

Respond Five Power Defense Agreement (FPDA) towards Security Dynamic of Asia-Pacific Region

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Abstract: Asia-Pacific is a sub-region of Indo-Pacific which very dynamic area. The geographic location of this region also includes 3 major areas in Asia including East Asia, central Asia, southeast Asia and Australia causing it to have strategic geopolitics. Besides, the region is an international cross-border lane and the busiest cross-trade flow in world. Strategic geopolitical coupled with a wealth of biodiversity and nautical make this region attracted much attention in the world's great powers. Some big countries want to exploit the region for the national interests of each. Two of them are United States of America (USA) and China fighting for influence and often rendering this region as rivalry stage that has resulted in unstable security in the region. Therefore, FPDA which is a defense pact from Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Singapore and Malaysia seeks to strengthen its resistance in response to the condition. Using the literature-based and explanative method based on books, journals and media, the authors aim to examine the forms of FPDA responds toward security dynamic of this region. Discussion will be focused on "how FPDA's respond towards unstable security dynamics in Asia-Pacific region? ". To examine it, the authors use the concept of Security Dilemma proposed by Robert Jervis. Authors finding shows that the forms of FPDA action as responding to the dynamics of regional security include: improvement of military interoperability as maritime, land and air security through joint exercises.

1 INTRODUCTION

The term of Asia Pacific began to be known since around the 1980s when economic growth in this heterogeneous region became a topic of discussion in global economic-political interaction after the change in the political status of South Pacific countries. Since 1960, several islands and European colonies in this area have undergone a change of political status from colonized territories to independent island states (decolonization) (Ministry of Information, 1985 p.5). Asia Pacific itself refers to an area comprising East Asia (Japan, China, Taiwan, North Korea, South Korea, and Russia territory adjacent to the Pacific), Southeast Asia (Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Philippines, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Brunei Darussalam, Myanmar), Australia, New Zealand and Oceania countries and is the sub-Indo-Pacific region (McDougall, 1997 p. ix). In some contexts, this area is also considered to include major Asian countries located around the outer Pacific Rim stretching from Oceania, to Russia, and descending along the west coast of America.

In its development, this region is an important and undeniable area considering the Asia-Pacific region comprises 50% of the oceans Earth surface. Moreover, the area of the sea which currently becomes the concern of many countries is the Pacific Ocean. In addition, it becomes strategic because this area becomes the busiest cross-trade route in the world. Besides, it is also a strategic potential and abundant natural wealth of marine, fisheries and mineral materials such as gold, nickel, and phosphate. Former Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki in his speech in Honolulu culminates in the importance of the Asia Pacific region by stating that the 21st Century is the Pacific century (Djelantik, 2015 p.34). However, the majority of countries in Asia Pacific have not been able to manage and utilize these natural resources due to technological and scientific limitations. It makes the countries in Asia Pacific depend on the countries in outside the area that has more capabilities.

So, it brings together major world powers such as the United States, Japan, Britain, Russia and China that have a vital interest in the Asia-Pacific region. This area became the meeting arena of the

interests of the large countries and as the center of the interaction of these countries both bilaterally and multilaterally (Rahmat, 2017 p.132). The presence and activity of these countries then generates security dynamics in the Asia Pacific region. Moreover, two major countries among them are the USA and China engaged in rivalry in the Asia Pacific region. It is proved by increasing China's economic and military capabilities in the Asia Pacific region perceived as a threat to US influence in the region. In his speech to the Australian Parliament in Canberra, Former President of the United States, Barack Obama firmly warned China and insisted that the United States would remain as major force in the Pacific (BBC News, 2011). These interaction between the two big countries will certainly have an impact on stability and security dynamics in Asia Pacific (Rahmat, 2017 p.132). This situation then generates a favorable response from countries in the Asia Pacific region and outside countries of the region which involved and has interests in Asia Pacific. One of them is Five Power Defense Agreement (FPDA), a defense pact of British, Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, and Malaysia by trying to strengthen its defense.

In general, the systematic discussion of this paper includes the concept that will be used to explain this case is the concept of Security Dilemma proposed by Robert Jervis. The discussion continued with the security dynamics in this region that will focus on the USA and China's rivalry. Then added to the discussion on profile and role of FPDA in the Asia Pacific region. Furthermore, the core discussion of FPDA response to security dynamics in the Asia Pacific region. At the end will be at give a general conclusion to this discussion.

2 METHODS

This paper is a type of qualitative explanative research in which the author tries to explain the pattern of causal relations between FPDA and security dynamic of this region. The unstable dynamics of this region's security caused by US-Chinese rivalry are the resulted of FPDA's actions. Improved military interoperability in the field of maritime and air security through joint exercises undertaken by FPDA as responds to this dynamic. Techniques of data collection is done through literature review that comes from books, journals, official website (online) and online news. To analyze and explain it, the author uses the concept of

security dilemma which is a derivative concept of realism.

Security dilemma was first proposed by Hertz (1950, p. 174) in the journal *World Politics* explained that the state or other actors who are under anarchy system of world politics must pay attention to its security, either from attack or domination of other actors. So, actors normally will seek to increase its power as response in order to avoid threat of other countries. Indirectly, this condition is resulted insecurity feelings and concerns about the possibility of the worst due to the action of State or other actors because the absence of fully secure feeling each actors in the world full of competition under anarchy system. This results Vicious circle of security, an illustration of the situation in which the state or other actors are caught in a concern about its security issues so that they are always likely to feel threatened by increasing power of other actors and always respond with the same behavior. As Hertz illustrates the insecurity caused by uncertainty over the purpose of State acts or other actors in the security context that are the main cause of the security dilemma of an actor who Booth and Wheeler call 'security paradox' (Booth & Wheeler, 2008) 22).

Security dilemma, it can be simply in known as phenomenon of action and reaction between several actors including the State in which anarchy regarding security system. an action of actor to improve its security capabilities will result or subvert to weaken the security of others (Jervis in Betts, 1994, p. 315). So, it will cause a reaction from the other actors, including states to take the same action (increasing the capability of defense and security) because they feel threatened that action-reaction pattern prevails among countries / other actors in the international political stage. Consequently, every actor will draw up larger defense budget for enhancement and safeguards. This means that they are no longer in safe condition but are approaching the increasingly dangerous threshold of war for international politic's life. resulted as interactions between countries that seek only security can trigger competition and political tension (Jervis 1978, p.169).

Jervis explained that the security dilemma is inseparable from two variables (offensive & defensive balance) (Glaser 1997, 171). Theoretically, security dilemma is concept linking to psychological conditions of decision-makers representing actors in international politics based on distrust and ignorance of other capabilities and acts in security. Actor inabilities to distinguish offensive

or defensive behavior by other actors includes State (Collins 2000, p. 6-7). The development and advancement of technology, supported the increase in the military budget is done by countries are able to allow a change of attitude at first defensive strength towards offensive in a relatively quick time depends on conditions. Thus, process does not directly cause feelings of threat between actors. A defensive alert of one party is simultaneously considered to be evidence of offensive motive by another party so that it will arm itself as form of responding to it. All parties strive to outrank each other so as to cultivate arms and troop races to improve security capabilities, both in quality and quantity that create security dilemma (Jones 1993, p.196-197).

Some theorists of realism said "More importantly, the security dilemma is central to the logic of defensive realism (Glaser 1994, 1995, p. 54; 2003, 406; Kydd 1997b, 116; Schweller 1996, 116). The security dilemma is arguably the theoretical linchpin of defensive realism because for defensive realists it is the security dilemma that makes possible genuine cooperation between states beyond a fleeting alliance in the face of a common foe 2010, p. 33)". Thus, it can be understood that situation in which the state is experiencing anxiety or dilemma related to security changing especially situation of the military actors or other neighboring countries as responds to changes in the security situation of countries by a nearby state called security dilemma (Collins 2000, p.13). On the other hand, it can lead to security cooperation between countries that are surrounding outside alliance.

In this case study, the author uses the security dilemma as the framework of analysis seen from the seriousness of Chinese in increasing military budget since 1990, giving rise to other actors in this matter FPDA. In 2004, China increased its military budget by 18%, 2005 by 12.6%, and in 2006 by 14.7%, until 2015 recorded 119.8 billion US dollars (Kompas 2007, p.1). It surpasses all budgets from 12 countries in Asia Pacific, which is estimated to reach a total of 232, 5 billion dollars (Kompas 2012, p.1). Meanwhile, USA also increases its military defense capability in the region by applying US rebalancing strategy through US Army Pacific Command and increasing military budget. The US places troops in several countries of the region such as Japan, South Korea, Alaska, Hawaii, the US Army Pacific Command controls more than 106,000 troops in Asia-Pacific, along with more than 300 planes and helicopters, and five naval fleets (DMDC 2015, p.1).

Thus has led to insecurity feelings, threats and weakening of FPDA security that is also in the region. FPDA responds through increasing military interoperability as reaction of the US-China rivalry in the region, as well as explain in security dilemma. There are perceptions of psychological fear of decision makers from 5 countries incorporated in FPDA defense pact. The security condition of the dilemma will trigger cooperation between countries outside the alliance to face common enemy, this is done by 5 countries (Australia, UK, New Zealand, Singapore and Malaysia) who re-intensify their cooperation to respond to the security dynamics of this region. Defensive actions by both countries on the other hand are perceived as offensive attitudes that will disrupt and weaken FPDA security. More specifically, related FPDA responds will be discussed in the next section.

3 RESULTS

Speaking about institutions that play role in security dynamic of this region, the existence of FPDA as one of institutions is not very visible when compared with other organizations in the region such as ASEAN. Even Bristow mentioned that this regional security institution as Southeast Asia's unknown regional security organization because Southeast Asia is also part of the Asia Pacific region (Bristow, 2005 p.6). FPDA initiated on November 1971 was originally consultation forum aimed to ensuring all member countries could consult with each other in the shortest time possible when external attacks occurred. However, in its development FPDA is no longer just regular consultation forum and transformed into defense pact from its five member countries. It becomes the only regional security institution in addition to ASEAN that still survives and has a role in the region.

FPDA certainly responds to security dynamics in Asia Pacific shows by the presence by Michael Fallon, the British defense minister stating "it is 'more necessary than ever' to maintain stability in the region", (The Straits Times 2016, p.1). Singapore's defense minister, Ng Eng Hen also said in The Straits Times (2017, p.1) "reaffirmed the FPDA as an integral part of the regional security architecture & quoted; and pledged their & quoted; unwavering commitment & quoted; to the arrangement". The statement shows that FPDA is still relevant and subsequently transformed into institutions concerned with regional security and stability, especially in the field of maritime and air security in response to

restricted contemporary security dynamic above (Primary & Chandra 2014, P.43).

In response to it, FPDA transformed the Integrated Air Defense System (IADS), which previously focused solely on air defense into a tridimensional defense comprising land, sea and air that was done in 2000. It becomes basis of activity to increase military interoperability in facing future challenges. At the FPDA meeting Defense Ministry Meeting (FDMM) resulted in an agreement for capacity building and inter-military operational cooperation capabilities pursued through increased joint military exercises on a regular basis in tridimensional (Thayer 2007, p.88). The dynamics of security in region became one of the causes of the FPDA transformed as a result of the rivalry of USA-China.

US- China rivalry in this region began in early 21st century marked by China's increasing economic and military capabilities while at the time the USA was facing a defensive budget cut due to the recession in 2008 (Domandy & Kinane, 2014 p.1). Increased Chinese military capability is evidenced through China's military budget that continues to increase in double digits or above 10% annually. Military fund budget allocated by the Chinese government in 2000 at 14, 6 billion dollars. Furthermore, China's military budget continues to increase as shown in the following table.

Table 1. Increased Chinese Military Budget

Year	China's Military Budget
2000	14.6 billion dollars
2001	17 billion dollars
2002	20 billion dollars
2003	22 billion dollars
2004	24.6 billion dollars
2005	29.9 billion dollars
2006	35 billion dollars
2007	45 billion dollars
2008	57.22 billion dollars

(Sources: China Defenses Budget)

It can be concluded that China's military budget increase 12% in 2005 and 15% in 2006. Recorded until 2011- 2015 Chinese military budget in 2011 amounted to 119.8 billion US dollars and increased by 18, 75% in the military budget in 2015 amounted to 238.2 billion US dollars. It exceeds all budgets from 12 countries in Asia Pacific which is estimated to total 232.4 billion US dollars (Kompas, 2012).

China averages supply of armaments through Russia because USA and the European Union embargo China due to the Tiannanmen event, China then turns to Russia in armament purchases. Russia recorded approximately 95% of the sale of armaments to China and became China's largest supplier. China armament purchases includes; 1) Su-30 and Su-27 fighter aircraft ; 2) Air missiles (Air to Air Missiles / AAMs) AA-12 ; 3) Air missile system (Surface to Air Missiles / SAM) SA-10, SA-15, SA-20; 4) 3M-54E (SS- N-27B) ASCMs; 5) Class submarine - Kilo ;

6) Soviet-class II-class destroyer submarine ;

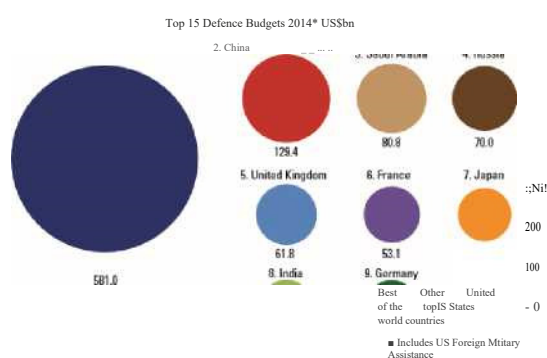
7) IL-76 transport fighter ; 8) IL-78 tanker fighter ; and 9) The system of merging weapons. This increasing has resulted other countries in Pacific region experiencing a security dilemma, especially the USA, which perceives it as a threat to US influence in region.

As mentioned earlier, if China's increased economic and military capabilities coincide with US facing a defense budget cut that indicates USA's economic and military strength in region is likely to weaken. This has made it possible for other countries to take over US hegemony in the Asia Pacific region, one of them is China. Therefore, under President Obama, USA seeks to restore the power and influence of the United States in Asia Pacific. He issued official affirmations and statements regarding the shift of policy focus to this region by the end of 2011. However, efforts to approach and strengthen the security alliance relations bilaterally with the Asia-Pacific countries have been done since Obama served as USA president. The shift in US foreign policy focus initially in the Middle East shifted to the Asian region began with the withdrawal of US troops from Iraq. It indicates a change of strategy in US military policy to Asia Pacific by "Pivot to Asia". It is an expression of the strategy focused on Asia Pacific. (Reis, 2014). It has the main objective of giving greater influence to developments in the region such as economic, social, security including the military. The commitment of USA policy changes to the Asia Pacific region is evidenced by official documents Sustaining US Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century

Defense issued by the USA Department of Defense. It mentions the establishment plan of Joint Force in Asia Pacific which deemed necessary to increase the capability of USA military forces and alliances to carry out major military missions. one of them is to prevent the formation of anti-Access / Area Denial (A2 / AD) that is the ability of China to

avoid attacks of other countries. USA also places its Asia Pacific armed forces under United State Pacific Command (USPACOM) based in Hawaii. its working areas include Alaska, the Arctic, Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia and also oversees several military bases located in the Asia Pacific region such as Japan, South Korea and Guam (Bower, et al, 2016 p.32). USPACOM component comprising army, navy, air force, marines, and special forces controls over 106,000 troops in Asia Pacific, 300 aircraft and helicopters, as well as five naval fleets (Sari & Yani, 2017 p.7). Following President Obama's visiting in 2011, USA renewed its military base around Australia in 2012 by adding 200 marine personnel and an additional 2,500 troop plan to be concentrated around Cocos island in 2017 (Minister for Defense, 2011). In addition, USA also held Anti-Submarine Warfare (ASW) training included a number of combat caps and missiles such as (1) aircraft carrier USS George Washington / CVN 73; (2) carrier air wing / CVW 5; (3) guided-missile cruiser USS Antietam / CG 54; (4) guided missile destroyer Lassen / DDG 82; and (5) RAN guided missile frigate HMAS Sydney (FFG 03) (Kelly, 2013).

In addition to improving their military capabilities, the US-China rivalry in Asia Pacific can also be seen from the allocation of state income to military budget. Based on IISS data by 2014, among countries in the Asia-Pacific region China is the largest military budget. However, if you see the presence of US in the region, then China was ranked second. In 2013 the US spent its defense fund of 1.747 billion US dollars while China with total military spending of 188 billion US dollars (SIPRI, 2014) as in the following graphic.



Graphic 1. The 2014 Military Expenditure Budget

(Sources: IISS, *Military Balance*, 2014)

4 DISCUSSION

Based on security dilemma (Hertz) explains that actor is under should pay attention to its security issues under anarchy system of political system, either from attacks or other dominance. So each will increase its military strength due to insecurity feelings and worries about the worst possibilities due to actions of each actor that produces Vicious circle of security. It's also called the security paradox by Booth and Wheeler, in this paper, the actions undertaken by the US-China through increased military capability and make the Asia Pacific region a rivalry stage. Referring to table 1 (result) China continues to increase military budget in double digits or above 10% annually since 2000 which amounted to 14.6 billion (Domandy & Kinane, 2014 p.1 and Kompas 2012). China's attitude was responded by the USA with pivot to asia and official documents Sustaining US Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense issued by the US Department of Defense, as described previously (Reis SIPRI 2014 & 2014). Increased US military budget to address China as shown in graphic 2.

US-China rivalry leads to instability of security dynamics in Asia Pacific, then it's effected to FPDA. Jervis explains the security dilemma is inseparable from the two variables that balance offensive & defensive defense. furthermore, security dilemma can not be separated from psychological condition of policy makers based on distrust and ignorance of the capabilities and actions of other actors in the security and inability to distinguish defensive or offensive accomplishments. Actor defensive behavior is perceived as offensive by other actors. In this case, China defensive then followed by USA in fact tis perceived as offensive actions by FPDA (Collins, 2000, p. 6-7. It is related due to psychological conditions FPDA's officials in inability to ensure the action taken by the USA-Chinese rivalry that created unstable security dynamic. It's then responded with an offensive and defensive attitude by increasing FPDA's military capability.

Besides explaining the reasons why the actors behave thus, security dilemma explain 'how' response to other actors in maintaining it's security, called action-reaction pattern. Actors actions improve their security capabilities resulting a perception to weaken the security of other actors. Reaction in the same form of action that increases the capability of defense and security. Consequently, each actor or country will increase defense expenditure spending and other measures to

strengthen its military interoperability (Jervis in Betts 1994, p.315 and Jervis 1978, p.169), thus referring to this, the FPDA reacts to improve operational of military capability and the interconnection between the defense ministers of member countries as well as collectively through joint exercises and adding its military forces. Along with Shangri-La dialogue, officials FPDA together defense ministers of Singapore confirms that FPDA also will begin to maximize coordination patrols, exchange of information and communication preferably between operating centers, including naval and coastal guards among member countries. FPDA reaction includes join exercise namely Ex. BERSAMA LIMA in an effort to improve military capability (MINDEF Singapore 2004, P.2). this operation carried out in operational multi-threat scenarios and tactics including at least 31 ships, 60 aircraft, two submarines and 3,500 support personnel (team of divers, air defense support teams and landline communications) (Thayer 2007, p.89).

Ex. BERSAMA LIMA, include maritime Interdiction operation drill, in a variety of exercises emphasizing coordinated patrols, intelligence sharing, improved communication among member states. this incorporates a number of new features such as Command facilities and centralized control is equipped with digital infrared camera and network as a support in the exercise based in the Singapore Air Force Base, Paya Lebar (Thayer 2007, p.90). In November 2011, it also intensified a joint military exercise involving 4,000 military personnel, 67 fighter planes, 18 warships, 2 submarines, and various military elements to deal with threats perceived by FPDA due to USA-Chinese rivalry defensive actions. In addition to the 40th anniversary of FPDA as well as producing Stocktake Documents by FDMM contains targets to increase joint capability and interoperability and carry out routine military exercises as preventive and self-defense measures (Primary & Chandra 2014, p.44-45).

FPDA also held Ex. SUMAN WARRIOR, acronym of 5 FPDA countries has been done since 2006 but massively increased in 2015 and above. It is aimed at improving interoperability and providing platform to facilitate professional military exchange, improving interaction and building military 5 countries relationships and power synergizing. The exercise focuses on offensive and defensive formation operations, which will be very useful in enhancing the skills of commanders, as well as told by Brigadier

General Sofi who led this exercise (The Diplomat 2016, p.1).

In addition to the above two exercises, FPDA also held Ex. BERSAMA PADU, the largest and most complex exercise in form of operational planning involving strength training, tactical exercises, and maritime security series that test operational capacity, cooperation, interoperability and joint operations. The exercises include simulated threats of maritime security, mine deployment and recovery, maritime surveillance also supported by ground-based components of air defense radar, anti-aircraft weapons and missile batteries. In 2007, the exercise involved 21 ships, 85 aircraft, 1 submarine and 3,500 personnel and supported with the previously mentioned ground forces (Thayer 2007, p.91). FPDA also conducts a water / land integration working group for Enhancing interoperability and cooperation among FPDA countries (The Strait Times 2017, p.1). In addition to various joint exercises, FPDA 5 member states individually also enhances its military interoperability capability. Several joint exercises to improve the FPDA military interoperability above are the answers to how the responds provided by the actor as a result of the actions of other threatening actors as described in security dilemma.

However, the authors in this paper have new findings that are less able to be explained by this concept. Based on the security dilemma, explain "why" the reason the actor should pay attention to it security problem in the anarchy political system where the Action of a state / actor to improve his security capability will result in or undermine the security of other countries (Hertz 1950, p.174 and Jervis in Betts 1994, p.31). So that, this threatens the psychological condition of the other actors to be worried and reacts to the same actions through the enhancement of their defense and security capabilities (Jervis 1978, p.169). So the application of concept in this paper is action of US-China rivalry lead to unstable security dynamics called vicious circle security so that the FPDA respond as described above. However, as mentioned FPDA not only emphasized in terms of collectivity but individually each member country to improve military interoperability facing this condition. Each country FPDA individuals actively involved in responding to conditions of security such as, Australia contributed submarines and 300 personnel of defense, RAN frigate HMAS Ballarat and the Collins Class submarine HMAS Farncomb, Royal Australian Air Force AP-3C Orion maritime patrol aircraft and KA350 King Air tactical mobility aircraft are also involved in Exercise with Shield 17 (Defense Connect 2017, p.1). In addition, Australia

developed air warfare destroyers and the P-8A maritime patrol aircraft was again developed and complemented its military strength with the F-35 Joint Strike Fighters. Meanwhile, Malaysia began to develop frigate for completeness weaponry navy and involved very active as a leader in joint exercises like Ex. SUMAN WARRIOR together with Singapore that also commissioned the new Littoral Mission Vessels for its military completeness as a defensive effort with various forms of training centered around the territory of Malaysia and Singapore. As for Britain, the F-35 aircraft carrier is expected to be able to operate maximally in 2021. In contrast, New Zealand appears to be less actively participating in the reaction to these security dynamics seen in the new passive attitude of planning to order new patrol aircraft (The Straits Times 2017, p.1).

The passive attitude of the new Zealand above towards conditions can not be separated from the psychological condition of policy makers who are less threatened or weakened by the increase of military capability of USA-China. The attitude of participation in joint exercises held several more visits FPDA is more likely aimed as steps to maintain good relations between countries member, especially the commitment to Malaysia and Singapore. This can be seen clearly set out in the Defense

White Paper, New Zealand (latest), published in 2010. It noted that "New Zealand security relationship with Singapore and Malaysia will be taking place well and the longest established under FPDA. During the last decade Singapore and Malaysia have become important partners in peacekeeping and related missions to security with new Zealand. Singapore's contribution of 70 powerful infantry groups to the New Zealand battalion

5 CONCLUSIONS

The increased of US and Chinese military capabilities while making pacific Asia a rivalry stage have influenced security dynamic of this region. FPDA as the only security institution in this area respond to it as a threat, due to thee psychological condition of policymakers who feel threatened by the increase and domination as the effect of the rivalry of both countries. Furthermore, the absence of ability to distinguish defensive and offensive US-China's behavior that also contribute by massive technological developments as explained in the

concept of a security dilemma under anarchy political in East Timor reflects the long - term relationship between Singapore-Zealand through the FPDA, and marks the growing maturity of relationships characterized by the ability to work together. So the existence of new Zealand in those joint exercise is more likely to this reason then feeling of insecurity caused by USA-China Rivalry (Sinclair 2013, P. 4).system. The above conditions explain 'why' as reason of the FPDA attitude in this paper. In addition, based on the security dilemma also explains 'how' as form of respond given (reaction) due to the perception of the threat as described as the reason above, FPDA shows the form of reaction through increased military interoperability in quality and quantity through a series of joint exercises collectively include: Ex. BERSAMA LIMA, Ex. SUMAN WARRIOR, Ex. BERSAMA PADU and individual enhancement of each member countries described above.

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