

## The Influence of the South China Sea Conflict on the Security and Defence of the Indonesian State

Hatta Abdi Muhammad<sup>1\*</sup>, Alva Beriansyah<sup>2</sup>, Ahmad Baidawi<sup>3</sup>

Universitas Jambi

**Corresponding Author:** Hatta Abdi Muhammad

[Hattaabdimuhammad@gmail.com](mailto:Hattaabdimuhammad@gmail.com)

---

### ARTICLE INFO

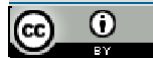
*Keywords:* Conflict, SCS, Sovereignty, Security and Resilience

*Received :* 19, October

*Revised :* 21, November

*Accepted:* 24, December

©2024 Muhammad, Beriansyah, Baidawi: This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).



### ABSTRACT

This research examines the influence of the South China Sea (SCS) conflict on Indonesia's resilience and security. Indonesia began to be drawn into the SCS conflict in 2010, after China claimed Indonesia's EEZ in the northern region, specifically the Natuna Islands. China's unilateral claims continued and peaked in 2016 when Chinese fishing vessels carried out illegal fishing activities in Natuna waters. Until now, Chinese ships still often enter Indonesia's borders. China's assertive behavior is considered an action that violates Indonesia's national sovereignty, therefore Indonesia is trying to maintain and secure its sovereignty and national interests in the Natuna Islands even though it is not part of the countries in dispute. By using qualitative research methods that combine the strengths of primary and secondary data, the findings show that if left unchecked, SCS conflicts could threaten Indonesia's resilience, security and sovereignty. Under Joko Widodo's government, Indonesia responded to the SCS conflict through diplomatic efforts and military alertness.

## **INTRODUCTION**

The dynamics of conflict in the South China Sea (SCS) are becoming more complex and difficult to predict in the future, there are many factors and state actors who have interests in the SCS, making it a very strategic area to be contested (Ahmad & Mohd Sani, 2017). The SCS has rich seabeds that can meet Southeast Asia's food needs, and has very large oil and natural gas reserves. The waters of the SCS have a potential source for surrounding countries which can be said to be the "Red Carpet" which is seen as so beautiful, calm, safe and peaceful when there is no conflict or violation, but the view is different when looking at the red carpet, so much potential for wealth, so beautiful The view is that there is so much potential that can be explored by various countries who always have their own interests.

Judging from its geographical location, the SCS region is an international sea route area that has political, economic and strategic value. The SCS region is surrounded by coastal countries, including Taiwan, China, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines and Brunei Darussalam and has great natural resource potential from the prosperity of countries that can control the area. The potential of natural resources and international maritime trade routes make this area the busiest route for regional and international traders. This poses a threat to regional countries in the SCS region. Control of shipping lanes in the SCS has its own meaning for China and the United States (Auslin: 2010).

The strategic value above makes each claimant state strive to defend their respective national interests by carrying out various maneuvers, starting from the launch of the nine dash line map by China, filing a lawsuit by the Philippines against China with the UN Permanent Court of Arbitration, to assertive actions such as building artificial islands and China's military presence in the SCS. The complexity of the SCS issue has even made great powers such as the United States (US) participate through its military strength by increasing the frequency of Freedom of Navigation Operations (FONOPS) activities to oppose China's expansion in the region (Prawira: 2019).

Not only in terms of marine wealth. Shipping activities using the SCS route are increasing, this increase has also contributed to dynamic economic development in countries around this water area, but this condition is another reason for the strengthening of confrontation between countries around the SCS region. The fairly rapid economic growth in Asia, especially China, has made many countries strive to gain control over these waters. In this case, China and the United States are making efforts to safeguard their interests through official or unofficial channels in order to prevent offensives and provocations by armed forces. However, recently this has been violated as a show of force and some countries have even used intimidation and threats to use military force (Cronin: 2015).

Conflicts between countries in the SCS region can be seen from various perspectives of the interests of the state actors involved in this confrontation, whether due to issues of territorial sovereignty, economic or even political interests (Macaraig & Fenton, 2021). Through a rational approach, the state tries

to defend and pursue its interests, in this case especially potential ones. If these interests cannot be harmonized it will lead to war. Likewise, in decision making, the distribution of authority and power in decision making needs to be done in order to maintain regional stability and security. In its development, the SCS conflict also began to "drag" Indonesia since 2010, after China claimed the northern region of the Natuna Islands, Riau Islands Province, which is the waters of Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). Meanwhile, China argues that it has the right to the waters in the Natuna Islands based on the traditional fishing zone argument. 7 China's unilateral claims to Natuna waters continued, bringing Indonesia and China to a "contentious" situation in 2013 and reached its peak in 2016. In March, May and June 2016, it was recorded that a number of Chinese fishing vessels sailed into the Indonesian EEZ and carried out a number of illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing (IUU fishing) activities. These incidents occurred again in 2019 and 2020, where this time not only were fishing boats involved, but the Chinese coast guard also committed similar violations (Francisca: 2023).

The various incidents of violations above occurred because of differences in views between China and Indonesia. The Chinese government claims that its fishing boats have the right to sail and its coast guard has the right to patrol the nine dash line area. Meanwhile, the Indonesian government does not recognize the nine dash line and considers that China has committed violations in Indonesia's EEZ region, namely in the waters of the North Natuna Sea. If left unchecked, this will have an impact on the resilience and security of the Indonesian State. So it demands a stance from Indonesia regarding the SCS conflict between several ASEAN countries and China.

The involvement of several ASEAN member countries (Philippines, Brunei, Vietnam and Malaysia) has reduced the meaning of ZOPFAN (Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality) as a guideline for resolving disputes that occur among ASEAN member countries themselves. The conflict in the SCS region has caused disruption to the defense stability of the ASEAN region. The formation of ZOPFAN (Zone of Peace, Free and Neutrality) could not run well and indirectly involved all ASEAN members in increasing national defense in maintaining the integrity of a country. Indonesia's position and the important role it plays are certainly the driving force in resolving the SCS conflict, of course, where the formation of the ASEAN Maritime Forum is considered appropriate, considering the need to handle maritime issues in ASEAN which have been discussed by different sectoral bodies, as well as to implement the ASEAN Leaders' Declaration and Community Statement blueprints. This of course aims to improve regional relations through interconnectedness, so that in the end it will contribute to fostering the formation of the ASEAN Community. Based on the background of the problem above, we from the research team believe that the issue related to the SCS Conflict is one of the most important issues that demands a study that can provide input to the Indonesian government in making decisions regarding defense diplomacy.

Research on the SCS conflict has been carried out by various researchers, such as Indonesia's Response to the SCS Dispute During the Joko Widodo

Administration, written by Yuli Ari Sulistyani et al, published in the *Politica Journal: Dynamics of Domestic Political Problems and International Relations*, DPR RI Expertise Agency Research Center (2021), *SCS Conflict and its Impact on Civil Military Relations in Southeast Asia* written by Yusa Djuyandi et al, published in *Muqoddimah Scientific Journal: Journal of Social Sciences, Politics and Humanities Muhammadiyah University of South Tapanuli* (2021), *Maritime Territorial Disputes in the SCS* written by Muhar Junef and published in the *De Jure Legal Research Journal* (2018), and *Communication on China's Negotiations on Settlement of SCS Disputes* written by Agung Satyawan published in the *UNS Mass Communication Journal* (2010). All research articles published in various journals above show that the research is a normative study through conceptual studies and literature studies in looking at the dynamics of the SCS conflict.

Meanwhile, although this research has the same issue, namely the SCS conflict, this research is different in terms of the object of study, namely the impact of the SCS conflict on Indonesia's resilience and security. This is a renewal for Indonesia's foreign policy in looking at the SCS conflict and the theme of this research. also part of the Strategic Plan Issues at Jambi University and the Faculty of Law Regarding Resilience and Security.

This research will discuss the influence of the SCS conflict on the defense and security of the Indonesian state. The research objectives to be achieved are, first, to find out the impact of the SCS conflict on Indonesia's resilience and security, second, to analyze Indonesia's national interests in the SCS region, and third, to see how Indonesia responds to the SCS conflict, under the leadership of President Joko Widodo.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

This research is used the conflict and military security theory. In conflict theory, conflict is a difference in perceived interests (Perceived divergence of interest) or a belief that the aspirations of the conflicting parties cannot be achieved simultaneously. The elements in it consist of perceptions, aspirations and the actors involved. Analysis of society using a conflict perspective is based on two facts that its members can be grouped into two categories, namely, people in power and people who are controlled. This dualism is included in the structure of interests of each interest in life together, resulting in different and possibly opposing interests. In turn, differentiation of interests can give rise to conflicting groups.

Authority or systems of power are complicated, where power tends to place trust in strength, while authority is power that is legitimized and receives general recognition (Craib, 1986). According to its type, there are two categories, namely vertical conflict which is conflict between the people and their leaders, and horizontal conflict which occurs between ethnic groups, religious and cultural adherents and between social groups (Nugroho, 2017). Related to this, conflict is expressed in four symptoms: 1). Obviously, 2). Aggressive, 3). Passive, and 4). Hidden.

During a conflict, conflict escalation occurs. There are five types of transformation that occur during the conflict escalation process, although not all of them occur in a conflict. The five types of transformation are: A). Light to

Heavy: Efforts to gain something in a competitive exchange usually begin with lighter efforts: ingratiation, gamesmanship, persuasive arguments, and promises. In many cases, these gentle tactics are eventually replaced by heavier ones, such as threats, irrevocable commitments. B). Small to Big: When conflict escalates, there is a tendency for existing issues to proliferate. There is a tendency for each party to become increasingly absorbed in the conflict and are willing to mobilize resources to win it. C). Specific to General: In an escalating conflict, specific issues tend to turn into general issues, which were originally small and concrete concerns tend to become large and involve all positions, accompanied by intolerance towards other parties. D). Winning to Hurt the Other Party: In the initial stages of many conflicts, everyone tries their best for their own interests, without caring about the good or bad results obtained by others. E). Few to Many: Conflicts that begin with agitation by a few participants often grow into collective action, when one party feels they have failed to win.

The concept of military security is a concept that refers to situations and circumstances where the main elements that make up a country such as sovereignty, territory, population or citizens, economy, government, constitutional system and the essential values adhered to are guaranteed to exist and function, without interference by any party. In this case, the source of disturbance to security can come from inside or outside a country. In the context of a country's existence in the midst of the international system, security issues are seen as an important aspect of national interests that must be fought for and maintained, in addition to economic interests (La Ode: 2023).

In maintaining security, military factors still occupy an important position in state security, although in the international security environment the emphasis is on resolving conflicts through political, economic and diplomatic approaches, many countries still consider military methods to be the most important effort to maintain security and national interests. Military security is structured to deal with various threats that threaten the territorial integrity of the country. To anticipate this threat, a country has a policy of strengthening the structure and capacity of weapons, military personnel, and deploying national defense that can ward off foreign military forces that would attack the country concerned. Policy that is understood as an effort made by the government to overcome existing problems in society (HM & Darminto, 2021; HM, Mustawa, Nugroho, Halim, 2022). To become a strong country requires the ability to fight, so increasing a country's military capacity is absolutely legal. The use of military capacity in resolving international problems is always interpreted as an act of violence. If the greater the military guarantee of a country, the greater the security guarantee that that country has. Security itself can be interpreted as a condition or feeling of being safe from violence or danger.

## **METHODOLOGY**

This study uses a qualitative research approach, that according to Denzin & Lincoln (2009) is an approach that gives an opportunity for researchers to be able to carry out detailed descriptions and interpretations in order to gain a holistic understanding. This type of research is a case study, which understood by

Creswell (2007) is a type of research that can be interpreted as an approach to study, explain, or interpret a case in its natural context without outside intervention. The method of data collection is library research supported by print media such as books, magazines, newspapers, journals, reports from many sources and also electronic media, especially the internet where data is a secondary source. These data will be analyzed in a predetermined theoretical framework to prove that the hypothesis is accurate and finally able to answer the research question. The collected data was analyzed using descriptive analysis to better describe The Influence of the SCS Conflict on the Security and Defense of the Indonesian State.

As an effort to analyze the data that has been obtained and collected, qualitative data analysis techniques are used which are carried out in three ways, namely: reducing data, displaying data, and drawing conclusions (Miles and Huberman, 1992, p. 88-90). Data reduction is the process of selecting, focusing on simplifying, abstracting, and transforming "rough" data that emerges from written notes in the field. Next, data presentation is a collection of structured information that provides the possibility of drawing conclusions and taking action. The final method used is drawing conclusions or verification, namely the interpretation or interpretation of all the collected data so that adequate conclusions can be obtained.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### ***History of the SCS Conflict***

The dynamics of territorial disputes in the SCS region due to overlapping claims is still a major security issue in the ASEAN region. Geographically, the SCS has an area of around 3 million km<sup>2</sup> and is located between the southern coast of China and Taiwan to the north, the coast of Southeast Asian countries to the west, a group of islands in the Philippines to the east, and Kalimantan and Indonesia to the south. There are ten countries that border the SCS, namely Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand and Vietnam. Meanwhile, the areas that have become hot spots in this dispute are the sea and land areas in the Paracel and Spratly island groups (Clive Schofield: 2016). The SCS dispute first occurred in the 1970s and has not yet reached an end to this day. A number of countries involved in the SCS dispute, as claimant states, are China, the Philippines, Malaysia, Vietnam, Brunei Darussalam and Taiwan, which claim to be part of the sovereignty of their respective countries. China uses a historical basis, while other claimant states use a geographical basis which refers to the International Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS).

The SCS is a contested area because it has strategic value as the Sea Lines of Trade (SLOT) and Sea Lines of Communication (SLOC) which connect the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, making the SCS route the busiest route in the world. Half of world trade traffic passes through this area. Apart from that, LCS also has economic value due to the presence of natural resources in the form of oil and natural gas reserves. This strategic value makes each claimant state strive to defend their respective national interests by carrying out various maneuvers, starting from the launch of the nine dash line map by China, filing a lawsuit by

the Philippines against China with the UN Permanent Court of Arbitration, to assertive actions such as building artificial islands and China's military presence in the SCS. The complexity of the SCS issue has even made great powers such as the United States (US) also "present" through its military strength by increasing the frequency of Freedom of Navigation Operation (FONOPS) activities to oppose China's expansion in the region (Prawira: 2019).

In its development, the SCS conflict also began to "drag" Indonesia since 2010, after China claimed the northern region of the Natuna Islands, Riau Islands Province, which is the waters of Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). Meanwhile, China argues that it has the right to the waters in the Natuna Islands based on traditional fishing zone arguments. China's unilateral claim to Natuna waters continued until it brought Indonesia and China into a "contentious" situation in 2013 and reached its peak in 2016. In March, May and June 2016, a number of Chinese fishing vessels were recorded sailing into Indonesia's EEZ and carrying out a number of illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing (IUU fishing) activities. These incidents occurred again in 2019 and 2020, where this time not only were fishing boats involved, but the Chinese coast guard also committed similar violations.

The SCS region has four groups, namely the Pratas, Paracel, Maccalesfield and Spratly islands. Of the four islands in this region, the Spratly Islands and the Paracel Islands are the two islands that are contested. Spratly Island is contested and claimed by six countries, namely Brunei, the Philippines, China, Vietnam, Taiwan and Malaysia. Meanwhile, the Paracel and Pratas islands are controlled by Taiwan and China. Initially, the dispute over the Spratly and Paracel islands involved many countries such as Japan, France, England, Vietnam, Malaysia, the Philippines, Taiwan and Brunei. Apart from the issue of island ownership, the continental shelf, EEZ, and exploitation of underwater natural resources can disrupt the sovereignty of countries living as neighbors in the SCS region. The conflict that continues to occur and has the potential to develop in the SCS region has encouraged several countries to take strategic steps in order to safeguard the security of their respective countries and the interests of their territorial claims, one of which is by using a military approach (Qiu, J. (2017). China is one of the countries that is taking part in using a military approach to achieve its national goals and interests in SCS affairs.

#### ***Indonesian National Defense System***

The national defense system is universal in nature, involving all citizens, territories and other national resources, and is prepared early by the government and is implemented in a total, integrated, directed and continuous manner to uphold state sovereignty, territorial integrity and the safety of all nations from all over the world. threat. Thus, Indonesia's national defense involves all components of the Indonesian nation. Therefore, in building a solid national defense system in the current era of globalization, it is necessary to pay attention to aspects of information technology, law enforcement, and increasing citizens' awareness of the high spirit of nationalism based on the spirit of Pancasila within the framework of singular diversity. The universal people's defense and security system or Sishankamrata is a system prepared based on the philosophy of the

Constitution (UUD) with the aim of realizing Indonesia's national resilience. Threats to national resilience can come from abroad or within the country. This Sishankamrata is used as a strategy to face this threat. There are four components in sishankamrata as an effort to maintain national defense and security. The four components of Sishankamrata are as follows (Supriyanto: 2014): 1). The intelligence component functions to detect threats and challenges early. Then the detection results are used to provide initial warnings to related parties to take preventive, deterring and countermeasures. The intelligence officer on duty will provide an analysis of the situation and recommendations regarding appropriate steps and policies to be taken by the government. 2). State defense and security efforts are carried out through sishankamrata with the Indonesian National Army or TNI and the Indonesian National Police or Polri as the main force. Meanwhile, the people are the supporting force. This is in accordance with article 30 of the Constitution or the 1945 Constitution. The defense component is tasked with launching a national defense strategy by using all military and non-military forces in a comprehensive and integrated manner. The strategies launched by the defense component include popular, regional and universal deterrence strategies. Sishankamrata also involves all departments and non-departmental institutions in a comprehensive manner to participate in ensuring state security. The defense component is responsible for analyzing the mission, developing a course of action or COA, and executing the COA. 3). Security. If the defense component is more oriented towards protecting Indonesia's sovereignty from military attacks, then the security component is more oriented towards the domestic security situation. The security component includes security and public order, law enforcement, and services from law enforcement officers to the community. The security component supports smart security, namely a modern city security system based on technological advances, community involvement and the involvement of domestic security partners. Smart security has two goals, namely digital security and personal security. Smart security is one effort to create a safe and peaceful city. 4). Cyber. The cyber component is tasked with maintaining data confidentiality, upholding integrity in data management, as well as ensuring data availability to carry out smart security and maximize smart cities. The cyber component is one of the components that receives high attention from the government because smart city services require high data availability. Protection must be carried out optimally because it has a fairly high level of vulnerability. The cyber component is responsible for creating the national security operations center or NSOC. Through the implementation of Sishankamrata, matters of national defense are no longer solely the responsibility of state defense institutions. The people as a whole also play an active role in defending the country. In the context of the SCS conflict, maintaining Indonesia's maritime sovereignty can also be carried out by the people, especially residents who live in border and outermost areas. In practice, Indonesia's maritime security personnel are certainly limited. Therefore, the maritime community can play a role in protecting maritime sovereignty from various threats.

Seeing the unresolved conflict in the SCS region and the involvement of several ASEAN members in the dispute over the ownership of the Spratly and

Paracel islands in the SCS region, it has encouraged Indonesia to think and look for the best way to resolve the dispute. and the peace negotiations that have been carried out have not yet reached an understanding on the ownership of the two islands in this area. This is related to the interests of the world's ruling country, the United States, after the end of the Cold War with the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, in the Asia-Pacific region the emergence of a new power, China is starting to show its fangs as a new hegemonic country in the 21st century era. The SCS conflict could pose a serious threat to Indonesia's security and defense if dispute resolution is not handled promptly and well (US Department of Defence: 2010).

The SCS region is geographically located in international sea routes which have strategic, economic and political value. Control of the SCS region provides great benefits for economic control through sea trade routes and has a direct influence on countries in the Southeast Asian region, including Indonesia. Economic dependence between countries in the ASEAN region will be disrupted by the dispute in the China Sea. The conflict that occurs can cause world crude oil prices to rise which will affect Indonesia's APBN. APBN changes can affect budget reductions/increases in each ministry. Regarding the conflict in the SCS region, efforts need to be made to develop Indonesia's national defense system according to needs. This effort is carried out for the integrity of Indonesia's territory which borders directly on the SCS, namely the Natuna Islands area which is the link between the Indian Ocean and the SCS, becoming the shortest route option for warships wishing to go to conflict areas in the SCS and conditions. This could cause its own complications for Indonesia. Modernization of Indonesia's defense forces is needed to prevent the SCS conflict from seeping or expanding into the Natuna Sea as well as securing oil exploration in the surrounding area.

In addition to modernizing the main means of national defense weapons (Alutsista), maintaining harmonious bilateral relations between countries in the ASEAN region, remaining consistent in maintaining its commitment to participate in creating and maintaining regional and global security stability, by always prioritizing cooperative security strategies with peaceful efforts in resolve every problem, especially in resolving the SCS conflict, then ASEAN as an international organization in the Southeast Asia region will become more effective and be taken into account in the Asia Pacific region. The Influence of the SCS Conflict on the Security and Defense of the Indonesian State Indonesia is an archipelagic country, consisting of 17,508 islands, with a population of 250 million people (BKKBN Data, 2021), and diverse ethnicities, cultures and races. The large number of islands often causes problems between neighboring countries that are close to the islands. So the Indonesian government needs to plan a good national defense system, in accordance with current forms and threats. This defense system is very necessary, especially in maintaining the sovereignty and integrity of the nation so that the SCS conflict and the Sipadan-Ligitan island incident do not happen again. The potential natural resources possessed by the Indonesian nation have led Indonesia to become the prima donna in the SCS conflict. This is a threat to the stability of national resilience and

security which must be addressed wisely by the Indonesian government by remaining guided by a free and active foreign policy, but still maintaining bilateral and multilateral cooperation and creating peace in the SCS conflict.

In a conflict that occurs, it cannot be denied that each country involved must have its own interests. As in the conflict that occurred in the SCS region, all countries involved in it have their own interests which they want to realize so that the country can benefit from the conflict that occurs. In the conflict in the waters of the SCS and Indonesia is involved in it, there are also interests that Indonesia wants to realize. For Indonesia itself, it is very difficult to avoid and reject the fact that the waters of the SCS (SCS) have many benefits and are important for life in Indonesia. One of the important meanings of the SCS waters for life in Indonesia is in the economic sector. Even though Indonesia does not actually make claims to the waters of the SCS, as one of the largest countries in ASEAN, Indonesia feels the need to participate in diplomatic efforts to resolve the problems that exist in the waters of the SCS.

The economic impact that Indonesia can feel as a result of the conflict in the SCS is in the export and import sector of various necessities in Indonesia (Zuhri & Hanifa, 2017). Because the waters of the SCS are the northern entrance to the export and import routes leading to Indonesia. And if there is a conflict in the waters of the SCS, there will definitely be territorial restrictions so that ships that are useful for transporting export and import goods to and from Indonesia will have difficulty passing through the area. And in the end it is certain that economic activities in Indonesia which rely on export and import processes will experience disruption. Apart from that, when the SCS region fell into China's hands, the government was worried that this would result in the Natuna region also falling into China's hands. Because just like the SCS waters, the Natuna waters are also one of the areas that China is contesting. Of course, the Indonesian government does not want this, because the Natuna region can be classified as one of the water asset areas in Indonesia. This is because the Natuna region holds a lot of natural resource wealth, and when the region is taken over, it will also affect the lives of civil society around the Natuna region, many of whom depend for their livelihoods on searching for the resources in the Natuna region.

On the other hand, the SCS conflict provides an opportunity for Indonesia's national defense system to modernize its military defense equipment with increasing cooperation in the military sector and military assistance provided by foreign parties, such as: China, America, Russia, Australia and others. Indonesia's neutral attitude has made many offers come to Indonesia. These many offers are a good opportunity to modernize military defense equipment on a large scale, but still pay attention to Indonesia's interests behind everything. The modernization of Indonesia's military defense equipment is very important for Indonesia to face possible threats from increased conflict in the SCS region in the future.

For Indonesia, the political escalation of the SCS region is a threat to the security stability and peace of the ASEAN region. This condition is contrary to the national goal as stated in the fourth paragraph of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, namely: "Furthermore, to form an Indonesian state government

that protects the entire Indonesian nation and all Indonesian blood and to promote general welfare, educate the life of the nation, and participate in implementing world order based on independence, eternal peace and social justice." The influence of the SCS conflict has the political impact of the struggle between two large countries that have an interest in the seizure of the SCS region. Based on the "U" map, also known as the Nine Dash Line, issued by the Chinese government in 1993, the problem is not only focused on the Spratly and Paracel islands, but has an impact on Indonesia's exclusive economic zone (EEZ).

This factor is what encourages Indonesia to play an active role in resolving disputes in the SCS region. The disruption of the northern Natuna Islands in the SCS conflict will have a direct impact on the Indonesian economy from the results of oil and gas mining exploration in the EEZ area. Apart from that, there is an indirect economic influence on the increase in insurance costs for commercial ships carrying Indonesian export commodities to the East Asia region.

Meanwhile, the value of Indonesia's trade via the SCS international trade route to countries in the East Asia region is quite high in the ASEAN-China Free Trade Zone (ACFTA) and the Japan-Indonesia Economic Partnership Agreement (JIEPA). A major influence due to the escalation of the SCS conflict is the modernization of military equipment from all ASEAN member countries, including Indonesia as a country affected by spill over from the disputes that occurred in the region. Modernization of defense forces, especially maritime forces around the SCS, is an effort by interested countries to secure their respective interests in these waters.

## **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

Territorial disputes in the SCS (SCS) have become quite an important discussion in the context of Indonesia's security and defense. The Indonesian government pays very close attention to the dynamics of conflicts involving various countries from within and outside the SCS region itself. The Indonesian government's concerns about the country's security and defense are becoming increasingly high due to the escalation of conflict and instability in security conditions in the SCS region. The escalation of conflict in the LCS makes the LCS a flash point which is very likely to turn into open conflict. The dynamics of the SCS conflict have given rise to a threat perception which ultimately influences Indonesia's defense policy making in 2022-2024. When compared with the direction of Indonesia's previous defense policy which prioritized diplomatic instruments, one of the defense policies in 2022 will focus more on developing military power in areas directly bordering the SCS. Indonesia stated that the SCS conflict could become open war because of three things. First, the tendency of the parties involved to use military force to strengthen claims in the region. Second, there is the involvement of foreign parties from outside the region. Third, there is no credible institution to resolve existing problems. Apart from these three things, the phenomenon of arms races between countries in the region has also caused the escalation of conflicts in the SCS to become increasingly heated. The perception of threats to Indonesia's national interests ultimately influences various Indonesian defense policies. Even though Indonesia is basically not

directly involved in the conflict, the geographical proximity to the center of the conflict is the main reason for Indonesia's perceived threat to the ongoing conflict.

Apart from that, the ongoing escalation of conflict is likely to continue to spread and could ultimately disrupt the security and defense stability of the Indonesian state. The high intensity of conflict in the SCS makes Indonesia very wary of possible disturbances that could arise from this conflict. Preventive action is an application of Indonesia's defense policy that is needed to ward off all possible disturbances that will be caused by the SCS conflict. The SCS conflict is a threat in the ASEAN regional area, especially since several of the disputing countries are ASEAN member countries. Indonesia, as a large country in the Southeast Asian region, feels responsible for finding the best solution to the SCS conflict while maintaining neutrality and bilateral or multilateral cooperation in order to create peace and security, national stability in the ASEAN region or internationally as mandated in 1945 Constitution.

#### **ADVANCED AND RESULT**

Some suggestions in exploring further research include, First, research can be continued by analyzing the long-term impact on the dynamics of the way out of the policies that have been implemented. In this case, it focuses on the long-term political, economic, and security impacts of the policies that have been taken by the State of Indonesia. Second, it is also necessary to study the existence of natural resources in the South China Sea whether they can provide benefits to regional stability and bilateral relations

#### **REFERENCES**

- Ahmad, M. Z., & Mohd Sani, M. A. (2017). China's Assertive Posture in Reinforcing its Territorial and Sovereignty Claims in the South China Sea: An Insight into Malaysia's Stance. *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 18(1), 67-105. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1468109916000323>.
- Alwi Bin Ali Mohammad (1991). *The Conflicting claims in the South China Sea*. USAWC
- Auslin, Michael (2010). *Security in the Indo-Pacific Commons: Toward A Regional Security*. American Enterprise Institute.
- Cronin, P.M. (2015). 'The Military Balance and Regional Order in the South China Sea'. In M. Hiebert, P. Nguyen, & G.B. Poling (eds.), *Examining the South China Sea Disputes* (pp. 1- 23). London: Center for Strategic & International Studies, and Rowman & Littlefiel.
- Caroline Paskarina (2016). 'Wacana Negara Maritim dan Reimajinasi Nasionalisme Indonesia. *Jurnal Wacana Politik - Jurnal Ilmiah Departemen Ilmu Politik*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Maret 2016: 1 – 8. p. 4.
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five traditions* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln Y. S. (2009). *Handbook of qualitative research* (Dariyanto, Badrus Samsul Fata, Abi, & John Rinaldi, Trans.). Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar. (Original work published 2000).
- Departemen Pertahanan RI (2008). *Buku Putih Pertahanan Negara*. Jakarta, Jr, Abad, M.C. (2000). *The role of Asean in Security Multilateralism ZOPFAN, and SEANWFZ*.
- Macaraig, C. E., & Fenton, A. J. (2021). Analyzing the Causes and Effects of the South China Sea Dispute. *The Journal of Territorial and Maritime Studies*, 8(2), 42–58. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48617340>
- Mas'oeed, Mohtar (1990). *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional: Disiplin dan Metodologi*. Jakarta: PT.Pustaka LP3ES Indonesia.
- Muhammad Danang Prawira Utama, "Intervensi Negara Ketiga dan Peran Indonesia Bersama ASEAN pada Penyelesaian Isu Laut Cina Selatan (LCS)," *Jurnal Dinamika Global*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Desember 2019): 329-346.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1992). *Analisis data kualitatif* (Tjetjep Rohendi Rohidi, Trans.). Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press. (Original work published 1984).
- HM, Pahrudin, & Darminto, C. . (2021). The impact of local government policies on people's welfare in the regional autonomy era: A case study of Jambi City, Indonesia. *Kasetsart Journal of Social Sciences*, 42(4), 732–737. Retrieved from <https://so04.tci-thaijo.org/index.php/kjss/article/view/255717>.<https://doi.org/10.34044/j.kjss.2021.42.4.04>.
- Pahrudin HM, Mustawa, A., Nugroho, R., & Halim, A. (2022). The Implementation of Pertisun as A Policy Innovation in Absorbing Public Aspirations in Merangin Regency. *Journal of Government and Civil Society*, 6(1), 89–103. <https://doi.org/10.31000/jgcs.v6i1.5776>
- Pruitt, G. Rubin dan Jeffery Z. Rubin (2004). *Teori Konflik Sosial*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Peraturan Menteri Perhubungan Nomor 68 Tahun 2011 Tentang Alur Pelayaran Di Laut.
- Sunardi, R.M. (2004). *Pembinaan Ketahanan Bangsa: Teori Ketahanan Nasional, Geostrategi Indonesia dan Ketahanan Regional*. Jakarta: PT Kuarternita Adidarma.
- Safriil Hidayat & Ridwan (2017). "Kebijakan Poros Maritim Dan Keamanan Nasional Indonesia: Tantangan Dan Harapan. *Jurnal Pertahanan dan Bela Negara*, 2017. Vol.7, No.3

- Sunardi, R.M. (2004). *Pembinaan Ketahanan Bangsa: Teori Ketahanan Nasional, Geostrategi Indonesia dan Ketahanan Regional*. Jakarta: PT Kuarternita Adidarma.
- Qiu, J. (2017). South China Sea: the gateway to China's deep-sea ambitions. *National Science Review*, 4(4), 658-663. <https://doi.org/10.1093/nsr/nwx107>
- Zuhri, A. S., & Hanifa, H. (2017). The Influence of The Strategic Position of Indonesia in The South China Sea Toward The Military Partnership Between Indonesia and China in 2010-2015. *Journal of Indonesian Social Sciences and Humanities*, 7(1), 55-70. <https://doi.org/10.14203/jissh.v7i1.75>