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Indonesia's Defense Diplomacy through the United States: Case Study of Cooperation a Float Readiness and Training (CARAT) 2019 Joint Exercise

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Abstract:

Global dan regional constellation shows a rapid dynamic after the cold war ended. Global polarity turned to multipolar at the same time the center of gravity of international relations has shifted to Asia-Pacific. Indonesia geographically and strategically in the central position regarded to the reality above. US rebalancing policy brings Indonesia to a geopolitical rivalry among great powers. Indonesia committed to Free and Active policy which means do not side to any political blocs but keep active to prevent conflict in the international system by cooperation approach. This research aimed to discuss Indonesia's defense diplomacy to US through joint exercise of Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Training (CARAT) by 2019. The research is qualitative research with a case study approach. Depth exploration conducted by the researcher over the case of CARAT exercise supported by the main analysis tool of defense diplomacy theory which explaining that joint exercise is one of the activities aimed to reach a confidence-building measure (CBMs) and defense capability building. To describe Indonesia's foreign policy towards US within the contemporary political environment, this writing uses the theory of foreign policy and theory of strategy. As an initial conclusion, the joint military exercise of CARAT 2019 successfully strengthening mutual trust and mutual understanding between Indonesia and US in addition to improving Indonesia's military skill which is crucial in the current global political situation.

Keywords: Confidence-building measures, defense capability building, defense diplomacy, joint exercise

1. Introduction

Indonesia is faced with a new political constellation that is very dynamic in recent years. Indonesia's global and regional strategic security environment is characterized by geopolitical competition, geo-economic competition, and the spread of non-traditional threats. In the regional realm, Indonesia's natural leadership in Southeast Asia must deal with the spread of non-military threats such as terrorism, piracy, drugs, and human trafficking. The problem of terrorism, for example, aside from facing the challenge of the unity of perception in the ASEAN collective security framework (Wiratma and Suharman, 2016), cross-regional cooperation and the development of Indonesia's capable military capabilities to protect borders must still be a serious concern for Indonesia (Ministry of Defense, 2015). As such, defense diplomacy can play a crucial role in supporting defense demands through several agendas to increase cooperation and strengthen the military.

The United States is still an important player in shaping these dynamics and the trend is even showing an increase in the Southeast Asian region. Indonesia pays serious attention to the US-style Re-balancing Policy (Ministry of Defense, 2015). This policy is the basis for greater US political, military and economic penetration in the Asia Pacific region. Therefore, to follow up on this maneuver, Indonesia has applied several strategic policies.

Indonesia under the leadership of President Joko Widodo shows a significant commitment to managing its maritime potential which came to be known as the World Maritime Axis (PMD). Various policy moves were taken, starting from forming a coordinating ministry of maritime affairs, boosting the sea-based economy, building maritime development infrastructure, and inserting maritime agendas in domestic politics and foreign diplomacy (Nainggolan, 2015; Yamin, 2015; Kemenko Kemaritiman, 2019). At the regional level, Indonesia is also pushing maritime as a priority for cooperation as was recently seen in the adoption of the ASEAN Outlook in 2019 (ASEAN Secretariat, 2019).

The logical consequence of the reality and direction of the policy is the strengthening of sea defense capacity by empowering the Indonesian military's sea dimension. Although the military aspect is not so discussed in the various maritime development commitments above, the capability of the navy, which is reliable and certainly supported by the

army and air, cannot be denied at all. The aspect of national security that automatically exists side by side with PMD leads to demands for cooperation at regional and global levels and adjustments to maritime defense policies (Hidayat and Ridwan, 2017).

In 2019, Indonesia will return to joint training between the sea dimensions and the United States named Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Training (CARAT). The exercise, which was held for a week, involved navy from Indonesia (Navy / Seamen's Corps & Marines Corps) and navy (US Navy and US Marine Corp) from the United States and US coast guard forces. This paper places and describes the CARAT exercise as a case for the implementation of US defense diplomacy amid the dynamics of global and regional constellations that make the joint exercise very relevant for discussion.

2. Literature Review

This paper explores the problem with analytical tools in the form of strategy theory, defense diplomacy theory, and foreign policy theory. The strategy is an action plan designed to achieve a goal, accompanied by steps to achieve that goal (Wylie, 1989). Associated with politics, strategy means a rational design of political elites that is a reference for state action. From the above definition, it can be concluded that the strategy is divided into goals (ends), ways (means), and tools (ways).

Defense diplomacy, also known as military diplomacy, is the use of non-violent military force through various activities such as officer exchanges and visits to expand a country's international cooperation. In the context of the nature of power used, Defense Diplomacy is the peaceful activity of a country's defense institutions to co-opt the governments of other countries to achieve the desired results (Winger, 2014). The main roles of defense diplomacy are: (1) a means of strategic engagement between two or more countries that were formerly or potentially hostile to one another; (2) encourage democratic civil-military relations; and (3) support other countries in developing the ability to maintain peace and law enforcement. There are ten most common forms of defense diplomacy, one of which is bilateral and multilateral military exercises (Cottey and Forster, 2004). Indonesia has three defense diplomacy agendas, namely: confidence-building measures, defense capability building, and defense industry building (Gindarsah, 2016).

Andrew Heywood in his book *Global Politics* defines foreign policy is an attempt by a government to influence and regulate things that are outside the borders of his country. The model that is generally used as a reference for foreign policy analysis is the rational actor model that describes four stages of consideration of foreign policymaking: (1) identification of problems; (2) formulating preferences and priority goals; (3) find ways and means available; and (4) issuing the best decisions according to the objectives of its foreign policy (Heywood, 2011). Foreign policy is theoretically broken down into 5 models, namely: the rational model, decision making, bureaucratic, adaptive and incremental politics (Yani, 2008). The basic assumption of the rational model is that countries can be regarded as actors who seek to maximize the achievement of their goals based on rational calculations in the global political arena. From a strategic perspective, the general pattern of foreign policy sustainability and change is explained based on the strategic goals of decision-makers.

3. Methodology

This research uses a qualitative methodology with a case study approach. Data collection is done through library research by collecting various relevant written and electronic sources and observations by the author. The focus of this paper describes the Confidence Building and Capability Building agenda that Indonesia is trying to achieve by participating in a joint exercise of CARAT in 2019. In the next chapter, the discussion begins by explaining Indonesia's foreign policy towards the United States, then proceed with the confidence-building and military capability building Indonesia's agenda through CARAT training 2019.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Indonesia's Foreign Policy against the United States in the Field of Defenses

Since the beginning, Indonesia has consistently applied the principle of free and active politics. This principle explains that Indonesia will not be the object of global political interaction but rather be a subject that is free to determine its political direction and Indonesia will not join any bloc. Free and Active as a doctrine of Indonesian foreign policy is reaffirmed in Law No. 37 of 2019 Article 3 which states that Indonesia's foreign policy adheres to free and active which is enshrined in the national interest. The regulation departs from considering four principles of Indonesia's foreign relations: (1) equality of degree; (2) mutual respect; (3) mutual benefits; and (4) intervening in each other's internal affairs. On a practical level, this foundation clarifies Indonesia's attitude to not join any alliance or coalition because it is considered not in line with Indonesia's "free" principle.

In the field of defense, the United States of America is a strategic partner for strengthening defense equipment, enhancing operational capabilities, developing institutional capacity, and developing quality human resources. Enhancing bilateral relations through cooperation, communication and consultation are still the main models of Indonesia's foreign policy in the field of defense (Ministry of Defense, 2015).

The United States claims Indonesia is an important partner in the Indo-Pacific region. In 2015 the two countries agreed to strengthen relations through the signing of the Indonesia-US Strategic Partnership which encompasses a variety of regional and global contents. The two countries together joined in several strategic international organizations such as the ASEAN Regional Forum, East Asia Summit, APEC Forum, and G-20 (US Department of State, 2019).

4.2. Joint Military Training between Indonesia and the United States

Joint training is still one of the main defense diplomacy tools for both the United States and Indonesia. Recently the two agreed to expand a joint military training program in addition to various other defense diplomacy programs (Nafi, 2019). In 2019, for example, there were countless joint training events initiated by Indonesia and the United States. In early July, the Maritime Security Agency (Bakamla) with the United States Coast Guard (USGC) conducted a ship maneuvering exercise in Baru Ampar waters, Riau Islands. Participants of the training with the theme of Small Boat Operation (SBO) carried out the test of the ship's berth, the Rigid Hull Inflatable Boat (RHIB) maneuver, the operation of the engine and steering and the sharing of knowledge of safety equipment at sea (Puspen TNI, 2019a). In the same month, the Navy AL Frogs and the US Special Operations Commands Pacific Naval Special Warfare Unit-1 (SOCPAC NSWU-1) took part in joint training with Flash Thunder Iron 19-2441. For 12 days from 19 to 30 July, soldiers on both sides carried out various exercises such as Full Mission Profiles (FMP), Post Assault Procedure, Radio Communications, Small Arms Range, and Tactical Combat Casual (Puspen TNI, 2019b).

4.3. Confidence-Building through Joint training of CARAT in 2019

On August 1-7 2019, Indonesia took part in the annual United States joint training event known as Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Training (CARAT). The training, which has been held for the twenty-fifth time, involves the Indonesian navy (Navy / Seamen's Corps & Marine Corps) and navy (US Navy and US Marine Corp) from the United States and the United States coast guard forces. This exercise is one of the many training programs that the United States supports in Southeast Asia, South Asia, and the Pacific Islands (Johnson, 2019).

Joint Training of Cooperative Afloat Readiness and Training (CARAT) TA. 2019 between the Indonesian Navy / Kormar-USMC, in this case, the 5th Marine Battalion together with the American Marines unit will conduct joint exercises, to strengthen relations and cooperation between the Marine Corps of the two countries and increase soldier professionalism in conducting joint exercises with other countries and increasing cooperation bilateral relationship between the USA and Indonesia, especially in the field of military cooperation.

United States troops have come to Indonesia since July 31. The training was then carried out in Surabaya for the Sailors Corps and at the Battle Training Center (Puslatpur) of the Marine Corps centered at Puslatpur Baluran Karang tekok Situbondo (Saragih, 2019). The training program for CARAT this year includes training on the beach and at sea, sharing knowledge, and implementing war scenarios. The exercise was then closed on 7 August at the fleet command headquarters II in Surabaya (Johnson, 2019).

Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) are unilateral, bilateral and multilateral measures aimed at reducing, preventing the level of uncertainty so that there is no armed war between parties. The achievement of "confidence" is carried out through the emphasis on the perception of shared interests with former enemies or potential enemies. Meanwhile, the Britannica Encyclopedia defines CBM in international relations as an action that reflects good intentions or the desire to exchange information with opposing or enemy countries (Harman, 2016). Models for implementing CBMs include State visits; Dialogue and consultation; Exchange of strategic information; Limitation of defense capability; Declaration of strategic cooperation; Officer Exchange; Military education; Good relations and joint military exercises. Indonesia has made CBMs as one of its defense diplomacy agendas besides increasing defense capabilities and defense industry development (Syafwi, 2009).

In CBM defense diplomacy is an inexpensive and high-risk instrument for building peaceful relations in the defense and security sector which will further reduce the possibility of international conflict (Gindarsah, 2015). Through CBM, defense diplomacy will build mutual trust and mutual understanding between each party and cooperation in a broad field can then be achieved. CBMs prioritize communication rather than the use of military physical instruments so that it becomes an effective method for building trusting relationships. There are four variations of CBM steps in diplomacy between countries, namely: communication, self-limitation, transparency, and verification. The dynamics of global security rivalry in the last few decades show that CBM is proven in generating trusting relations. CBM is also claimed to be a "security tool" for achieving peace (Krepon, et.al., 1993).

Peacekeeping military diplomacy builds the foundation for regional cooperation, based on mutual trust and trust. International military training cooperation is a major element in peacetime military diplomacy and at the same time as an instrument for projecting national strategic interests. Military training activities encompass various training activities such as holding training, providing training teams and military training advisers to other countries, holding international conferences and seminars to strengthen mutual understanding, conducting land, sea and air forces exercises bilaterally and multilaterally and others. Joint threats, especially those related to international terrorism can be better handled through joint military operations and exercises so that a coordinated and timely response is formed when a critical situation occurs (Sachar, 2003).

The United States is an example of a country that is still and effective in empowering military training as a form of defense diplomacy. With the mission of creating strategic environmental conditions, military assistance programs, international training, military-to-military contacts, and other forms of military diplomacy were expanded. The United States uses a pro-active approach to military diplomacy in which training teams are deployed to areas of significant strategic importance. The United States Military offers thousands of courses, including fighting skills, military management, civil-military relations, and the use of the United States weapons system. The military training program has proven to be a force multiplier that results in stronger security relationships with allies and other countries. Furthermore, the United States held military training not only to make friends but also to push its political agenda to other countries. Military training is also sometimes considered a gift for political support. Whenever his soldiers meet with his fellow

soldiers from other countries, they will deepen their understanding of the military organization system, the cultural system, the language system, and the political system of the countries of the fellow American soldiers (Sachar, 2003).

Contact between military personnel in the CARAT Exercise strengthened the brotherhood between the dimensions of various countries. From the group of marines, for example, the term inter-country Marine Brotherhood is known as a joint exercise. CARAT Indonesia-United States training is one of the instruments to create this brotherhood (Saragih, 2017).

Strengthening partnerships with the United States remains relevant because, despite the tendency of suspicion towards the maneuvering of the superpower, Indonesia is not very successful in blocking the threats that were born from the expansion of China (Syailendra, 2017). The manifestation of this problem can be seen from the case of Chinese fishermen operating in the North Natuna Sea who then showed resistance by being guarded by their coast guards in early January. Not to mention, Indonesia has big interests in other maritime areas around it such as the Indian Ocean (Prasetya and Estriani, 2018) and the Malacca Strait amidst rivalry of Chinese and Indian influence (Kusuma, 2014).

4.4. Capability-Building through CARAT's Joint Training in 2019

Defense capability is determined by defense ability, defense strength, and defense title. Military training aims to hone defense skills and defense titles. CARAT's joint training, like other joint exercises, is divided into three stages: preparation, implementation and evacuation/termination.

CARAT training preparations began on June 17, 2019, by deploying marines for the Engineering Civic Action Program exercise. Equipped with various equipment, the Marine Combat 2 Assistance Regiment Soldiers carried out the construction of several facilities such as class and other construction in Gresik, East Java (Puspen TNI, 2019c). Such preparation schemes are commonly found in various joint exercises to ensure the core activities run smoothly.

According to the report on the implementation of the CARAT 2019 Marine Corps exercise, which explained the capacity of the two countries' warrior capabilities during the joint exercise, in general, the tactics practiced between the Marine Corps and USMC had in common. But there are slight differences in technical matters. This difference is caused by differences in defense equipment used by the Marine Corps and USMC soldiers. The tactics of the Marine Corps and USMC which were applied by combining Indonesian Marines and USMC forces to the level of the squad were well established, the shortcomings that existed for evaluation in the next exercise (Kormar TNI AL, 2019).

In the implementation of CARAT 2019 more forest combat tactics and combat tactics in populated areas are trained, because these tactics are considered to be very effective in the face of future task demands. The author describes the training material that was trained during the implementation of CARAT 2019. Material shooting wet weapons types of Light Machine Guns (SMR), General Purpose Machine Gun (GPMG) and Heavy Machine Guns (SMB). In this wet-firing tactic, between the Marine Prajurit and USMC Soldiers, there is a common perception that is commonly used between Soldiers of the two countries. But it could be said that the firing tactics used by USMC were more intense and efficient compared to the 2-3 shots that were commonly practiced by Marine Corps soldiers. High safety procedures for firing USMC soldiers by changing the barrel every shot at 200 and the weapon will stop every 20 minutes of shooting. The shooting technique implemented by USMC is more effective and efficient by using additional hand signals between individuals in a GPMG Team for communication. The weapons drill carried out by USMC is by the conditions of battle by training communication between personnel so that the results are more effective (Kormar TNI AL, 2019).

USMC soldiers have a weakness when confronted with forest stage training materials, which are carried out in the Selogiri forest. Soldiers are not used to the exercise besides they have not mastered the field fully. Tactics introduced by Marine Corps soldiers at other forest stages between Defense, Patrol, and Tactics for Specific Conditions. Almost all of these tactics are not fully understood by USMC, because USMC uses a lot of tactics operating in populated cities. Therefore, the Marines teach, introduce and transfer military knowledge between the two countries.

For field discipline, the Marine Corps and USMC soldiers both have advantages and disadvantages, because the soldiers have different basic training and weaponry. The appointment of different contractors at each USMC activity by the Embassy resulted in difficulty in coordinating the needs of USMC administrative activities which resulted in the continued involvement of supporting personnel from Kormar to help ensure smooth running in the training according to the specified schedule.

5. Conclusion

Amid uncertainty in the world and regional political climate, Indonesia must optimize its diplomacy to various international actors without ignoring the ideals of its foreign policy. Joint exercises are still seen as effective and efficient in accommodating defense diplomacy in every country including Indonesia.

CARAT's joint training proved to be a relevant instrument for Indonesia's defense diplomacy when faced with global and regional dynamics. CARAT exercises facilitate the military of both parties to meet with each other and create mutual trust. Indonesia's defense capability is also proven to be able to be built with CARAT training. The combat practices followed by Indonesia will enhance military capabilities and defense degree capabilities. Coordination between the two parties is beneficial in the process of handling future threats such as terrorism because it has formed a similar pattern of responses and actions.

The joint training was aimed at increasing cooperation between the Marine Corps of the two countries while at the same time increasing the professionalism of the Marine Corps soldiers faced with the demands of the tasks carried out by classroom learning methods and field practice. CARAT training will increase the capability and expertise of soldiers of both countries, especially the Marine Corps.

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