socially equitable, leaning towards social democracy, and lack regional dominance. In their actions, they often show a limited and uncertain focus on their immediate region, carving out distinct identities from dominant regional powers, and tend to offer accommodating compromises amidst calls for global restructuring. Secondly, the emerging middle powers are somewhat on the fringes, marked by economic inequality and recent democratization, showcasing considerable influence within their regions and self-identification. Their approach leans towards advocating reform within the global landscape rather than seeking drastic changes, emphasizing strong regional connections that support regional unity while also striving to shape identities distinct from weaker regional states.(Jordaan, 2003) According to Yamasaki (2009), Middle power diplomacy" or "middlepowermanship" refers to the practice of exerting influence and engaging in international initiatives through collaboration and international agreements. This form of diplomacy is notable for not relying on dominant national strengths like military power; instead, it emphasizes persuasion and reconciliation with other global actors. Through such diplomatic activities, certain secondary nations have managed to attain significant engagement, wield substantial influence, and develop a commendable reputation on the global stage, despite possessing moderate or limited national power.(Yamasaki, 2009)

Among these various definitions and conceptualisations of Middle power, the author applies Nur Luthfi Hidayatullah's concept. It categorises that Indonesia has persistently conducted the role of middle power Assembler by establishing regional leadership in Southeast Asia; and also adopted the role of middle power Advocate since Yudhoyono's administration. Seeing that Indonesia was already capable of establishing ASEAN before

promoting democratic and moderate Islamic values; this proves that middle powers with strong regional support from its neighboring states are more capable of becoming an Advocate after previously conducting the role of an Assembler. (Hidayatullah, 2014)

The author rises a central question How can Indonesia apply Middle power diplomacy to enhance its maritime security cooperation with Madagascar. This article aims to understand the way that Indonesia conducts diplomacy for leveraging maritime security cooperation in the national, regional and international. To clarify the problem, the researcher expects to responde to the following questions :

- 1) What are the common threats to both countries in the Indian Ocean region?
- 2) Why Madagascar should rely on Indonesia to overcome its lack at maritime domain?
- 3) What strategy Indonesia develop to enhance its maritime security cooperation with Madagascar?
- 4) What are the challenges faced by both countries to wage cooperation?.

RESEARCH METHOD

The author uses a qualitative research design which means it tries to find meaning and understanding from the phenomena that assess based on the framework that has been used. To conduct this research, library research is used to collect, gather and analysis the data. The data are collecting from journal articles, newspaper and magazines, official documents, podcasts and photo. They are sorted and selected in order to make them in a scheme. After verification, the author come up with a conclusion (John W. Creswell, 2018) First, it consists of data from Indian Ocean maritime security threats and challenges and security environment. After, the author scrutinizes the reasons, and CBM between both countries arousing the choice of Indonesia to be a strategic partner of Madagascar. To clarify that author goes over maritime policy and strategy adopted by Indonesia within the territory and the region. Finally, the researcher analyses official documents, such as national maritime strategy, Indonesia Defence White Paper 2015, presidential and official speeches during multilateral meetings to realize the strength and the weight of Indonesia within international organisations. Indonesia as the former leader of ASEAN, former head of G20 rises a concern about the maritime security, environment, and sensitive topics impacting not only to the peace and stability, ensuring good order at sea in the region but also for the prosperity of its people.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Threats and Challenges

The Indian Ocean Region faces multiple security challenges across the entire spectrum of threats, ranging from traditional to non-traditional. Indonesia and Madagascar are two countries diametrically opposed within the Indian Ocean. However, these following threats still remain existing and burdening the region with varying level.

Piracy and Robbery : the security of the Sea Lane of Communications constitutes a great concern for maritime security. The Indian Ocean is the hotspot of piracy and robbery making this region high vulnerable, impacting to the flow of goods and world economy. The efforts to secure this SLOCs involve many actors in the national and international areas. (Agustiyan et al., 2022) The phenomena are happening in the whole Indian Ocean which encompasses many strategic straits. Indonesia itself manages four main straits and Madagascar the Mozambique Channel. Then, Piracy and robbery cannot be neglected by this two countries and should be consider to secure the maritime region.(Singh, 2020)

Trafficking and smuggling : every kind of traffic and smuggling can be met in the Indian Ocean. They affect the security and stability of the region and the whole world. Drugs tracking and arms smuggling come in pairs. They feed conflicts, terrorism, separatism and the land security jeopardizing the unity and the safety of the country. Madagascar undergoes these situations impacting to its economy and national security. Indonesia is struggling against ranges of trafficks and smuggling starting from arms, drugs, human, transnational crimes. These types of threats impede not only the wellbeing and the prosperity of the people but also the national security and unity.(Wirawan, 2022)

Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated (IUU) fishing : maritime resources existing in the Indian Ocean are abundant and attract the illegal actors. Ressources competition and the increasing of the number of population have a significant impact in the savage exploitation of maritime resources. Threat to a nation's blue economy development, marine safety, ocean health and human resilience, and by extension national security. Combatting IUU fishing and fisheries crime must recognize their synergistic relationship and ensure cooperation with sub-national non-state actors. IUU undermines the security of both countries.(Beseng, 2021)

Maritime border dispute : both countries also faced that issue. Madagascar has maritime boundaries with Comoros, France, Mauritius, South Africa, Mozambique. Madagascar addresses a claiming territory with France regarding to the scattered islands.(Serge & Andriamiharisoa, 2022) Indonesia has established maritime boundaries with

Australia, India, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. Furthermore, Indonesia in its turn faces many border claiming with its neighbors : Malaysia, China, India, Australia, Thailand.(Askandar et al., 2002) The particular case of the Natuna Sea which is Indonesia water, however an integrated part of nine dash line of South China Sea is a source of friction between Indonesia and China. The process of settlement remains on going however the securization and protection of Indonesia EEZ is peculiar and fundamental for Indonesia maritime strategy.(Agusman, 2023)

Natural disaster is a phenomenon which crack down both countries. Each year, Madagascar experiences cyclone, floods and drought impacting to the daily life of people. Natural disaster impede economic and increase the risk of human, food, water security.(World Bank, 2016) Instead, Indonesia faces tsunami, earthquake, landslide, volcano in addition to cyclone, floods and typhoon. The weight of natural disasters to people and society is very heavy then depends to the preparedness and readiness to overcome.(Indonesia Natural Disaster Profile, 2005)

The author can conclude that the common threats facing by two nations are weighing in their economy, affecting their security and stability. In addition, according to these threats, many challenges such as geopolitical rivalries between US and China, illegal activities generating corruption, tensions between states by territorial disputes, climate change and environmental challenges, maritime governance encourage both countries to work together in order to bring prosperity and stability to its people.

Indonesia

The decision to select Indonesia as a partner in maritime security cooperation is not arbitrary but based on deliberate factors. This selection is rooted in the establishment of trust fostered by activities promoting confidence-building measures (CBMs), mutual goodwill, shared cultural affinities, Indonesia's historical standing in both regional and global contexts, and the visionary leadership demonstrated by Indonesia. Indonesia's free and active policy enables Indonesia to contract freely cooperation with any country. (Mayangsari, 2023) Indonesia is a democratic nation reputed as the third democracy in the world. Pancasila's ideology makes the country stable, unite and opening to other countries. Pancasila values and morality forge nation's character building, to provide life-contents and life-direction : Indonesian values. The stewardship of Indonesian leaders from Soekarno until Jokowi has brought forward Indonesia to its international reputation. The nation's orientation to Global Maritime Fulcrum increases more concern to the maritime essence of Indonesia as an archipelagic country. The GMF concept is a vision to rebuild

maritime culture and develop Indonesia's maritime-based economy that projects Indonesia as an influential and strong maritime power in the Indian Ocean Region and the Pacific Ocean. In fact, GMF has five development pillars, namely maritime culture, marine resources, maritime infrastructure and connectivity, maritime diplomacy, and maritime defense.(Radjendra et al., 2022) GMF underscores the significance of the sea for Indonesia, emphasizing substantial investments in the nation's maritime infrastructure, ports, coastguard, and navy as primary priorities. The plan involves restructuring the maritime administration and asserting authority over both Indonesian waters and foreign vessels that violate regulations. Sir Jokowi's strategic emphasis on maritime affairs through GMF has enticed Madagascar to bolster cooperation with Indonesia, aligning with its vision as an island nation (Staff, 2020).

Diplomacy

Diplomacy serves as a tool of statecraft, initially utilized by states to engage with other sovereign entities. With the advent of international governmental organizations (IGOs), diplomacy expanded to involve these entities as well. The primary emphasis of diplomacy has always been and continues to be centered around communications.(Kleiner, 2008) It might be waging between two or among many states in order to seek for national interests. Indonesia diplomacy has proved its effectiveness in national, regional and international level. In addition, Diplomacy consistently holds a crucial position in attaining and safeguarding national interests. To execute this, a state leverages all its accessible resources, encompassing the military, economy, politics, intelligence, and any other available means. The utilization of the military as a tool in diplomacy becomes unavoidable in this pursuit. Indonesia defence diplomacy participates actively to the achievement of its foreign policy objective. (Budyanto Putro Sudarsono, Jonni Mahroza, 2018).

Bilateral

Indonesia conducts maritime security cooperation with great power, middle power Australia and also small power. Indonesia contracts maritime cooperation with its neighbours for the Strait of Malacca management. The effectiveness of this cooperation is witnessed by the flow of goods passing through the strategic chokepoints. Moreover, the other countries intervene for helping and funding the operation waging in this strait to ensure the order of the sea and freedom of navigation. However, regarding the security cooperation with extraregional powers, Indonesia prefers a bilateral security cooperation framework in securing the Straits. (Matthews, 2015) In addition, Indonesia and Australia are

involving to a strategic partnership in maritime security even though they have some divergent interests in some points. The case of Indo Pacific and great power rivalry induce the willingness to improve their maritime security cooperation. (Till, 2015) The ability of Indonesia to forge maritime security cooperation with the Great power such as the US constitutes a benchmark for Indonesian defence diplomacy. To ensure the order in the sea and freedom of the navigation US and Indonesia work together to protect the EEZ and SLOCs.(DIBBLE, 2018) The maritime border dispute between Indonesia and Filipina was settled through neoliberaloperative maritime diplomacy. This cooperation was strengthening further dealing with terrorism, key issues and illegal trafficking in the area. (Anak agung Banyu Perwita, 2018)

Multi-Lateral

Indonesia was the inaugural host of the Asia Pacific Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in 1955, held in Bandung. This event marked a significant turning point during the wave of decolonization, propelling Indonesia into the forefront of global affairs. Indonesian diplomacy achieved a remarkable milestone in advancing the cause of freedom and leaving an indelible mark on world history.(Khudori, 2018) In the region, Indonesia is the founding father of ASEAN. Indonesia confirms its leadership leveraging diplomacy through ASEAN's umbrella during settlement of maritime disputes between members. Indonesia as a key and unavoidable partner in Southeast Asia manages great power rivalry and involves in many challenges of the 21st Century related to the environment, security, global affairs and especially in maritime challenges. (Rowlands, 2018) In the Indian Ocean Rim Association, Indonesia holds the potential to forge stronger ties with IORA members, presenting itself as a burgeoning partner and an emerging non-traditional export market. The country aims to broaden its horizons through enhanced bilateral and multilateral trade cooperation with pivotal nations. Among the primary facets of Indonesia's development strategy, encapsulated in the concept of the World Maritime Axis, is maritime diplomacy. Indonesia strategically employs its engagement within the IORA framework to advance maritime diplomacy, aligning with its national interests. Under Joko Widodo's administration, the maritime vision is being actualized through naval diplomacy and media channels, serving as a means to advocate for national interests and address strategic matters in the maritime domain, particularly in fostering amicable inter-state relations.(Indrayani et al., 2019) Indonesia's assumption of the G20 Presidency in 2022 signifies its inaugural role as the host of this global leader's forum. This moment serves as an evaluation of Indonesia's central foreign policy objectives in propelling ASEAN towards a more prominent platform the G20

Presidency itself. Despite Indonesia's persistent efforts, ASEAN's interests have yet to be formally acknowledged within any official G20 declarations, bolstering Indonesia's stance of not explicitly positioning itself as the representative of ASEAN. However, the G20 platform presents a significant opportunity for ASEAN to integrate further into the global community. As a G20 member and the leader hosting the 2022 summit, Indonesia is positioned to effectively incorporate ASEAN's perspective, allowing ASEAN's voice to contribute significantly to reforming global economic governance. Indonesia's commitment to assuming a more substantial global role becomes apparent through its involvement in the G20. (Ifdal, 2022)

Military

Driven by its national and shared interests, Indonesia collaborates with great powers, major players, and middle powers to fortify military ties and security cooperation in confronting prevailing threats and challenges. Embracing a free and active foreign policy, Indonesia refuses to confine its collaboration to specific durations, aiming instead to contribute continuously to regional and global peace and stability. Diverse military exercises occur on national, regional, and multilateral scales, involving various branches of the TNI (Indonesian National Armed Forces) alongside other nations. (Wenas Inkiriwang, 2021) In the specific context of the Malacca Strait, joint patrols are conducted along the borders neighboring Indonesia. (Rusdiyanta, 2017) Additionally, in terms of the defense industry, strategic partnerships play a vital role in bolstering Indonesia's defense sector. The establishment of DEFEND ID should be understood as a milestone of Indonesia, one of the first countries in Southeast Asia to set up a state-owned holding company for its defense industry, in keeping with a strategy that aims to decrease the country's dependency on foreign products. PT PAL in Surabaya focuses on naval construction, showcasing the nation's commitment to advancing its defense capabilities. (Anastasia Febiola, 2022)

Indonesia's Strategy

To achieve its vision of GMF, Indonesia seeks to widen its maritime security with many countries in order not only to protect its national interests, but also get the economic benefits from this maritime cooperation. For the case of Madagascar, Indonesia can adopt a defence diplomacy strategy for developing their maritime security cooperation. The establishment of bilateral agreement between both countries should be initiate focusing on a maritime security cooperation.

Capacity Building

Defence diplomacy aimed at capacity building involves various activities such as training sessions, experience sharing, workshops, round-table discussions, and military assistance or exchanges. Indonesia possesses adequate capabilities and facilities to provide training to its Malagasy counterparts. Annually, Indonesia offers training opportunities and scholarship at institutions like the Indonesia Defence University (UNHAN), SESKO TNI, and LemHanas for senior Malagasy officers. This partnership aims to enhance capacities and expand knowledge in the realms of defense and security and climate change. Numerous workshops and meetings organized by Indonesia regularly extend invitations to Malagasy participants. These gatherings underscore the significance of cooperation and the mutual commitment to progress together. Particularly, discussions in these sessions often revolve around maritime security topics such as piracy, counter-terrorism, natural disaster response, and the impacts of climate (Nasution, 2022) Indonesia possesses significant experience in managing straits, knowledge that Madagascar could potentially apply to the situation in the Mozambique Channel. Indonesia regularly hosts numerous workshops focused on maritime environment and governance. Madagascar stands to benefit from participating in these workshops, as they offer valuable insights to address pertinent issues and enhance their capacity and capabilities in maritime affairs (Indrayani et al., 2019).

Confidence Building Measure

Madagascar and Indonesia have a long shared history. The ancestor of Malagasy people came from Indonesia. It is the first bridge to connect both countries. Diplomatic relationship between both countries remains steady and in good friendship. However, the Malagasy embassy in Jakarta still on the process of implementation. Madagascar is member of austronesian community language which strengthen relationship and proximity between people and states.(Kusuma, 2017) Both countries are members of IORA which is a tie for maritime security cooperation in the multilateral level. In addition, Madagascar is involving in the Archipelagic and Island States (AIS). The organisation was leading by Indonesia to improve friendship and economic ties within state members.(Roza, 2017) In the economic field, Indonesia seeks to enhance the cooperative relationship between the two countries that has established since 1975, including on trade relations between the two countries, as well as monitoring and solutions to increase the value of trade between the two countries. In this case, there is a need for a trade agreement in the form of a Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) which is expected to improve economic and trade relations between the two countries, including easy access to direct relations between business actors (business

to business) of the two countries.(Staff, 2020) Moreover, Blue economy is crucial for both countries. The improvement of cooperation in this field seems important and induces more concern to gain economic benefit for the prosperity of their people.(Basbeth, n.d.)

Challenges

Despite the willingness to contract maritime security cooperation, some challenges should be taken in account.

- Geographical distance : Although both countries are integral parts of the Indian Ocean, they are situated at opposite ends from the East to the West. The distance separating them spans approximately 7000 kilometers. This considerable distance presents logistical challenges that hinder cooperation despite the era of globalization. Such a vast geographical expanse may compromise the establishment of trust and confidence during collaborative efforts. (Chang et al., 2004)
- Funding or resource allocation : resource allocation can significantly intervene and impede cooperation between the two countries. The allocation of funds and expectations regarding financial contributions in a cooperation can potentially become a source of tension. Insufficient funding for projects, delays in research and development, or postponement of operations can hinder the enhancement of capabilities and overall progress in joint endeavors. (Rodionov et al., 2021)
- Political orientation and sensitivities : Madagascar and Indonesia are democratic countries. People aspiration depends on national interests impacting to political stability. Political stability in the country plays a great role to attract investment and establish trust in safe weather for business. The existence of embargo such as CATSAA, polarity and orientation hinder even hamper the evolution of cooperation (Kovalska, 2023)
- Legal and regulatory differences: the law and regulations proper to each country or region are impacting in the improvement of cooperation. The way and process for treating the outlaws, prisoners can be an issue. Fortunately Madagascar and Indonesia have ratified UNCLOS then the risk is of misunderstanding is too low in that context. (Baker, 2021)
- Technological gap : the difference of level of knowledge and the technology to use are significant in maritime security cooperation. The procurement of advanced technology is an asset to improve the quality and effectiveness of the maritime security operation. The development of capabilities and encouragement for research and development are crucial and need a peculiar concern in order to be efficient and

effective during the cooperation. (Razzaq et al., 2021)

- Language barrier : although both countries are in the austronesian area, the language is quite different. English is the language par excellence using in maritime domain. The rate of English speaker is too low in both countries then can have an impact and misunderstanding between actors. However, Indonesia promotes Bahasa Indonesia and set up language learning center in Madagascar and for these who will take course in Indonesia to familiarise and increase this level of understanding. (IAMU Presenters, 2016).

CONCLUSION

Maritime security cooperation proves mutually beneficial for both nations involved. Despite facing threats of varying levels and degrees, these challenges significantly impact the economies, security, and stability of the respective countries and the broader region. Given that a majority of international trade relies on maritime routes, securing Sea Lines of Communication (SLOCs) and ensuring freedom of navigation stand as vital concerns for each nation. Positioned as a middle power with a rich history of advocacy, Indonesia possesses the capability to elevate Madagascar's status in establishing robust maritime security cooperation. Indonesia acts as a catalyst, facilitating Madagascar's active participation in multilateral forums and meetings geared towards enhancing its maritime security measures. Leveraging defense strategies and its middle power status, Indonesia aims to foster cooperation and assert its strength within the framework of the Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF) envisioned by its leader Sir Jokowi.(Ndika & Tri, 2017) Madagascar and Indonesia share a common historical background and belong to the same linguistic region, establishing a natural connection between the two nations. Implementing Confidence-Building Measures (CBMs) and focusing on capacity building emerge as crucial steps to ensure the effectiveness of maritime security cooperation.(Rodon Pedrason, 2023)

In conclusion, while pursuing maritime security cooperation, it's imperative to address key challenges such as funding limitations, technological disparities, and political sensitivities. Overcoming these obstacles is vital to realizing the shared goals of cooperation between the two countries.

REFERENCES

- Agusman, D. D. (2023). Natuna Waters: Explaining a Flashpoint Between Indonesia and China. *Indonesian Journal of International Law*, 20(4), 617–648. <https://doi.org/10.17304/ijil.vol20.4.1>
- Agustiyan, D. R., Mamahit, D. A., & Suwarno, P. (2022). Sea Lines of Communications (SLOC): Complexity of China's 21st Century Maritime Silk Road Threats. *International Journal of Arts and Social Science*, 5(2), 24–30.
- Askandar, K., Bercowtch, J., & Oishi, M. (2002). The ASEAN way of conflict management: Old patterns and new trends. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 10(2), 21–42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02185370208434209>
- Basbeth, F. (n.d.). Towards the Equitable Blue Economy : Quad Helix Innovation for Social Entrepreneurship. 6th International CEO Communication, Economics, Organization & Social Sciences Congress, 508–518.
- Beseng, M. (2021). The Nature and Scope of Illegal , Unreported , and Unregulated Fishing and Fisheries Crime in Cameroon : Implications for Maritime Security. *African Security*, 14(3), 262–285. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2021.1982241>
- Indrayani, I., Pratita, C. K. B., & Halim, P. (2019). Indonesian maritime diplomacy, through the Indian Ocean Rim Association, in realising the goal to become the world maritime axis. *International Journal of Innovation, Creativity and Change*, 9(1), 116–134.
- Kleiner, J. (2008). The Inertia of Diplomacy. *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 2296. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592290802096380>
- Kovalska, N. (2023). Why Should They Be Friends ? The Impact Of Ideological Proximity On International Cooperation : The Case Of The Visegrad Group Supervisor : Inna Melnykovska.
- Radjendra, P., Wibisono, M., Mahroza, J., & Shabuddin, Z. A. (2022). Indonesia ' s Vision As Global Maritime Fulcrum : A Geopolitical Strategy To Address Geopolitical Shifts In Indo-Pacific. 6(5), 8621–8634.
- Razzaq, A., An, H., & Delpachitra, S. (2021). Does technology gap increase FDI spillovers on productivity growth? Evidence from Chinese outward FDI in Belt and Road host countries. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, 172(November 2021), 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2021.121050>
- Rodionov, A., Medeuov, D., & Rodionova, K. (2021). Global connectedness of local NGOs: do different types of funding create barriers for cooperation? *Theory and Society*,

50(3), 393–416. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-021-09439-z>

- Rodon Pedrasan. (2023). Conflict Resolution Patterns With a Multitrack Diplomacy Approach (Study of the Role of the Indonesian Military in Conflict of Asean Countries). *Journal of Namibian Studies: History Politics Culture*, 33, 206–225. <https://doi.org/10.59670/jns.v33i.715>
- Rusdiyanta. (2017). Collaborative Border Management as the Strategic Revitalization of State Border Management in Indonesia. *International Journal of Pure and Applied Mathematics*, 116(Special Issue), 415–426. <http://www.ijpam.eu>
- Sen, G. (2018). Strategic Relevance of the Indo-Pacific: An Assessment. *CLAWS Journal I Winter*, 98–113. <https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/327347-strategic-relevance-of-the-indo-pacific-f241b1d4.pdf>
- Singh, R. S. (2020). Problems and prospects of maritime security cooperation in the Indian Ocean Region : a case study of the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS). *Royal Australian Navy Sea Power Soundings*, 15. https://www.navy.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/Soundings_Number_15.pdf
- Wenas Inkiriwang, F. (2021). Multilateral Naval Exercise Komodo: Enhancing Indonesia's Multilateral Defence Diplomacy? *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 40(3), 418–435. <https://doi.org/10.1177/18681034211008905>
- Wirawan, D. (2022). Defense Diplomacy Strategy in Handling Transnational Crimes at the Sea Borders of Indonesia – Malaysia – Filipina. *International Journal of Social Science and Human Research*, 05(02), 376–383. <https://doi.org/10.47191/ijsshr/v5-i2-01>
- Yamasaki, M. (2009). A Study of Middle Power Diplomacy: as a Strategy of Leadership and Influence. 186. <http://hdl.handle.net/10012/4811>.