The Missing Link between Dynamic Equilibrium Doctrine and Indonesia's Interest in South Pacific

Miftahul Choir¹, Joe William², Raihan Zahirah³

¹Miftahul Choir Parahyangan Catholic University, Jl. Bogor Baru blok C1 No. 3, Bogor ²Joe William, Parahyangan Catholic University, Graha Sunter Pratama blok G No. 12, Jakarta ³Raihan Zahirah, Parahyangan Catholic University, Jl. Gunung Rahayu II No. 20, Bandung

Keyword: dynamic equilibrium, middle power, national interest, regionalism

Abstract : Asia Pacific, a region which deposit a potential resources, countries and bunch of quarrel with the intertwined and overlapped national interests serve the arena for great power to contend. Indonesia, as a middle power country in the region, introduced her presence by foreign policy doctrine named 'dynamic equilibrium', an approach coined by former Indonesia Minister for Foreign Affairs, Marty Natalegawa during his tenure in 2009-2014. The purpose of the approach is to strengthened Indonesia presence in the region and juxtapose with the region power. Through dynamic equilibrium, Indonesia participate actively in the region politic and bringing Indonesia diplomatic norm to conflict-filled regions as well as increase Indonesia stature in international politics. At the same time, in the south part of the Pacific, Indonesia also had interest to defend the territorial integrity from South Pacific countries that support West Papua independence struggle. However, in spite of the national interest and stronger position in Asia Pacific, Indonesia yet to maximize its advantage to secure West Papua from South Pacific countries. Therefore, the paper would answer the question in regard to how Indonesia use Dynamic Equilibrium as foreign policy instrument on securing West Papua integrity toward South Pacific influence. This paper will use the middlepower-ship theory to find the missing link between dynamic equilibrium and Indonesia interest in South Pacific by viewing Indonesia role as leader in the region. This paper will use literature review on dynamic equilibrium concept and Indonesia leadership in East Asia and South Pacific on 2009-2017.

1 INTRODUCTION

The rapid modernization in current era is affecting the international geopolitical situation as a whole, bringing the more dynamic and contemporary political shape within this world. Particularly its relevance with the vitality in Asia-Pacific region, however, is full of tension and uncertainty especially from between existing major powers. Regarding this, Indonesia attempts to overcome this problem by enhancing and reaffirming its foreign policy basis idea which is 'free & active' by establishing the Dynamic Equilibrium concept as its foreign policy doctrine.

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) at his 2009 inauguration as a president made a statement which reads 'Indonesia can exercise its foreign policy freely in all directions, having a million friends and zero enemies'. The statement 'a million friends and zero enemies' clearly describe Indonesia's foreign policy ideas for the next term of his presidency. Therefore, Marty Natalegawa, the foreign minister during that time, has popularized the so-called doctrine of dynamic equilibrium to emphasize this statement. It is the manifestation of Indonesia's national vision which includes playing an active role and contribution in ASEAN integration, as well as Asia-Pacific and Asia-Africa strategic partnership. It was not until Indonesia served as ASEAN chairman in 2011, that Marty Natalegawa coined the Dynamic Equilibrium doctrine to clarify its foreign policy.

Indonesia foreign policy that put Asia-Pacific as the forefront of foreign policy concentric and dynamic equilibrium that also focused in the region where Indonesia located should has the implication that can be benefit to Indonesia interest in South Pacific, which is to deter their support toward West Papua. However, seeing Indonesia focused on economic development and South Pacific provide no benefit, Indonesia seen lack of engagement in South Pacific. Due to lack of engagement to South Pacific, the region perception toward Indonesia remain

130

Choir, M., William, J. and Zahirah, R.

DOI: 10.5220/0010274200002309

In Proceedings of Airlangga Conference on International Relations (ACIR 2018) - Politics, Economy, and Security in Changing Indo-Pacific Region, pages 130-138 ISBN: 978-989-758-493-0

Copyright © 2022 by SCITEPRESS - Science and Technology Publications, Lda. All rights reserved

The Missing Link between Dynamic Equilibrium Doctrine and Indonesia's Interest in South Pacific.

hostile thus giving Indonesia obstacle to secure West Papua.

This paper will analyze dynamic equilibrium conception as a possible tool for Indonesia to keeping South Pacific in line with Indonesia interest. The paper will test dynamic equilibrium compatibility to the middle power conception, seeing through middle power diplomacy it gives more possibility to engage with regional partner as it try to accommodate region needs and targeting at confidence building. To connect the effectivity of middle power diplomacy, this paper will use Ralf Emmers' Regional Security Strategies theory which define one country capability on influencing regional order through the means of middle power diplomacy. To do so, the paper would also briefly explain current regional order and regional issues in South Pacific, to shows and determine whether Indonesia has the resources to involve in South Pacific politics.

2 DETERMINING THE MIDDLE POWER CONCEPT ON DYNAMIC EQUILIBRIUM

The purpose of dynamic euilibrium doctrine is to involve all the major relevant powers within a more cooperative framework as a basis for the development of an inclusive regional architecture. It also involves the countries within the Asia-Pacific region not limited by size or capability, to become a platform for all actors involved in resettling the issue throughout the region, especially security issue by featuring the multilateral agreement to further emphasize the need of organizational mechanism and obedience by rules. By mediating and making strategic cooperation without discrimination in the international Asia-Pacific community, Indonesia wanted to show its commitment and integrity as a reliable source within regional geopolitics and community. Needless to say, this inclusive action which relies heavily on participation from major relevance power is expected to make Indonesia as a trustworthy neutral partner. That will result in changing the major power's regional perspective towards Indonesia. Not as a threatening actor, but as a neutral strategic partner that has the power to reconciles tensions within the region

In order to make a mutually beneficial relationship, the doctrine can be implemented on the creation of a trusting and peaceful system among nations involved. The centerpieces of that system are

the expanded ASEAN institutions, including the East Asia Summit (EAS), ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting Plus (ADMM+), and the Expanded ASEAN Maritime Forum (AMF). The reason why ASEAN is chosen to further enhance Indonesia policy simply because Indonesia believes that ASEAN possess the capability and strategic position to accommodate various interests between major actors involved, in regard with several consideration. Firstly, Asia-Pacific region consists of many international organizations, but lacks the contributions of all parties involved such as Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), which does not involve the United States, Japan, and South Korea. There is also the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), which does not involve United States. The geopolitics situation in Asia-Pacific is currently in a state of 'Mexican Standoff', held in a deadlock position with no development towards peace and security building. The roots of problem from this issue is that too many architects but not enough builders, all these regional organizations and gatherings provide plenty of forums for debate and discussion, but none offers any foundation for building regional peace and security. Secondly, ASEAN have a full potential of being a neutral platform for all powers, moreover with current development in international affairs of US policy 'pivot to Asia' and China 'one belt initiative', there's a possibility this interests could clash especially in South China Sea. By bringing the ASEAN centrality, peace and security could be achieved in the region. This were already implemented by creating and commencing the Code of Conduct (COC) between ASEAN and China regarding maritime issue in South China Sea and joint maritime exercise that will be scheduled at August 2018. Without ASEAN involvement, Indonesia also actively reaffirm its principle by emphasizing democracy and other idea as a basic principle of peace making building effort, in which correlated with its foreign policy such as Bali Democracy Forum and Extraordinary Summit of Palestine and Al-Quds Al-Sharif

The definition of middle power itself as a legal entity is heavily relied on the international affairs and order at the specific era. For example, in eighteen century Europe the concept of "middle power" was applied to Germany at that time, due to its geographically middle location and the relatively middle strength of its national power. In this period, middle power countries were assumed to act strategically because of the insecurity of being in the "middle" position in international society. So at that time, the middle power country is perceived as country that were thought to be declining powerful countries or growing small countries, and easier to be invaded than powerful countries and more beneficial than small countries for invading countries. After the World War 2, with the changing international order and the rise of Cold War between US and Soviet Union, it goes parallel with the development of modern IR theory and concept such as theory like Neo-Realist, Neo-Liberal, Neo-Functionalism, etc., is only a few example of many concept and theory that was created in this era by IR academics enthusiast in correlation with the demand from public on how to explained the international affairs that were in motion.

During this era, the focus in defining middle powers was slowly shifted to a country's roles in international organizations, such as its ability and willingness to mediate in conflicts, as well as military power, size of territory, or population. In relevance with middle power that rose with certainty in post war era, Andrew F.Cooper, Richard Higgott, and Richard Nossal conducted case studies of Canada and Australia in a book titled Relocating Middle Power. In this view, the term middle power "shifted from being an expression of a specific role in the international community to a descriptor for specific, middle-state "behavior". This specific middle state behavior is composed into a few as functional, perspectives such behavioral, hierarchical, and normative model. This concept was constructed both by researchers and policy practitioners to further indicating the possibility of some countries being a Middle Power by analyzing their action.

Functional principle is the basic ideas of this middle power concept, before further be developed by other researched based on their methodological research. This principle sees that one country must be able to influence certain areas and functions in international affairs, by then they can be considered as a middle power. Take example of Canada role in 1956 Suez Crisis (Egypt vs. Israel and Allies), Canada successfully implemented the prime example of achieving peace by creating a mandate United Nations Peacekeeping Forces. for Afterwards, Lester B. Pearson as Canada PM at that time received Nobel Peace Prize and now considered as the father of modern concept of peacekeeping. Canada is considered by this principle as a middle power that successfully influences Suez Crisis in mediatory positions. The problem is, most researchers were hardly had theoretical examinations on Canadian foreign policies; thus, analysis in this

perspective cannot generalize to other countries or other issues. As Michel K. Hawes indicated, of most publications issued by policy practitioners at the time, "no matter how cleverly constructed, most of those works are essentially political memoirs. In correlation with Indonesia foreign policy, it clearly gives a better understanding by using Dynamic Equilibrium doctrine as its core, unlike nations who are uncertain of their foreign policies, such as Canada. So basically, what Indonesia has done wasn't just only political action in uncertain policies, but consistently is in accordance with its doctrine. For example, Indonesia successfully persuaded both countries (Thailand and Cambodia) to allow Indonesian observer to monitor the ceasefire in the disputed area at 2011. While as a whole it doesn't achieve its primary goals, with primary reason is because Thailand military government lack of cooperation, it still contributed much to the making of peace resolution in the region and later the agreement for both countries to take the dispute issue through International Court of Justice (ICJ) domain.

Behavioural as a second principle, asserting that middle power concept depends heavily on leadership capability from each nation, thus establishing a particular concept which middle power countries has their own way of leadership, well-known as middlepowermanship. By middlepowermanship, each country has different characteristic and theoritical orientation related with their certain roles in middle power country. The core of its roles in behavioural theory consist of their tendency to pursue multilateral solutions to international problems, their tendency to embrace compromise positions in international disputes, their tendency to embrace notions of good international citizenship.Indonesia active participation in brokering Philippines Mindanao Peace Process throughout the decades as well as offering assistance to monitoring election in Myanmar and Thailand, consolidating support for Myanmar's chairmanship bid in ASEAN for 2014, with expectations that would motivate the Myanmarese government to further democratize and adopt more stringent human rights values, is a real manifestation of Indonesia multilateral pursue and good citizenship building in correlation with the core of behavioural principle.

Normative principle considers that being in the middle based on the national power and political culture of some middle powers result in humanitarian international activities including foreign aid. Indonesia active roles in helping Myanmar after the Nargis Cyclone by humanitarian assistance, giving shelter, staff and staple to Rohingya refugee as well as involvement in developing and helping developing country such as Sri Lanka and Palestine clearly shown Indonesia active roles not limited in ASEAN region only, however, is much wider than that.

Hierarchical model approach ranks and categorizes states by applying standards relating to their capabilities. Countries with medium-range capabilities are grouped as middle powers, and great powers and weak powers can be categorized in the same manner. This capabilities is calculated according to their national power such as willingness, human resources, national stability, economy power, etc.

Indonesia is lacking in most of the principle of middle power country capabilities accordingly. By normative model, Indonesia is hampered by insufficient fund, human resources, international position, etc. Likewise with hierarchical model, which Indonesia based on many indicator is not suitable to be grouped with country with moderate national power like Australia or Canada. However, the current statement and foreign policy principle that Indonesia empshazing to its organization and counterparts its clearly shown here that Indonesia wants to prove its credibility and pledge to its tenet by acting like a middle power should, while at the same time improving and developing capability of its national power to become tantamount with others middle power counterparts.

3 INDONESIA INTENTION ON DYNAMIC EQUILIBRIUM

International perception and reputation building is a key for Indonesia to further pursue their national and international goals. For this case, Canada and China which are using their foreign policy dynamics for reputation building and further changing their country perception. Canada in this case after world war II, emerged from a rural agricultural country to became heavily industrialized country, as well as its political shape which range itself on western blocs. But after its participation in founding permanent peacekeeping forces in Suez Crisis (1956), its political perception is changing dramatically especially in Pierre Trudeau government. From one of the main western bloc power, to became a wellrespected meditational actor in international relationship, from both western bloc and eastern bloc accordingly. This benefit Canada in terms of its

action in international politics which oftenly greeted positivily. China is approaching Africa and other developing countries with its economical assistance and developing plan, to further expand its influence and promote Chinese product throughout its scope. While not situating itself in middle power actor, its reputation and perception gradually become more favorable in most developing countries such as Pakistan, Nigeria, Zambia. While in most western countries its perception dominantly is unfavorable. This helps secure China interest from both national and international shape. National shape including the current ruling government, Xi Jinping, gradually become more favourable because of his successful foreign policy, thus obscure his problem concerning Hongkong Democracy, Tibet, etc. International shape include international views on Taiwan in regards with One China policy, in which gradually more countries cut ties with Taiwan in hope to establish business connection with China.

Therefore, by positioning herself as middle power, Indonesia is hoping to receive a favorable outcome in regards with its national and international principal aim. Especially with the current issue regarding Papua integrity and separatism, while Indonesia activily building its perception and also its assertiveness towards separatism issue in general, it doesn't heavily involved in managing its foreign policy principle in South Pacific as one of the main obstacle in securing Papua integrity as a whole Indonesia sovereignty. This brings us to the question of why Indonesia has not yet maximizing its middle power diplomacy principle in South Pacific.

4 REGIONALISM IN SOUTH PACIFIC

South Pacific is widely recognized as the sub-region of vast Asia-Pacific which constitute three groups based on ethnic which are Melanesia in the west, Polynesia in the east and Micronesia in the north. Each sub-region constituted different pattern of regionalism. South Pacific had Pacific Island Forum (PIF) as regional bloc. Despite not including Australia and New Zealand in regional bloc, until Fiji coup in 2006 and growing threats of nontraditional security the two countries exercising their influence in the region. The regional bloc later losing it's effectivity on managing regional challenge and thus emerge the new sub-regional organization. However, it is only Melanesia that succeed on gaining further advance of regionalism than other sub-region, while Polynesia and Micronesia remain independently or bandwagoning bigger states for survive.

Ramesh Thakur argued that the regionalism in South Pacific based on pragmatic political cooperation to the neglect of ideological politicization and conflict.Similiar to Southeast Asia, South Pacific hold the regionalism that put emphasizes on regional identity and charactersitc. The Pacific Way known as everyone sacrifices something for the overall benefits of the whole and all decision made by consensus. Which share the similiarity to Southeast Asia. Different to other regionalism, South Pacific states has share amount of power distribution thus avoiding the unilateral hegemonic to emerge in the region, but the condition giving the opportunity for extraregional entity to create more influental decision on regional issue. Thakur also argued that this condition made South Pacific has one common goal other than diminishing regional problem which is to gaining international recognition and position ahead of Australia and New Zealand. Historical background that has just gaining independent in 1970s also made South Pacific keen on establishing independent regional structure, which also can be found at the establishiment of Association of Southeast Asia Nations (ASEAN). The similiarity also causing South Pacific regionalism avoiding to discuss internal matters of each countries. However, it is still the amount of capability and ongoing state and nation building that made the South Pacific states failed to follow the neighbor region.

South Pacific poses no threat coming from external power, most of regional threat coming internally such as resources destruction, enviromental degradation, economic failure, political decay and disintegration. Due to colonialism that created artificial states that led to weak international statehood had cause the region states having small capability to become wellestablished states. The region also lack of security architecture internationally and domestically. Due to such condition, South Pacific rely on extraregional partner on solving their regional problem, despite their reluctancy to take the donors for granted and keep maintaing independency on regional politics. For instance, on dealing with environmental issues, South Pacific states pursue collaborative strategic to manage the threats. The states survival also depend on international action on climate change. Different other sub-region in South Pacific, Melanesia geographical location give the region more resources and thus attracting external power to join the regional politic. Aside from environmental issue, South Pacific states also has the sensitivity toward the nuclear-owned states due to during the cold war era the region used as nuclear testing grown by great power.

The instability that occured in South Pacific region pose dangerous threat to it's neighbouring countries, especially to Australia and New Zealand. Thus, the instability that influencing the conceptualisation of South Pacific regionalism. Weak states that rely on external aid are vulnerable to foreign influence. Western power with Australia and New Zealand as its presence in the Pacific has became the traditional partner of South Pacific country for the ongoing nation and state building. However, the growing instability in the region also made western power abandoned their presence in South Pacific, which turn out making way for other external power to interference in the region. South Pacific known as becoming the arc of instability for Australia. Any threat to regional stability have the potential to threatens Australian security. Therefore, in the Australia Defece White Paper Australia still maintaining on prioritizing South Pacific as foreign policy frontline. The growing reach of influence, especially by fellow Asian nations could endanger Australia presence in the region. However, Australia's position on South Pacific also depend on the whole Asia-Pacific security issue. Since the Bali Bombing 2002, Australia foreign policy security strategy shifted to more prioritizing wider range of Asia-Pacific especially to the states that is prone to terrorist attack. In 2006 Australia continue on pulling its position in the region by taking more intervensionist approach toward Fiji Coup which made Fiji turned their reliance from Australia to Indonesia and China. In 2013, Australia ended its long term committment toward South Pacific states.

With no United States presence in the region, declining Australia and New Zealand influene in the region and the increasing internal threat that could emerge into regional threat, South Pacific welcoming new partner in the region. China succesfully fill in the position left by Australia and New Zealand to set their influence in the region by giving South Pacific states help they needed to survive. In the United Nations, China sponsoring the establishment of Asia and the Pacific Small Island Developing States group to gather voice on championing environmental issue at multilateral level. China also helping Fiji, Papua New Guinea on building infrastructure and bring investment to the industry in South Pacific states. In the region, China took soft balancing approach with indirect diplomacy and economic domination. The strategy is effective due to the fact that finance and funding is all what South Pacific states need the most, not the traditional military means. The long term goal of China in the region itself is to replace United States prominent position in the whole Pacific. Other than using non-military forces, China also taking advantage of what Australia had failed to do so in the region, separation between political and economic aid. Western power forcing democracy to the ongoing state building in Pacific, but the outside democracy is incompatible in South Pacific States which would only ended up worsening state building process. Benjamin Reily stated that the rapid democratization prone to multi-ethnic states and make the possibility of secessionist group become higher. The artificial establishment of South Pacific states and growing secessionist group in several states such as Papua New Guinea, Fiji and New Caledonia become the prove that the western democracy is not fit with the characteristic of South Pacific. China also succeed on avoiding Western influence by not undermining the root causes of the conflict such as uneven development and illegitimate government.

5 GEOPOLITICS, OPPORTUNITY, AND CHALLENGE INDONESIA FACING BY PLAYING MIDDLE POWER ROLE IN SOUTH PACIFIC

With the previous section, it's clearly state that South Pacific region is changing rapidly, with more instability and new challenge brought by externally dominance power that tends to convey unilateral and coersive approach. It posed a major vulnerability in the region that can be a threat not just to existing country in the region, but also to all of its human security such as disaster management, sustainable development, financial independence, etc. Neighboring counterparts such as Indonesia and Philippines also facing threat to its integrity and stability by this potential event. In this region, where there are plenty of Indonesia's domestic issues which need to be resolved such as keeping Papua integrated to Indonesia, human rights, Melanesian Spearhead Groups (MSG), maritime security, United Liberation Movement of West Papua as well as clash of interest with extra-regional actors, is a prime example of threat Indonesia facing in the region if its condition increasingly become unstable.

Indonesia recent action according to Dynamic Equibillirium as its core principle had shown that Indonesia tends to less concern regarding multilateral process and problem solving in South Pacific region. While in previous section of this journal had shown that Indonesia tends to posed as middle power actor that put forward peace building and multilateral process, its still missing the specific strategies to preserve its security interests in South Pacific region. Ralf Emmer in his regional security theory explicate that in order for a middle power actor exert their influence and assert their interest in specific areas of international affairs, they must adopted a specific strategic to each region, in which it refers to a state's plan of action to achieve its national interests within the geographic region it is located. In this case, Indonesia must make its own specific strategy within the South Pacific region.

From the historical context of Indonesia and the current advancement of this country, there are direct and non-direct pressures for Indonesia where some countries having an expectation that Indonesia can have role and power in international forum including South Pacific in order the status of Indonesia regionally and globally changing. With this potential however, Indonesia needs to maintain a very carefull approach and strategic building into the region, especially asserting in responding issues in South Pacific as well as securing national interests which threaten the bilateral can and multilateral relationship with other countries in wide range of subject. For instance, to promote peace and stability in South Pacific as one of the basic instrument of Indonesia foreign policy, its still impeded by the inadequate physical security infrastructure such as military base and armaments which need to be deployed in outer Indonesia's territory near South Pacific to contain security threats. In line with the President Joko Widodo "World Maritime Axis", as middle power and the changing regional order in South Pacific, Indonesia has to face China in acquiring influence in South Pacific. It can be reflected that there are several points in which Indonesia need to reconsider when Indonesia want to assert regarding the United Liberation Movement of West Papua and Freeport. First challenge for Indonesia is political dynamic as well as political characteristics of both countries leaders. Another important challenge for Indonesia is regarding human rights issue. For this case, when Indonesia

plays as middle power in advocating human rights issue, they should consider about international conventions and track records of government of Indonesia in tackling human rights issue within Papua.

Based on the substance however, there are several challenges which Indonesia needs to face when it comes to applying their middle power role in South Pacific. The insufficient resources that Indonesia possess is still become a major obstacle in securing their national interests. Another one is as a middle power actor, Indonesia need to be able to be independent as well as assertive in international forum when it comes to responding issues which related to national interests as well as avoiding international criticism and external interference. As middle power theory stating that to be a middle power, country should have adequate capacity in influencing the decision of great powers, as clearly state in functional theory approach. Emmer observe Indonesia current regional security strategy that tends to be more behavioural, in which its focusing on multilateralism and based on normative foundation. This implementation is affected by Indonesia low resources availability and low-threat strategic environment. In here, Indonesia should improve her resources availability while at the same time playing its behavioural approach strategy to South Pacific region. With the goals of sufficient resources availability as well as low-threat strategic enviornment that already perceived in ASEAN region, and bringing Indonesia to a mixed approach, both by functional and behavioural principle. This security strategy could make Indonesia be able to influencing the decision of extra-regional actors within South Pacific and their interests to balance the atmosphere, while at the same time be able to build trust and multilateral assembly through peacemaking building in the region.

6 INDONESIA CAPABILITY TO INVOLVE IN SOUTH PACIFIC

To accelerate and forge Indonesia's role as middle power in South Pacific, there are several international forums which can be used by Indonesia such as ASEAN, ASEAN+, ARF, ADMM and Pacific Island Forum. Besides that, Indonesia also have physical security infrastructure such as Lantamal XIV Sorong West Papua, Koopsau III in Biak (still in progress) and Kodam in several areas in Papua. The supportive atmosphere between TNI, POLRI and government is the key resources to support Ministry of Foreign Affairs and President in playing middle power in South Pacific. But with the recent development of uncertainty in ASEAN centrality, some scholars conviced Indonesia to going on its own way instead depending on ASEAN centrality.

Plenty of agenda which Indonesia can do as middle power in South Pacific such as advocating human rights issue, security matters, balancing the hotspots within South Pacific which dominated by the major powers, promote peace and stability. Although there are many countries having "Indo-Pacific" concept such as United States of America, China, Japan and Russia, Indonesia also has its own "Indo-Pacific" concept which mostly emphasizing on internalizing and nurturing habit of dialogue, inclusiveness as well as cooperation in any sensitive issues. South Pacific gives Indonesia great opportunity to disseminate "Indo-Pacific" concept. Indonesia also can accelerate "the World Maritime Axis" vision in South Pacific using middle power to create peace in South Pacific by shifting the trend to commerce. Thus, it can shift the attention of extraregional actor from security matters especially territorial integration to the economic issues although it would have only little effect. By accelerating "the World Maritime Axis", it also can be a momentum for Indonesia to prevent any interference and international criticism toward her national interests and territorial integration regarding Papua. Indonesia also can launch "dynamic equilibrium" to promote peace in region by reducing tensions in South Pacific hotspots. Its also correlating with both middle power role Indonesia playing and security strategy theory by Ralf Emmer, In which as previous section had explained that South Pacific is facing an uncertainty as well as rapidly changing political dynamics in the region. Basically, Indonesia secure advantage in this situation in which its recent development and principal ide is suitable with South Pacific geopolitics situation to meddle in and fulfill its national interest in the region, especially regarding Papua integrity issue.

The term "One Million Friends and Zero Enemies" refer to the strategic environment where there is no country perceives Indonesia as enemy and vice versa. The strategic environment of "One Million Friends and Zero Enemies" helps Indonesia to not stick in inter-polarity dichotomy. This helps to change the "turbulent ocean" where international relations seem to be unpredictable and polarity became more complex into balance multi-polarity without single dominant power or "Dynamic Equilibrium". Another strategic environment which needs to be created in South Pacific is one million friends not only country but also including individual. The strategic environment should be supported by the concept of Indo-Pacific to avoid unfavorable perception and international criticism. The current situation in which Indonesia government under Joko Widodo attempting to improve Indonesia human rights reputation and perception, as well as specific development focus on Papua region is crucial in winning people's heart in South Pacific to create a complete strategic environment because today's international relations is related with people to people interaction and due to the existence of Melanesian Spearhead Groups and the United Liberation Movement of West Papua which searching for supports from individual, thus Indonesia should not only have million friends of country but also individual who can support Indonesia meddling with South Pacific region in accordance with its national interests to further improve its reputation and middle power role throughout the region. The strategic environment also including balancing the presence of extraregional actors to gain support, influence and reducing the tension as well as uncertainty in hotspots.

7 CONCLUSION

As a geopolitically strategic country within the Asia-Pacific region, Indonesia has great influence over the reins of international politics. Indonesia has proven itself to be capable of gaining new allies and forming a sustainable relationship with them. The South Pacific region is a potential diplomatic partner that has yet to be further developed. Through its dynamic equilibrium doctrine, Indonesia may have a chance to become one of the South Pacific's stronger middle powers. Even so, Indonesia must first assert its position among the great powers that reside within the South Pacific in order to gain a firmer standing of its influence within the region. Furthermore, Indonesian-South Pacific an cooperation may prove to be beneficial in future alliances should both parties create a mutual standing based on cooperation and sustainable development.

REFERENCES

- Aizawa, Nobuhiro, 2015, "Indonesia's Foreign Policy Takes an Economic Turn", *East Asia Forum*.
- Allan, George H., 2005, "South Pacific Security and the Emerging Doctrine of 'Cooperative Intervention': the Pacific way of Howard's way", *Rhizome 1*, pp. 125-144, retrieved June 21 2018
- Anwar, Dewi Fortuna, 2014, "Indonesia's Foreign Relations: Policy Shaped by the Ideal of 'Dynamic Equilibrium'", *East Asia Forum*.
- Azizian, Rouben; Cramer, Carleton, 2015, *Regionalism,* Security & Cooperation in Oceania, Asia-Pacific Center of Security Studies, Honolulu.
- Carafano, James J., et al., 2017, "How America and Its Indo-Pacific Allies Will Redefine Regional Security", *The National Interest.*
- Claxton, Karl, 2013, "Securing the South Pacific: Making the most of Australia's renewed regional focus", *Australian Strategic Policy Institut Strategic Insights*, retrieved June 21 2018.
- Cruden, Michaela, 2011, Regional Security Complex Theory: Southeast Asia and the South Pacific, Thesis, University of Waikato, retrieved June 22 2018.
- Darmosumarto, Santo, 2013, "Indonesia and the Asia Pacific: Opportunities and Challenges for Middle Power Diplomacy," retrieved 21 June 2018, http://www.gmfus.org/publications/indonesia-andasia-pacific-opportunities-and-challenges-middlepower-diplomacy
- Emmers, Ralf, 2015, "Regional Security Strategis of Middle Power in the Asia-Pacific", *International Relations of Asia-Pacific*, vol 15, no.1, pp. 185-216
- Falahi, Ziyad, 2013, "Memikirkan Kembali Arti Million Friends Zero Enemy dalam Era Paradox of Plenty," Global & Strategis, no 2, pp. 228-235, retrieved on June 21st 2018.
- Holmes, John W., 1965, "Is There a Future for Middlepowermanship?", in J. King Gordon ed. *Canada's Role as a Middle Power*, vol. 13, no. 38, pp. 15-16, The Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Toronto.
- Kurlantzick, Joshua, 2012, *ASEAN's Future and Asian Integration,* International Institutions and Global Governance Program.
- Lanteigne, Marc, 2016, "Water dragon? China, power shifts and soft balancing in the South Pacific", *Political Science*, vol. 64, no. 1, pp. 21-38, DOI: 10.1177/0032318712447732
- Pandjaitan, Luhut B., 2018, "Indonesia Ready to Take on Bigger Role in Indo-Pacific," retrieved 22 June 2018, https://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/indonesiaready-to-take-on-bigger-role-in-indo-pacific
- Piccone, Ted; Yusman, Bimo, 2014, "Indonesian Foreign Policy: A Million Friends and Zero Enemies", retrieved 19 June 2018, https://thediplomat.com/2014/02/indonesian-foreignpolicy-a-million-friends-and-zero-enemies/
- Poling, Gregory B., 2018, "Dynamic Equilibrium: Indonesia's Blueprint for a 21st Century Asia Pacific",

ACIR 2018 - Airlangga Conference on International Relations

The New Southbound Policy | *Center for Strategic and International Studies.*

- Reilly, Benjamin, 2002, "Internal Conflict and Regional Security in Asia and the Pacific", *Pacifica Review: Peace, Security & Global Change*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 7-21, DOI: 10.1080/13239100120114345
- Rizki, Rahmat M., 2016, Konsepsi Dynamic Equilibrium sebagai Artikulasi Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia di Asia Pasifik, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta.
- Shibuya, Eric, 2004, "The Problems and Potential of the Pacific Islands forum", *The Asia-Pacific: A region in transition*, pp. 102-115, retrieved 22 June 2018, https://scholar.google.com/citations?user=j33Qu8IAA AAJ&hl=id
- Thakur, Ramesh, 1991, *The South Pacific: Problems, Issues and Prospect*, Palgrave Macmillan, United Kingdom.
- Wallis, Joanne, 2015, "The South Pacific: 'arc of instability' or 'arc of opportunity'?", *Global Change*, *Peace & Security*, vol. 27, no. 1, pp. 39-53, DOI: 10.1080/14781158.2015.992010
- Yamasaki, Michi, 2009, A Study of Middle Power Diplomacy as a Strategy of Leadership and Influence, University of Waterloo, Canada.
- Zhang, Yongjin 2007, "China and the emerging regional order in the South Pacific", Australian Journal of International Affairs, vol. 61, no. 3, pp. 367-381, DOI: 10.1080/10357710701531537
- Adamrah, Mustaqim, 2011, "Myanmar set to become chair ASEAN: FM", retrieved 16 November 2011, The Jakarta Post.