

Rethinking The Concept of Indo-Pacific in Determining Indonesia's Geopolitical Perspective Through International Cooperation

Hesti Rosdiana

Faculty of Social and Political Science, Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jakarta University,
Indonesia, hesti.rosdiana@upnvj.ac.id

ABSTRACT

The Indo-Pacific concept, which emphasizes the region's strategic function for global interests, explains that geopolitical shifts in the region impact global security and economy. At the 32nd Summit and 33rd ASEAN Summit, Indonesia emphasized the importance of the Indo-Pacific concept and ASEAN centrality and stressed the importance of ASEAN developing cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region that promotes the principles of openness, inclusiveness, transparency, respect for international law, and respect for ASEAN centrality. Based on this background, this paper emphasizes on the analysis of Indonesia's geopolitical perspective through international cooperation which is part of Indonesia's geopolitics in the Indo-Pacific region. Based on the concepts of geopolitics and international cooperation, the author analyzes Indonesia's geopolitical perspective through international cooperation. This article is written using qualitative research methods with data collection techniques through document-based research. This means that this research uses collection techniques through book sources, journals and other sources relevant to the research. The results of this paper explain that Indonesia's geopolitical interests cannot be separated from the importance of building mutual trust and regional development through international cooperation for global interests. In other words, regional development through international cooperation will increase regional stability and encourage various economic, political, and security activities that not only reduce political friction but also provide strategic advantages for every actor with interests in the Indo-Pacific.

Keywords: Indonesia, Geopolitics, Indo-Pacific, international cooperation

ABSTRAK

Konsep Indo-Pasifik yang menekankan fungsi strategis kawasan ini bagi kepentingan global menjelaskan bahwa pergeseran geopolitik di kawasan ini berdampak pada keamanan dan ekonomi global. Pada KTT ke-32 dan KTT ke-33 ASEAN, Indonesia menekankan pentingnya konsep Indo-Pasifik dan sentralitas ASEAN serta menekankan pentingnya ASEAN mengembangkan kerja sama di kawasan Indo-Pasifik yang mengedepankan prinsip-prinsip keterbukaan, inklusif, transparansi, penghormatan terhadap hukum internasional, dan penghormatan terhadap sentralitas ASEAN. Berdasarkan pada latar belakang tersebut, tulisan ini menekankan pada analisis perspektif geopolitik Indonesia melalui kerjasama internasional yang merupakan bagian dari geopolitik Indonesia di kawasan Indo-Pasifik. Dalam artikel ini, penulis menyajikan analisis perspektif geopolitik Indonesia melalui kerjasama internasional dengan menggunakan konsep geopolitik dan kerjasama internasional. Artikel ini ditulis dengan menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dengan teknik pengumpulan data melalui penelitian berbasis dokumen. Artinya, penelitian ini menggunakan teknik pengumpulan melalui sumber-sumber buku, jurnal dan sumber lainnya yang relevan dengan penelitian. Hasil tulisan ini menjelaskan bahwa kepentingan geopolitik Indonesia tidak lepas dari pentingnya membangun rasa saling percaya, serta pembangunan kawasan melalui kerjasama internasional untuk kepentingan global. Dengan kata lain, pembangunan kawasan melalui kerja sama internasional akan meningkatkan stabilitas kawasan sehingga mendorong berbagai kegiatan ekonomi, politik, dan keamanan yang tidak hanya mengurangi gesekan politik, tetapi juga memberikan keuntungan strategis bagi setiap aktor yang memiliki kepentingan di Indo-Pasifik.

Kata kunci: Indonesia, Geopolitik, Indo-Pasifik, kerjasama internasional

Introduction

The maritime area which is now the center of every actor (state) policy, especially for the interests of the global economy and security, makes the Indo-Pacific one of the areas on which every country depends. In other words, the global importance and dependence on the region is enormous. The size of the area and the importance of connectivity that ensures security at sea and the economic

activities of each country that are influenced by maritime stability and security are the foundations of thought behind the emergence of the term Indo-Pacific as a new "region" in the dynamics of global politics and security. But it should also be noted that the Indo-Pacific plays almost entirely as a maritime construct rather than a continental.¹ Sea transportation activities for the benefit of trade and exploitation of marine resources as supplies needed for industrial purposes.

The United States (U.S) is beginning to realize the inability of countries in the Asia-Pacific to fulfill geopolitical goals in Asia. This is based on the expansion of China's military influence in the Indian Ocean. As such, the Indo-Pacific has been designed by India, the US, Japan and Australia to respond to perceived security threats by strengthening – and incorporating India into – existing alliance partnerships in the region. Referring to the Indo-Pacific, the issue of maritime trade routes, freedom of navigation, and maritime security is a strategic gamble for every country. Moreover, the area almost covers the entire world maritime trade route, which almost certainly all countries depend on the region.²

Throughout 2018, the Indo-Pacific concept has been communicated several times; among others, in the 51st ASEAN Foreign Ministers meeting forum and 19th Post Ministerial Conference which was held on 31 July–4 August 2018 by Indonesian Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi. Even at the 33rd ASEAN Summit President Jokowi stated the importance of the Indo-Pacific concept and ASEAN centrality while at the 32nd April 2018 Summit the President also emphasized the importance of ASEAN developing cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region that puts forward the principles of openness, inclusiveness, transparency, respect international law, and respect the centrality of ASEAN.

The Indo-Pacific concept emphasizes the strategic function of the region for global interests explains that geopolitical shifts in the region have an impact on global security and economy. In the past, especially for sea transportation since before the industrial revolution, transportation was the most convenient way to move goods and passengers. The kingdoms of the past also carried out commercial activities using sea transportation.³

The territory of Indian Ocean stretches from the Arabian Sea, south India's coastal waters, until the Bay of Bengal near the entrance of Strait of Malacca. The Indian Ocean provides an important international shipping route. Oman, Yemen, Somalia, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Myanmar, and Indonesia are the littoral states surrounding the Indian Ocean. However Chinese boats is often found roaming the area through Pakistan and Sri Lanka, so does the United States navy which annually held joint maritime exercise with India. With the strategic importance and the countries contesting the region, Indian Ocean's stability is being rattled.⁴

There are several maritime areas which have been contested the most across the Indo-Pacific, namely the East China Sea, South China Sea, and the Indian Ocean. Although there has never been any direct military conflict in those areas, however those areas are the sources for rising the security risks in the region. The contestation of those areas is caused mainly by the different security needs of the regional countries. Moreover, those areas hold significant geostrategic importance, thus the disputes have been a complex matter in Indo-Pacific maritime security.⁵

By looking at the geopolitical dynamics that are now leading to maritime functions and resources, both natural resources and maritime transportation routes, the Indo-Pacific has strategic value for many countries. In practice, the policies of several large countries, such as the United States (US),

¹ Rodon Pedrasan dan Yugolastarob Komeini, "Kawasan Indo-Pasifik Dalam Perspektif Geopolitik dan Geostrategi", dalam Laode Muhamad Fathun dan Isnarti Rika, "Tinjauan Multiperspektif Kawasan Indo-Pasifik: Peluang dan Tantangan", Yogyakarta: Grha Ilmu. 2021.

² Asep Kamaludin Nashir, Yugolastarob Komeini and Atep Abdrurrofik. (2022). "The Indo-Pacific: A New Geography of Conflict" in *2nd Virtual Conference on Social Science in Law, Political Issue and Economic Development*, KnE Social Sciences, pages 84–89. DOI 10.18502/kss.v7i12.11507.

³ Jean-Paul Rodrigue. (2013). *The Geography of Transport Systems*, New York: Routledge.

⁴ J. Tertia & A.A.B. Perwita. (2018). Maritime Security in Indo-Pacific: Issues, Challenges, and Prospects. *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional*, 14(1), 77–95. <https://doi.org/10.26593/jihi.v14i1.2795.77-95>.

⁵ Ibid., p.85.

China, Japan, Russia, and several other countries, security policies play a small role in economic interests, but have a strategic and major role, namely the protection of resources that are the needs and interests of state strategy. It then explains the transformation of security policy by placing economic interests as a priority.⁶

Global dependence, including Indonesia, especially Indonesia's strategic position as a bridge between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, as well as its strategic position in the South China Sea, are strategic reasons for Indonesia to play its role. Indonesia's geopolitical interests in the region are very large in maintaining security, political stability, and maritime interests, both globally, regionally and nationally.

Indonesia has turned its attention to the maritime domain and the broader Indo-Pacific. In President Joko Widodo's first term, the "Global Maritime Fulcrum" doctrine was meant to lay the foundation for Indonesia's broader regional engagement. Unfortunately, Widodo's government failed to build on the initial idea. Since 2018, Indonesia had been advocating its Indo-Pacific vision; in 2019, it led the process to have it adopted as the "ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific" (AOIP). While the AOIP is not without its flaws, Indonesia's vision aligns with India's own Indo-Pacific conceptions. Both countries want to uphold a rules-based maritime order and balance of power in the Indo-Pacific, as well as address the broader Indo-Pacific challenges such as energy, technology, regional connectivity and trade ties.⁷ Therefore, this paper aims to analyze what is the perspective of Indonesia's geopolitics in the Indo-Pacific through international cooperation?

This article is structured into two parts: the first discusses the concepts related to geopolitics, while the second analyzes the international cooperation as the implementation of Indonesia geopolitics in Indo-Pacific region. The first part talks about the value of Indo-Pacific region for global interest and the strategic interest of states in Indo-Pacific. The second part discusses the urgent of Indonesia geopolitic to push cooperation internationally in many ways to strengthen Indonesia's position and to minimize political friction among states in Indo-Pacific.

Literature Review

a. Geography and Geopolitics

Geographical factors determine and influence the output of foreign policy capabilities in accordance with geographical conditions. This geographical stagnation factor explains the pattern of changes in the location of the source of power, while human production capabilities determine the dynamics of geopolitical conditions through the creation of technology that is able to modify the value of an area and the access or connectivity of one region to another. Therefore, geopolitics is a combination of geology (natural resources) and human activities that change the function and value of certain areas. In other words, geopolitics can be understood as a combination of geographical values, such as natural factors (land, sea, mountain ranges) and human capabilities in adapting to these factors, through production capabilities and communication technology, which determine the arrangement or route. trade/access and location of resources, as well as state border conditions.

Geopolitics emphasizes the distribution of new powers, changes in strategic areas, and changes in areas or zones that have the potential to cause conflict. In an international system, geopolitics is not a constant but a variable that explains changes in the distribution of geographical and economic routes,

⁶ Op.cit., p.85.

⁷Premesha Saha, Ben Bland, and Evan A. Laksmana. (2020). "Anchoring The Indo-Pacific: the Case for Deeper Australia-India-Indonesia Trilateral Cooperation," *ORF, The Lowy Institute and CSIS Policy Report*, January.

as well as natural resources.⁸ As a variable, geopolitics influences and determines the geostrategy of a country. Geostrategy is the state's rationale for how a country tries to project military power and direct its diplomatic activities. In other words, geostrategy is an interpretation and response of a country to geopolitical conditions.⁹

The main security for a country lies in the national boundaries of its territory. Protection of trade routes, and connections to areas that become resource centers are important to maintain the supply of power, but it will be useless if it sacrifices its territorial security. If the national boundaries of the country's territory are threatened, the country tends to project its geostrategy to maintain its territorial security (the focus of its military force projection and diplomacy activity will only lead to territorial conflicts) and will reduce the geostrategic focus of the country to pursue or control resource centers and trade route or access.

States that protect their home territory (or, as a proxy, have stable borders), then pursue control of resources, and that secure route connecting them with centers of resources, increase and maintain their relative power.¹⁰ With geopolitical developments now emphasizing the strategic value of the sea, world trade transportation routes have become very strategic for every country. The dependence on global maritime security is the reason for the emergence of shared security interests. For this reason, collaboration or international cooperation in the security sector is a state policy to maintain peaceful conditions and ensure every activity related to global economic and political interests.

In peaceful conditions or when conflict has not occurred but is predicted to occur, considering that conflicts of interest may occur, then international cooperation becomes a rational choice in achieving common interests. International cooperation emphasizes anticipating every threat and problem that arises, so that cooperation becomes a mutually beneficial solution.

The mechanism of international cooperation emphasizes on several factors that encourage the establishment of international cooperation. The first factor is the source or reason for cooperation which is influenced by the rational thinking of the state that unilateral or individual attitudes will not produce a positive impact or strategic advantage. Other actors who also have the same interests are needed to create mutually beneficial collaborations. The second factor is the form of cooperation. Cooperation relations involving every government of a country are formed through bilateral or multilateral mechanisms. The form of the mechanism is then carried out in several forms of cooperation, such as the establishment of an international regime and security community.¹¹

International regimes emphasize various rules, regulations, norms, and principles of cooperation that serve as guidelines and political transactions as well as solutions in addressing problems that arise or have the possibility to arise and affect common interests.¹² International regimes emphasize rules that are politically agreed upon through various agreements that set standard rules to be mutually agreed upon. Agreed rules, values, and norms become international rules that cover a wide area of various state and human activities.¹³ The agreement that produces the regulation then becomes an obligation for each country to comply with or regulate what the state may and cannot do.

Other forms of collaboration emphasize collaboration within the security community. The security community has a pluralistic security community atmosphere, considering the involvement of many actors so that the interests that are the political reasons for the birth of cooperation are very general

⁸ Ibid., p.22.

⁹ Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁰ Ibid., p.1-2.

¹¹ K.J. Holsti.(1992). *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

¹² Ibid., p.384

¹³ Ibid., p. 385

in nature. Even so, the target of creating peace is the main goal, so eliminating the use of military force is the main option and emphasizing mutual acceptance (jointly accepting and complying) with applicable international legal regulations.¹⁴

b. The geopolitics in Indo-Pacific

In this way, an understanding of geopolitics and international cooperation explains the dynamics of international politics that affect relations between countries and strategic areas. The literature review in this paper uses previous studies, especially those related to the strategic value of the Indo-Pacific, geopolitical policies, and international cooperation. For example, in his writings, Bhatt (2018) explains that Japan's reflection on the Indo-Pacific is an external manifestation of its domestic vision, which is development-oriented based on respect for norms and rules. This aspiration is also reflected in the 2017 white paper which clearly defines the Indo-Pacific as a key area for development. Even other countries such as Australia is promoting the desire to lead military coalitions and make special contributions to military coalitions with countries that have common strategic interests in the region.¹⁵

Another author such as McDaniel (2012) explain that the Indian Ocean has four of the six major maritime chokepoints and serves as a maritime pathway for the energy resources needed to power the world's largest economy. Nearly 68 percent of Indian oil, 80 percent of Chinese oil and 25 percent of US oil are shipped from the Indian Ocean region. This explains the shift in global balance in the Indo-Pacific region, especially in geostrategic issues.¹⁶ The Indo-Pacific region is home to a very dense and diverse mix of ethnic, cultural, political, religious and economic systems, which further complicates developing countries' geostrategic interests. This region is an artery that carries resources that fuel economic growth, such as China and India, the two fastest growing global economic powers in the world today, and the involvement of the US has declared its permanent presence.

Giergyl (2006) in his book entitled *Great Powers and Political Change* also emphasizes the real impact of geopolitical changes at the level of the 21st century, one of which is seen in the strengthening of China's maritime power which began since the end of the cold war. China, which is continuously building its maritime power, is trying to project control of the sea area, especially in the South China Sea area. This sea area is the main transportation route which is the closest regional area for China. This region is also a place of strength for several countries with maritime powers that have interests in the region, including the United States, Japan, and Russia, and especially China.

The four major countries have the same interests, namely sea lanes to ensure the security of access and connectivity of each country. The South China Sea is a vital transportation route for China to access trading ships as well as a regional area or strategic environment for China, considering that this route is also used by U.S to connect with its region or buffer zone in East Asia, that is Japan.

On the other hand, Russia's geographical proximity to China, Japan, and U.S presence in the region forced the former communist country to play its part in the struggle and show of force in securing the route. This is not only triggered by the physical condition of the South China Sea which is the closest area to the strategic environment of China and Japan, as well as the wealth of natural resources owned by the sea. Changes in the value of the South China Sea have a major influence on these countries in

¹⁴ Ibid., p.389

¹⁵ Pooja Bhatt. (2018). "Evolving Dynamic in the Indo-Pacific: Deliberating India's Position," *Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs*, 53-78.

¹⁶ Dan McDaniel. (2012). "India, China, and the United States of America in the Indo-Pacific region: coalition, co-existence, or clash," *the Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies*, Australian Defence College.

forming the geostrategic constellation of each country to respond to the maneuvers of every country or other country that is considered to have a potential threat.¹⁷

c. Strategic value in geopolitical perspective and international cooperation

The Indo-Pacific as a region that has strategic value in maritime activities has maritime routes that form transportation routes. Maritime routes are a function of mandatory passage points, which are strategic locations that act as chokepoints. Physical constraints (beach, wind, ocean currents, depth, coral reefs, ice) and political boundaries also play an important role in shaping sea routes. Core routes are those that support the most important commercial shipping flows serving key markets. In the maritime route, there are chokepoints such as the Panama Canal, the Suez Canal, the Strait of Hormuz and the Strait of Malacca, which are major locations for global trade in goods and commodities.¹⁸

Changes in the value or strategic value of an area are not only located in the position of the region or anything in the area, but are also influenced by the perspective of the actor (state) related to the interests of the actor. The role of geography is difficult to define given the complexity of the geography and its relation to dramatic changes in a country's foreign policy. Even so, the identification can be seen from three indicators, namely geography, geopolitics, and geostrategy which explain changes in trade routes, resource centers, and national boundaries. Trade routes or access and resource centers affect the dynamics of the geopolitical system, and national boundaries affect the geostrategy of a country.

Methodology

This research is conducted in qualitative methods. Qualitative research is an approach to explore and interpret social phenomena around the society.¹⁹ Essentially, qualitative research focuses on understanding the nature of phenomena, including their qualities, manifestations, contexts, or perspectives from which they can be viewed, but excludes the extent, frequency, and place in an objectively determined chain of cause and effect of these phenomena.²⁰ This paper uses qualitative research methods to analyze Indonesia's geopolitical position through international cooperation, a component of Indonesia's geopolitics in the Indo-Pacific region. In this article, the author uses document-based data collection techniques to collect data. Document-based research is a method of collecting data that involves collecting relevant sources relevant to the research topic. In document-based research, the data sources consist of books, journals, theses, dissertations, and other published sources relevant to the research question.

Analysis

a. Indo-Pacific and Maritime Trade Routes

The Indo-Pacific as a region that has strategic value in maritime activities has maritime routes that form transportation routes. Maritime routes are a function of mandatory passage points, which are strategic locations that act as chokepoints. Physical constraints (beach, wind, ocean currents, depth,

¹⁷ Jakub J. Grygiel. (2006). *Great Powers and Political Change*, USA: the John Hopkins University Press.

¹⁸ Jean-Paul Rodrigue, Loc.cit., p. 31

¹⁹ John W. Creswell and J. David Creswell. (2018). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Method Approaches*, 5th ed. Los Angeles: SAGE Publication.

²⁰ H. Philipsen and Vernooij Dassen M. (2007). Qualitative research: useful, indispensable, and challenging. In *Qualitative Research: Practical methods for medical practice*.

coral reefs, ice) and political boundaries also play an important role in shaping sea routes. Core routes are those that support the most important commercial shipping flows serving key markets. In the maritime route, there are chokepoints such as the Panama Canal, the Suez Canal, the Strait of Hormuz and the Strait of Malacca, which are major locations for global trade in goods and commodities.²¹

In the Indo-Pacific region, the Strait of Malacca is one of the most important strategic routes in the world as it supports most of the maritime trade between Europe and the Asia Pacific, which accounts for 50,000 ships per year. About 30 percent of world trade and 80 percent of Japan, South Korea and Taiwan's petroleum imports transit through the strait. It is the main route between the Pacific and Indian Oceans with India. Sunda Strait (Indonesia) is the closest alternative.

Separately, the Indian Ocean has four of the six major maritime chokepoints and serves as a maritime route for the energy resources needed to power the world's largest economy. Nearly 68 percent of Indian oil, 80 percent of Chinese oil and 25 percent of US oil are shipped from the Indian Ocean region. This explains the shift in global balance in the Indo-Pacific region, especially in geostrategic issues.²² The Indo-Pacific region is home to a very dense and diverse mix of ethnic, cultural, political, religious and economic systems, which further complicates developing countries' geo-strategic interests. This region is an artery that carries resources that fuel economic growth, such as China and India, the two fastest growing global economic powers in the world today, and the involvement of the US has declared its permanent presence.²³

The continuation of US engagement on the Indo-Pacific alliance system against China would be the possible scenario. As a geographic concept, "Indo-Pacific" refers to a broad maritime space that interlinks the Indian and the Pacific Ocean. Accordingly, the adoption of the Indo-Pacific is a soft balancing by the US and its allies in Asia, which was motivated by a common maritime challenge from Beijing.²³ In Southeast and East Asia, China's military assertiveness can be seen with the contested waters of East China and the South China Sea. Growing tensions in both areas have put Washington on high alert to deal with China's ambitions.²⁴

As a path that becomes the object of state policy, the Indo-Pacific explains the implementation of state policies, as well as being a contestation area and creating potential conflicts. This is based on the interests of the state in fulfilling national interests, increasing national power, and achieving national interests when conflicts of interest with other countries occur.

The strategic value of the Indo-Pacific explains the change in the region as the object of each country's foreign policy, especially countries that have geographical proximity, and countries that have great ambitions in controlling strategic areas in the world. The involvement of many countries through foreign policies to engage in various issues concerning the Indo-Pacific region explains not only the change in the strategic value of the Indo-Pacific region, but also becomes an area of competition for the distribution of power among countries.

The Indo-Pacific region is on track for the biggest economic transformation and biggest shift in wealth distribution in history, presenting unprecedented opportunities for increased trade with the region. For example, the fastest growing economies are China, South Asia (India, Bangladesh, Pakistan); and Southeast Asia (Cambodia, Indonesia, Vietnam).²⁵

²¹ Ibid.,

²² McDaniel, Loc.cit., p.3

²³ Ibid., p.4

²⁴ Rizky Ihsan. (2022). Joe Biden's Foreign Policy: What to expect from the United States in the Indo-Pacific. *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional*, 18(1), 88–9. <https://doi.org/10.26593/jihi.v18i1.4514.88-98>

²⁵ Jeff Kucharski. (2018). "Energy, Trade and Geopolitics in Asia: The Implication for Canada," *Canadian Global Affairs Institute*, Vol. 11:19, July.

As a global trade transportation route, the Indo-Pacific opens space for each country to increase economic activity as well as to have consequences for the process of interaction between countries in the field of cooperation. The problem is, cooperative interactions are not the only relationship between countries where conflict and competition are unavoidable forms of interaction. This condition is inseparable from the interests of each country which tend to be the same. Thus, the national interest becomes a strategic object that needs to be achieved. One example of national interest is the security sector, apart from the economy.

b. ASEAN as Indonesian Diplomacy Tools

Traditional security issues continue to develop in the strategic Indo-Pacific region, especially in the East and South China Seas. To some extent, competition for resources has also played a role in increasing tensions in the region.²⁶ In this regard, the Indonesian government seems to be very active in voicing its concept and being an important part of the agenda for formulating Indonesia's foreign policy. Indonesia's diplomacy in various forums since 2013 shows Indonesia's initiatives and Indonesia's "positioning" not only in the ASEAN region but also in new geostrategic constructs in the Indo-Pacific region where Indonesia is considered to have begun to expand the scope of its concentric circle to the Indian Ocean and can even be seen as a signaling emerging power.²⁷

In addition to making the Indo-Pacific region a geopolitical concentric area, Indonesia also sees the context of political tensions between countries which is difficult to avoid. This condition is in line with the motivation of various countries that have global ambitions in fighting for influence and other maritime interests.

In overcoming these problems, Indonesia has a geopolitical view of the dynamics of politics and security in the Indo-Pacific. This was conveyed by the Deputy Chair of the Indonesian House of Representatives for Political and Security Affairs, Azis Syamsuddin, encouraging the Indonesian government to be able to create peace in the midst of rising political tensions on the China-India border, South China Sea, Hong Kong and Taiwan issues, where the Indo-Pacific region has become a new theater of conflict. Currently military tensions are also rising high with the entry of the United States military force in terms of "freedom of navigation". The Chinese-U.S. military movement is feared to cause conventional war at sea and Indonesia has common interests with other ASEAN countries. Indonesia has experience and interests in upholding peace and coming up with the best solutions, this has been proven in the past in Indonesia's role in the Non-Aligned Alliance, and the Asia-Africa Summit today through the 'ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific' initiated by Indonesia'.²⁸

Furthermore, Indonesia can also use regional institutions, such as ASEAN, to improve its relations with the US under the Biden administration. Jakarta may benefit from Biden's preference to multilateralism and priority to the Indo-Pacific. At the ASEAN special summit, the US President declared this commitment to establish the "comprehensive strategic partnership" between the US and ASEAN.⁴¹ The collaboration extends across sectors: COVID-19, economic ties, subregional development, people-to-people connectivity, technology, climate change, security, as well as maritime cooperation.²⁹

²⁶ Ibid., p.2

²⁷ Vibhanshu Shekhar. (2018). *Indonesia's Foreign Policy and Grand Strategy in the 21st Century: Rise of Indo-Pacific Power*, Abingdon: Routledge, in Herindrasti, V.L. Shinta (2019) "Fenomena Indo-Pasifik dan Diplomasi Indonesia," *Jurnal Asia Pasifik Studies*, Volume 3, Number I/January-June, pp. 43-51.

²⁸ Sekretariat Nasional ASEAN-Indonesia (2019) Konsep Indo-Pasifik ASEAN dan Kepemimpinan Indonesia," retrieved from <http://setnas-asean.id/news/read/konsep-indo-pasifik-asean-dan-kepemimpinan-indonesia>

²⁹ Rizky, Loc.cit. p.95

Indonesia is of the view that the Indo-Pacific should not be interpreted only in a free and open context. Indonesia from the beginning held the view that the Indo-Pacific must also have other characteristics, namely inclusive, transparent, and comprehensive; bring benefits to the long-term interests of all countries in the region; and based on a shared commitment to bring about peace, stability, and mutual prosperity. In addition, Indonesia also carries the idea of a unified view among ASEAN countries regarding Indo-Pacific cooperation and fights for the central role of ASEAN in such cooperation.³⁰

There are various Indonesian political attitudes that have been conveyed to the international community regarding Indonesia's geopolitical perspective on the Indo-Pacific. Indonesia is very active in voicing various cooperation to develop the region.

In practice, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs returned through a "pick-up approach", initiating a breakthrough meeting across members of the East Asia Summit (EAS), themed Indo-Pacific in the first quarter of March 2019. Indonesian Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi stated that "Indonesia's initiative to foster dialogue Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region actually departs from Indonesia's view that sees Southeast Asia as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality".³¹

Indonesia and ASEAN have been able to create stability in the region in the last 5 decades in the region. Mutual trust in the spirit of cooperation is a strong asset in dealing with trust deficits, suspicion and distrust, which lead to misunderstandings and conflicts. One of the capitals to build mutual trust in developing international cooperation, Indonesia and ASEAN have a unique formula for the existence of a treaty of amity and cooperation (TAC) as a guarantee for all stakeholders not to break promises or even default. Entering the EAS plus region (across the Indo-Pacific) the idea of placing a similar TAC as a guarantee card is a logical demand.³²

In implementing various dialogue steps and encouraging various international meetings through various forums held, either by Indonesia or other parties, Indonesia also encourages the role of ASEAN as an organization that also has an important role in the region. By strengthening the role of ASEAN, various international collaborations can be created and encourage each party to be jointly involved in developing the region for common interests.

Indonesia's big concept in the Indo-Pacific is ASEAN's centrality. Placing ASEAN's central role as a leader and dealer managing the regional stability map as well as initiating the expansion and deepening of cooperation across maritime cooperation projects, maritime infrastructure, energy, technology transfer, logistics development, and so on. Mechanisms for expanding and deepening triangular cooperation, for example, from IORA, APEC, and ASEAN, if they can work well and complement each other, will be very meaningful. The Indo-Pacific is becoming a cross-growth area with its orbits and satellites increasingly reaching parts of the world, spreading prosperity.³³ In addition to the East Asia Summit, Indonesia's participation in developing various international collaborations was also carried out through the 2019 Mikta meeting.

c. MIKTA and Indonesia's Approach

The Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs has conveyed the main highlights regarding the views on the Indo-Pacific which were released on June 23, 2019. The document contains ASEAN's views on an open and inclusive Indo-Pacific cooperation, which includes in the maritime, connectivity,

³⁰ Op.cit.,

³¹ P.L.E. Priatna. (2019). "Diplomasi Indonesia Merangkul Indo-Pasifik," retrieved from <https://news.detik.com/kolom/d-4477622/diplomasi-indonesia-merangkul-indo-pasifik>

³² Ibid.,

³³ Ibid.,

SDGs and economic and social fields. other. The publication of this document is to anticipate geopolitical changes related to the increasing rivalry of big powers, traditional and non-traditional threats as well as to build mutual trust in the Asia Pacific region. ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific is expected to contribute in maintaining and maintaining peace in the Asia Pacific region and at the global level.³⁴

The meeting finally resulted in an agreement on the document "MIKTA Foreign Ministers' Joint Statement on Terrorism and Violent Extremism Conducive to Terrorism" which contained a commitment to cooperation in dealing with terrorism and extremism in various forms and manifestations.³⁵

In addition, one of the real strategies taken by Indonesia is to bring and promote the Indo-Pacific concept into various multilateral forums through ASEAN. In the 8th East Asia Summit forum in Singapore, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Retno explained in front of 10 ASEAN countries and 8 ASEAN partner countries (China, Japan, Australia, South Korea, India, New Zealand, Russia, and also the United States) that Indonesia encourages 3 basic points for a peaceful and prosperous Indo-Pacific through maritime cooperation, connectivity, and sustainable development.³⁶ Previously, Indonesia had conveyed the Indonesian-style Indo-Pacific concept on various occasions, but in this EAS meeting, Indonesia's Indo-Pacific insight was presented comprehensively by prioritizing ASEAN centrality so that it received a lot of support from EAS participating countries.³⁷

The Indo-Pacific concept initiated by Indonesia is an ideal platform for economic cooperation. This is because the Indo-Pacific is a region with the most dynamic economic growth in the world.³⁸ By looking at Indonesia's activities in various international forums to encourage various agreements and propose the creation of various international collaborations, Indonesia has a geopolitical perspective that is oriented towards developing the Indo-Pacific region to advance various economic interests and increase security and mutual trust. Various international agreements reached with Indonesia's involvement explain that Indonesia's geopolitical view in the Indo-Pacific is oriented towards the importance of regional development through cooperation.

Conclusion

With the strategic value of Indo-Pacific for global interests, especially in the smooth running of global economic activities where the Indo-Pacific coverage covers almost all world trade transportation routes, the vulnerability to friction is a problem that needs to be avoided considering that each country has different ambitions. Indonesia's position which has a strategic location in the region encourages Indonesia not only to emphasize the context of national geopolitical interests, but also to encourage the creation of international cooperation as part of Indonesia's international geopolitical view in the Indo-Pacific.

Seeing the development of dynamics in the Indo-Pacific that led to the intensity of conflict compared to security and cooperation, Indonesia sees an opportunity to encourage various cooperation both between countries, and by involving organizations that play a major role in creating peace, such

³⁴ Kemlu. (2019). "Indonesia Sampaikan Pandangan Tentang Indo-Pasifik di Pertemuan MIKTA 2019," retrieved from <https://kemlu.go.id/portal/id/read/634/berita/indonesia-sampaikan-pandangan-tentang-indo-pasifik-di-pertemuan-mikta-2019>

³⁵ Ibid.,

³⁶ Telly Nathalia. (2018). Indonesia Presents Indo-Pacific Cooperation Concept at Asean Ministerial Meeting. Retrieve from <https://jakartaglobe.id/news/indonesia-conveys-indo-pacific-concept-asean-meetings>.

³⁷ Pradipta Nindyan Saputra and Arfin Sudirman. (2020). "Pengembangan Konsep "Indo-Pasifik": Sebuah Konstruksi Geopolitik Indonesia di Kawasan Melalui ASEAN," *Jurnal Sosial Politik*, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 214-224.

³⁸ Ibid., p.221

as ASEAN. The pattern of international cooperation encouraged by Indonesia to reduce the intensity of security that leads to conflict tensions, explains the motivation of Indonesia's geopolitical policy to create regional stability that provides strategic advantages compared to the struggle for interests that can increase political friction.

Through various regional and international forums, Indonesia plays an active role in bringing up various cooperation agreements, which not only encourage each country involved to commit to the resulting agreement, but also increase mutual trust to enhance regional development through the sector of cooperation in maintaining international security.

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