



The Realization of Strong Diplomacy Towards Indonesia Golden 2045 in the North Natuna Sea Conflict using Force Planning Approach

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ABSTRACT

The South China Sea has become a battleground for major powers' hegemonic struggles. Indonesia, due to China's claim over the North Natuna Sea, is involved in the conflict, utilizing a force planning approach. The historical and strategic values have made the South China Sea a region of complex conflicts involving global hegemony. The research used a qualitative descriptive method. Indonesia's response includes capability-based planning through law enforcement, scenario-based planning with naval base construction, and threats-based planning through military buildup in the North Natuna Sea. This escalating conflict in the South China Sea is pulling Indonesia further into the vortex, necessitating strategic steps through a force planning approach to protect its sovereignty and interests.

INTRODUCTION

The South China Sea is an area of contested waters with two major island chains, the Spratly and Paracel Islands. Additionally, the Macclesfield Bank and Scarborough Shoal run through Singapore, the Malacca Strait, and the Taiwan Strait in the South China Sea (Martien Stieff, 2013). Historically, power in this region has transformed among traditional rulers of Asian countries such as China, Taiwan, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Brunei Darussalam in the ongoing contestation for the South China Sea territory. Portuguese sailors referred to the South China Sea as *Mar da China*, while the International Hydrographic Organization calls it *Nan Hai* (Fransisco Rosarian dan Aseanty Pahlev, 2013).

The historical and strategic values have made the South China Sea a region of complex conflicts involving global hegemony. This is due to abundant natural resources, international shipping routes connecting Europe and the United States to Asia through the Malacca Strait, and the economic growth in the Asian, European, and American regions. The South China Sea conflict began in 1947 and has led to disputes among nations, conflicting with the UNCLOS 1982.

Indonesia remains vigilant about the South China Sea conflict as China unilaterally claimed the North Natuna Sea in 2010. China has also provoked incidents, such as illegal fishing apprehensions by Chinese Coastguard boats in Indonesian Exclusive Economic Zone (ZEE) waters on December 19, 2019. These incidents highlight the explicit need for enhanced defense and surveillance patrols in the North Natuna Sea. Moreover, China's provocations in the North Natuna Sea in 2016 were addressed by Indonesia through diplomatic notes. These incidents prompted Indonesia to issue new maps and rename the area as the North Natuna Sea. China criticized Indonesia's diplomacy, claiming it did not meet international standards.

In Indonesia's Golden 2045 Vision, facing significant geopolitical and geoeconomic challenges necessitates total diplomacy to advocate national interests. Indonesia aims to integrate economic, sovereign, leadership, protection, and public aspects in its robust diplomacy under the Golden 2045 Vision. Specifically, in the context of the North Natuna Sea conflict, Indonesia's diplomacy focuses on defense and sovereignty by upholding regional and international stability, fostering bilateral and multilateral cooperation, combating transnational crimes, and enhancing national defense capabilities with existing resources.

Given these challenges, it is essential for Indonesia to formulate diplomatic strategies through a force planning approach to address the issues in the North Natuna Sea.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Diplomacy

Diplomacy is a political activity aimed at maintaining harmonious relationships between countries in the international system. Diplomacy involves negotiations, consultations, and deliberations between countries to achieve their respective national interests. One of the famous theories of diplomacy is the theory of international relations realism. This theory focuses on states' efforts to achieve power and security in a competitive international system. One popular writer in realism theory is Hans Morgenthau. In his book "Politics Among Nations" (1948), Morgenthau explains the importance of power diplomacy in international relations.

The realist theory of diplomacy argues that states seek to maximize their power and national advantages. Diplomacy is seen as a means to achieve these goals through negotiations and political diplomacy. Morgenthau explains that diplomacy should be based on clear national interests, and governments should adhere to consistent policies to achieve their country's power and security.

Threat

The Threat Theory, also known as the Threat theory, is a concept introduced by Sherif (1967) in the context of intergroup relations. This theory states that tension between groups arises from the perception that another group poses a threat to one's own group. The Threat theory has been utilized in various research contexts, including studies on intergroup conflicts, social stereotypes, discrimination, and migration. For example, some studies indicate that perceptions of threat towards minority groups can influence attitudes and discriminatory behaviors towards those groups (Sherif, M, 1967).

Force Planning Approach

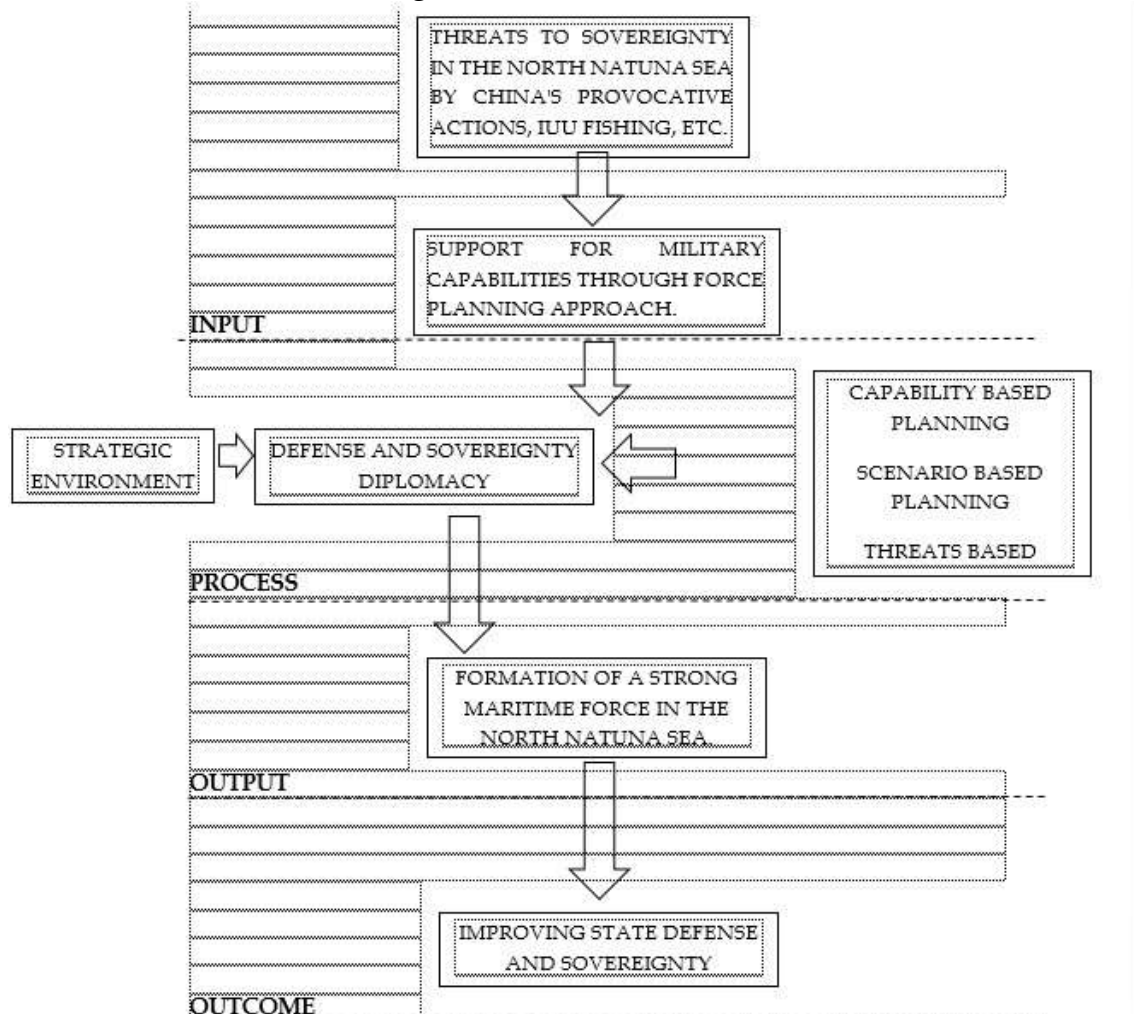
The Force Planning Approach is an approach used by military organizations to plan the forces and human resources needed to achieve strategic goals. This approach involves a comprehensive analysis of military needs and capabilities, as well as strategic environmental changes that will impact military activities in the future.

Capability-Based Planning is an approach in strategic planning that focuses on identifying and developing capabilities that an organization will possess to achieve its strategic objectives. This approach emphasizes the importance of having adequate capabilities when facing challenges in a constantly changing environment. Planning is done based on a deep understanding of the capabilities needed to achieve organizational goals, as well as efforts to enhance and develop capabilities that align with the environment and existing needs (Noor, W., & Sunindijo, R. Y. (2006).

Scenario-Based Planning is an approach in strategic planning that uses scenarios as a basis for identifying, analyzing, and planning several strategic steps that an organization will take. This approach acknowledges that the future cannot be predicted with certainty but can be analyzed through different scenarios. Organizations develop multiple possible future scenarios, including factors influencing the external and internal environments. Based on the scenario analysis, organizations then identify risks and opportunities, and plan appropriate strategies to address each scenario (Schoemaker, P. J. (1995).

Threats-Based Planning is an approach in strategic planning that focuses on identifying and addressing threats that an organization may face. This approach involves in-depth analysis of external factors that can disrupt the organization's sustainability, such as changes in political, economic, social, and technological environments. In this approach, the organization continuously evaluates risks and plans mitigation steps to address these threats (Kaplan, R. S., & Mikes, A. (2012).

Here is the framework generated from this research:



Picture 1. Framework of Thinking
 Source: Compiled by researchers, 2023.

METHODOLOGY

The research used a qualitative descriptive method. Indonesia's response includes capability-based planning through law enforcement, scenario-based planning with naval base construction, and threats-based planning through military buildup in the North Natuna Sea.

RESEARCH RESULT

Based on these three approaches, in addition to defense and security approaches to advance national interests, the Indonesian government can take the following steps to prevent conflict in the North Natuna Sea:

Defense Policy in Planning Force Structure Conflicts in the North Natuna Sea Using Capability-Based Planning Approach

In legitimizing the law in the EEZ area, the Indonesian Navy (TNI AL) is legally grounded in Article 14 (1) of Law Number 5 of 1983 concerning the Exclusive Economic Zone which explains that "Law enforcement officers in the field of investigation in Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone are National Indonesian Navy Officers appointed by the Commander of the Indonesian National Armed Forces". Within Indonesia's maritime zone, the North Natuna Sea itself is located under the jurisdiction of Command of the First Fleet (Koarmada I) which is escorted by 53 units of Indonesian Warships (KRI), divided into 13 escort ship units (satkor), 2 mine countermeasure ship units (satran), 12 fast ship units (satkat), 2 support ship units (satban), and 6 amphibious ship units (satfib).

Koarmada I is divided into several Naval Main Bases or commonly known as Lantamal which are equipped with patrol ships, including Lantamal I in Medan with four KRI, Lantamal II in Padang with four KRI, Lantamal III in Jakarta with three KRI, Lantamal IV in Tanjung Pinang with four KRI, and lastly, Lantamal XII in Pointianak with three KRI. The implementation of maritime operations and patrols carried out by Koarmada I is conducted by Guskamla (Maritime Security Task Force) and Guspurla (Naval Combat Task Force). It can be said that in enforcing matters at sea, the KRI stationed at Lantamal serves as a static display of the Koarmada I.

The dynamic title carried out to handle conflicts in the North Natuna Sea, Lantamal IV located in Tanjung Pinang functions as a provider of static displays. In this case, Lantamal IV commands 6 naval bases consisting of Batam, Tarempa, Ranai, Tanjung Balai Karimun, and Dabo Singkep.

In its operational activities, Lantamal IV, as a provider of maintenance and maintenance facilities located in Mentigi, has the capability to build patrol vessels, often referred to as KAL 12, 28, and 35 meters. Furthermore, there are two Indonesian Navy Air Bases (Lanudal) located in Tanjung Pinang/Kijang and Matak, Natuna Islands. The implementing units of Lantamal IV consist of the Lantamal IV Military Police, Lantamal IV Maritime Security Unit, Marine Battalion of Defense Base IV, Lanal Batam, Lanal Tarempa, Lanal Ranai, Lanal Balai Karimun, Lanal Dabo Singkep, Fasharkan Mentigi, and Headquarters of Lantamal IV in Tanjung Pinang. Furthermore, Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Regulation No. 18/PermenKP/2014 Regarding the Fisheries

Management Area of the Republic of Indonesia allows the operation of fisheries surveillance vessels under the command of the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries to address conflicts in the North Natuna Sea. In this case, the North Natuna Sea, often referred to as Indonesian Fishery Management Area 711, is the fishery management area of the Republic of Indonesia. The Karimata Strait, Natuna Sea, and North Natuna Sea make up the Indonesian Fishery Management Area 711.

To safeguard Indonesia's maritime resources, the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (KKP) carries out its duties, functions, and authorities to uphold national sovereignty through efforts to manage the economic aspects in a sustainable manner as a step towards improving the welfare of coastal communities. These efforts are carried out by the Maritime and Fisheries Resources Supervisory Agency (PSDKP) with a clear vision: "To realize sovereignty in managing maritime and fisheries resources sustainably for the welfare of society, Indonesian waters free from Illegal, Unreported, and Unregulated (IUU) Fishing, and activities that harm maritime and fisheries resources." This is manifested through various initiatives as follows:

- a) Maritime surveillance operations through the use of technology and integrated approaches;
- b) Handling violations and law enforcement at sea with firm sanctions and deterrence effects for individuals and corporations committing violations; and
- c) Sinking illegal foreign vessels.
- d) Enhancing efforts to combat illegal trade;
- e) Enhancing cooperation at the regional and international levels; and
- f) Consistently implementing MCS (Monitoring, Control, and Surveillance).

Task Force for the Prevention and Eradication of IUU Fishing, established based on the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries of the Republic of Indonesia Decision Number 3A/KEPMENKP/2015 on the Task Force for the Prevention and Eradication of IUU Fishing, makes efforts to prevent ecosystem destruction in the waters of the North Natuna Sea. The IUU Fishing Task Force also has executives, a secretariat, and other implementing teams tasked as follows:

- a) Efforts in regulating fishing permits through official documents consisting of the Fisheries Business License (SIUP), Fishing License (SIPI), and Vessel Fishing License (SIKPI) in the Fisheries Management Area of the Republic of Indonesia;
- b) Providing recommendations for maintenance efforts and legal legitimacy systems at sea
- c) Conducting monitoring and temporary cessation (moratorium) efforts regarding fishing in the Indonesian Fishery Management Area 711.
- d) Assisting in carrying out evaluation and analysis efforts on foreign-made fishing vessels.
- e) Cooperation in intelligence and information to enforce maritime laws.
- f) Calculating the state losses from an economic perspective caused by violations of SIPI and SIKPI.

- g) Supervising reporting from the Marine Spatial Management and Fisheries Resources Management System Study in efforts to prevent IUU Fishing.

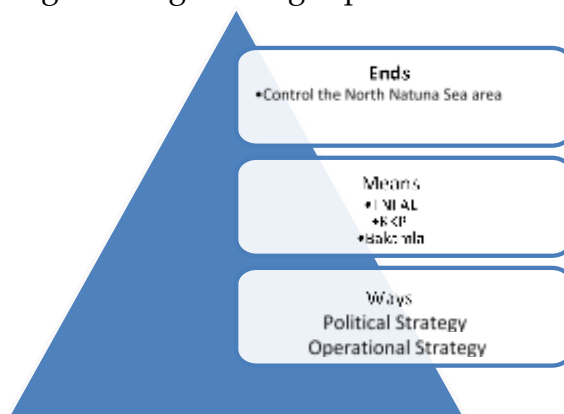
Furthermore, to fulfill Capability-Based Planning in facing conflicts in the North Natuna Sea, the Indonesian Maritime Security Agency (Bakamla) plays a crucial role. The presence of Bakamla is regulated under Presidential Regulation No. 178 of 2017, tasked with patrolling security and safety in Indonesian waters. The duties of Bakamla itself include:

- a) Immediate pursuit of foreign vessels that violate Indonesian EEZ territory.
- b) Conducting interception, inspection, capture, and handover of foreign vessels that violate the Indonesian EEZ territory to the authorities authorized to process the law.
- c) Integration of the information system for maritime security and safety in Indonesia.

Bakamla's maritime zones include Batam, Ambon, Manado, West Sumatra, North Sumatra, Cilacap, Makassar, Balikpapan, Natuna, Sorong, and Merauke. The North Natuna Sea falls under the command of the Western Maritime Zone, located on Jl. RE. Martadinata, Tanjung Pinggir, Sekupang, Batam City.

Defense Policy in Planning the Force Structure for the North Natuna Sea Conflict Using Scenario-Based Planning Approach

Indonesian defense policy is implemented through strategy. In this case, policy serves as guidance in realizing matters that are substantial and essential in achieving Indonesia's national interests. Therefore, a formulation of strategy involving actors or strategy makers based on ends, means, and ways is required. In supporting defense and maritime diplomacy in the North Natuna Sea conflict towards Indonesia's Golden 2045, strategy makers must have Scenario-Based Planning utilizing existing capabilities consistently.



Picture 2. Strategy Planning Force Structure North Natuna Sea Conflict Using a Scenario-Based Planning Approach

Source: Compiled by researchers, 2023.

Referring to image 1, it is known that the goal to be achieved in supporting defense diplomacy and sovereignty is to control the North Natuna Sea area, which is carried out through various efforts such as political and operational strategies.

a. Ends

In facing the threats in the North Natuna Sea area, comprehensive steps are needed to reduce the theft of marine resources and enforce the law. The threat mapping carried out in the maritime security aspect of the North Natuna Sea area is based on Bueger's analysis (2015). In this analysis, it is known that the threat to Indonesia's defense and sovereignty is an interstate dispute threat. This is because after the violation by the China Coast Guard, the Chinese Government protested against Indonesia by claiming the North Natuna area as China's traditional fishing ground. This is illustrated as follows:



Picture 3. Maritime Security Maps

Source: Bueger, 2015.

In addressing this issue, the security dimensions that need to be enforced are Economic development, human security, and national security. Referring to the applicable international legal perspective, this provocative action by China is a violation and threat to sovereignty that endangers the country, particularly in the North Natuna Sea.

b. Means

The instrument of maritime capability in Indonesia currently being implemented is the mapping and naming of the conflict area as the North Natuna Sea. Indonesia has full rights to the process of exploration and exploitation of marine resources in this water area. Indonesia legally has EEZ boundaries with the governments of Malaysia and Vietnam, which are regulated in agreements and accords signed in Kuala Lumpur on October 27, 1969, and with Vietnam agreed upon in 2003.

In the perspective of applicable international law, Indonesia and China are referred to as parties to the convention of UNCLOS 1982. Ideally, both Indonesia and China should comply with whatever is stipulated in UNCLOS 1982. Because Indonesia adheres strictly to the international law of UNCLOS 1982, the Indonesian government does not recognize the NDL (Nine-Dash Line). This is because the claim does not meet the provisions of the UNCLOS sea regime. In this case, the NDL is not relevant after the decision from the Arbitration Court, which considered that the NDL has no relevance to existing international law.

Based on the total defense system adopted by the Indonesian nation, civilian and military involvement is required in surveillance efforts. In this context, agencies that have the authority to conduct patrols based on their respective authorities and main duties and functions are in accordance with the non-military defense aspect based on the state's defense posture. Institutions and ministries outside the defense sector that act as main components are known as instruments of maritime power. In accordance with the legal basis mentioned above, Bakamla (Maritime Security Agency) and KKP (Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries) are the main state defense organizations. The TNI (Indonesian National Armed Forces) functions as a supporting element or supporter for the main elements.

c. Ways

The complexity of this problem stems from the lack of comprehensive synergy of maritime forces in handling the conflict in the North Natuna Sea. This can give a positive signal to China that Indonesia is still unable to take a firm stance in facing this conflict. Connelly in the journal "Indonesia in the South China Sea: Going it alone" (2017) shows that the Indonesian government is not cooperating well, stating that the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Defense are protesting separately. This is shown in the form of functions and structures that are still not well organized. This legal legitimization process is under the command of the Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs. However, the components in the law enforcement process are actually under the command of the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs. In this case, IUU fishing should be handled by maritime power instruments to synergize marine issues with law enforcement at sea.

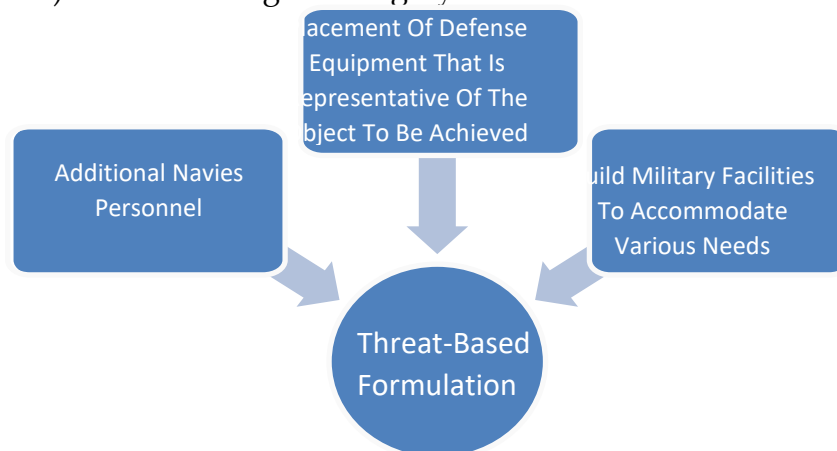
In addition, the EEZ within 200 nautical miles from the baseline requires serious attention from the government regarding China's claim. Meanwhile, areas directly bordering the Nine-Dash Line need not be worried about because the NDL is not included in the threats to Indonesia as the claim is not in line with UNCLOS, which has been ratified by Indonesia and China and accepted by the International Community. The reality on the ground shows that for the Indonesian Navy, Maritime Security Agency, and Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, the nine-dash line is actually the biggest threat to Indonesia. This is because China continues to act aggressively by showing force deployment through the China Coast Guard and building naval bases in the freedom of navigation area. Based on UNCLOS 1982, freedom of navigation allows ships to pass through the area without requiring permission. Moreover, China has begun to take offensive actions with its Coast Guard Law or China Coast Guard Law, which arms coast guards that will trigger conflict escalation.

According to the Head of Sub-Directorate of Sunjackson Hanneg, Directorate General of Defense Strategy, Ministry of Defense, in order to develop Natuna, efforts are needed to build a naval pier that can be used as support for KRI operational activities, extend the Air Force apron for 1 squadron of F16 and Sukhoi. In addition, an air defense artillery battalion built by the Army is also needed. Furthermore, the Ministry of Defense also needs to socialize patriotism and nationalism in the Natuna Islands region to civilians and coastal residents. This defense policy can be used as a step in anticipating the further impact of the North Natuna Sea conflict. Because the reality on the ground is not just the military aspect, but also the economic aspect where the Indonesian fishing fleet still finds it difficult to reach areas where IUU Fishing by China often occurs. Through efforts to develop the economic sector, it is hoped that the people in Natuna will gain awareness that sovereignty is the highest hierarchy compared to economic aspects and welfare.

Defense Policy in Planning Force Structure for the North Natuna Sea Conflict Using a Threats-Based Planning Approach

According to Article 4 of the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 23 of 2019 concerning the Management of National Resources for State Defense, this threat is considered a threat to state sovereignty. (Saragih, Hendra Maujana. 2018). As it is known that the defense aspect is an important framework that must be maintained in the realization of state survival. Therefore, with the threat to state sovereignty, strong defense and sovereignty diplomacy efforts are needed to welcome Golden Indonesia in 2045. From a defense and security perspective, the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) has a vital role in maintaining the sovereignty of maritime territory in the North Natuna Sea. The formula that can be developed in this strategy is as follows:"

This passage discusses the legal basis for considering certain actions as threats to state sovereignty, emphasizing the importance of defense in ensuring the survival of the state. It mentions the need for strong defense and diplomatic efforts, particularly in view of Indonesia's long-term goals (referred to as "Golden Indonesia 2045"). The text also highlights the crucial role of the Indonesian military (TNI) in maintaining sovereignty in the North Natuna Sea area.



Picture 4. Formulation Based on Threat Aspects

Source: Data processed by researchers, 2023

Indonesia is facing the conflict in the North Natuna Sea by taking strategic steps that involve increasing Indonesian Navy (TNI AL) personnel and placing representative defense equipment. The increase in TNI AL personnel aims to strengthen security patrol in the area, protect state sovereignty, and maintain maritime security in the North Natuna Sea. Additionally, the placement of representative defense equipment such as warships, fighter aircraft, and advanced radar systems is also being carried out to enhance the country's ability to face threats in the region.

In an effort to accommodate various needs, Indonesia is also constructing military facilities in the North Natuna Sea. These military facilities include naval bases, airfields, and observation posts, which aim to support operations and mobility of personnel and defense equipment. This development is important in maintaining the sustainability of TNI AL operations in these waters as well as protecting national interests and creating a deterrent effect against parties attempting to disrupt stability in the North Natuna Sea.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The escalating conflict in the South China Sea no longer involves Indonesia as an external party; instead, Indonesia is increasingly being drawn into the vortex of this conflict. This is happening because China is no longer hesitant in violating Indonesia's sovereign rights and sovereignty in the North Natuna area, which is part of Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). Therefore, Indonesia needs to take strategic actions to protect and defend its national sovereignty

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