



The National Interests of Indonesia and Japan in the Indo-Pacific Region and the Defense Cooperation of the Two Countries

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.18415/ijmmu.v10i2.4376>

Abstract

The shift in world security politics from West to East have made the Indo-Pacific region the center of attention of international actors. The crucial strategic environment makes countries focus their foreign policies on this region. The large number of actors who want to dominate the region accompanied by the emergence of non-traditional threats has forced countries in the region to be careful in dealing with the situation in the region. Indonesia and Japan as countries in the Indo-Pacific region want the security and stability of this region to be guaranteed from the interests of irresponsible parties. The purpose of this study is to analyze the national interests between Indonesia and Japan in the Indo-Pacific region and the defense cooperation between the two countries. The situation in the Indo-Pacific region is unstable and full of traditional and non-traditional threats. Indonesia and Japan have national interests in this region, namely maintaining security, peace, regional stability and sovereignty of each country from parties that commit acts that violate international law. The two countries are conducting defense cooperation. This study uses qualitative methods and a case study research design. The data were obtained through interviews and literature studies to be further analyzed using theoretical approaches including Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT), national interests, and defense cooperation. The output obtained is the realization of stronger bilateral defense cooperation between Indonesia and Japan based on the Memorandum between the Ministry of Defense of Japan and the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia on Cooperation and Exchange in the Defense Sector which was signed in 2015. So that in the end it will create the Indo-Pacific region as expected.

Keywords: *Indo-Pacific; Indonesia; Japan; Defense Cooperation; RSCT; National Interest; Defense Cooperation*

Introduction

Lately, the Indo-Pacific region has become a major topic in the world security political constellation. Various countries directed their foreign policies for this region, starting with Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe issuing the Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) strategy which later became a vision (Sahashi, 2019). Followed by the US, President Donald Trump also issued the Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) strategy (The Department of Defense, 2019). ASEAN also issued the ASEAN Outlook on

Indo-Pacific (AOIP) as an affirmation of ASEAN's position and views on the dynamics in the Indo-Pacific region (ASEAN, 2019). Other countries both inside and outside the Indo-Pacific region such as European countries have also begun to direct their foreign policies toward this region.

Several of these countries deployed their military fleets to accompany this foreign policy. The US government deployed the 7th fleet whose base is located in the Indo-Pacific region under the code name United State Indo-Pacific Command (USINDOPACOM) (IDP Forum, 2020). The British government also sent the aircraft carrier HMS (Her Majesty's Ship) Queen Elizabeth and assigned two of its warships permanently in the Indo-Pacific region (Kyodo News, 2021). The deployment of military fleets from these countries indicates efforts to anticipate geopolitical, geostrategic and geoeconomic transformations as well as threat perspectives using the Indo-Pacific region.

The change in political constellation is due to the fact that the Indo-Pacific region is considered to have strategic value in terms of social, economic, geopolitical and security. In terms of security, the Indo-Pacific region has various strategic issues that can pose a threat to countries in the region and outside the region. These strategic security issues include sovereignty disputes in the South China Sea and East China Sea; War on the Korean Peninsula; possession of nuclear weapons by North Korea, Pakistan, India, China, Russia and Australia; internal conflicts of countries in the region such as that experienced by Myanmar; the Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic; terrorism; and other maritime security threats.

The development of a strategic environment in a region can certainly affect the security of countries both inside and outside the region. Likewise, developments in the strategic environment in the Indo-Pacific region can of course affect national security within and outside the Indo-Pacific region, including Indonesia. As a country located in the middle of the Indo-Pacific region, Indonesia certainly implements various strategies or policies to deal with the situation in the region. In maintaining regional security and stability, a country cannot rely on its own capabilities. A country needs the help of other countries that are considered to have strengths that are not owned by their country so that they are able to deal with the problems they are facing. Likewise, with Indonesia, it cannot maintain the security and stability of its own. Therefore, Indonesia is conducting defense and security cooperation with other countries that are considered capable of helping deal with the situation in the region. One of them is Japan, which is Indonesia's strategic partner country.

Japan is one of the countries in the Indo-Pacific region that has quite influential powers both in the region and in the world. Japan's economy is the third largest in the world after the US and China. In the field of defense, even though since the defeat in World War II Japan has not been allowed to have its own military, the Japan Self Defense Force (JSDF) has been properly used for defensive purposes. To deal with threats from outside, Japan relies more on the Japan-US alliance agreement. Japan itself in viewing the Indo-Pacific region has paid great attention as a strategic area for Japan. This can be seen from the issuance of the Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) vision in 2016 (Sahashi, 2019). In this vision, Japan uses various approaches to create a favorable regional security environment. Japan has established various cooperation both bilaterally and multilaterally with various countries and international organizations by taking into account the characteristics and situations of each region and country. In addressing the increasingly complex development of strategic issues in the Indo-Pacific region, Indonesia and Japan have established fairly close defense cooperation through both bilateral and multilateral approaches. This cooperation is carried out to ensure peace and stability in the region, while upholding applicable international law.

Theoretical Framework

1. Regional Security Complexity Theory

The region according to Shaun Breslin is not a unitary unit based on geographical proximity, but also other elements that support the formation of a shared identity between these units as an area. Other elements can be in the form of culture, economy, language, political relations, or other supporting elements (Breslin, 2010). According to Buzan dan Wavier (2003), issues regarding the security of countries in the region are closely related to one another, therefore issues concerning the national security of a country are impossible without considering regional security. Even though there is a relationship of interdependence between countries in a region, it does not mean that conditions will always be harmonious, considering that relations between countries are influenced by various things such as the balance of power, alliances with other countries and the entry of an external force in the region. Therefore, RSCT divides the patterns of interaction between countries into two, namely amity and enmity. Amity is a pattern of relations between countries based on friendly relations which then become better, cooperative or collaborative. Meanwhile, enmity is a pattern of relations between countries based on mutual suspicion so that they are conflictual or hostile (Buzan dan Wavier (2003).

Basically, this RSCT is a combination of assumptions of realism and constructivism (Buzan dan Wavier (2003). The assumptions taken from realism are about the existence of polarity, power, and systems. Polarity cannot only be analyzed at the international level but also at the regional and sub-regional levels. The system in this case is the region itself, and the state as its unit. Meanwhile, power for the state is important, because it determines the level of resilience of the country in a system. The unequal distribution of power between countries in the region can lead to conflictual relations. While the assumptions taken from constructivism are about identity. Identity is one of the variables in social construction which determines the state in behaving and interacting in the region. The two streams are related to each other.

Following are the types of regional security complex (Buzan dan Wavier (2003):

- a. Standard: polarity determined by regional power; and
- b. Centralized: polarity is unipolar and depends on the dominating unit. This type is further divided into the following:
 - 1) Superpower, namely unipolar centered on superpower countries;
 - 2) Great power, namely unipolar centered on great power countries;
 - 3) Regional power, namely unipolar centered on one regional power;
 - 4) Institutional, namely unipolar centered on institutions, such as the European Union;
 - 5) Great power, namely polarity centered on bipolar and multipolar with great power as the poles; and
 - 6) Super complexes, namely the creation of strong interregional relations in security dynamics caused by spillover by great power to neighboring regions.

In this study, the RSCT is used to understand the security complexities of the Indo-Pacific region. Threats in the Indo-Pacific region can certainly reach countries in the region including Indonesia and Japan.

2. National Interest

Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton (1969) said that national interest is a very general conception and is an element which is a very vital requirement for the state to include maintaining the survival of the nation and state, independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity, military security and economic prosperity.

So that the national interest becomes the fundamental goal and the most decisive factor that guides decision makers in formulating foreign policy. According to Nutterlein (1979), national interests can be divided into four parts based on their basic objectives, namely:

a. Defense Interests

It is in the interest of protecting the state and its citizens against threats of violence from other countries or from outside the country. Threats in this category are meant to be physical threats that are direct to the territory of the state and the citizens within it. Disruption of this aspect of defense causes the state to take serious action against these external threats that can undermine the stability and sovereignty of the state.

b. Economic interest

It is in the interest to protect and guarantee economic welfare in relation to other countries and other international actors. Disruption of this economic aspect includes threats to the sustainability of the country's economic interests such as sources of energy, trade, and instruments that are useful for supporting the country's economic activities.

c. World Order Interests

It is in the interest to maintain the stability of the international environment as an effort to ensure the continuity of the security and interests of the state in the international environment. In this aspect the state will make efforts to ensure a sense of security for the state and its citizens, including carrying out prevention and maintenance efforts for the short and long term.

d. Ideological Interests

It is in the interest to protect a set of values that are trusted and used as a guide in life by the state and its citizens. In this aspect the state will make efforts to ensure the preservation of these values from threats that can erode them.

3. Defense Cooperation

One form of international cooperation is defense cooperation. Supriyatno (2014), explains that based on its form, defense cooperation is cooperation that is carried out formally (formal cooperation) between two or more countries, because to carry out this cooperation using a treaty or agreement that is not binding (non-binding), namely the so-called Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA). Based on its binding power, defense cooperation can be categorized as voluntary cooperation and antagonistic cooperation which is carried out because it is based on the national interests of each cooperating country. Based on the time, defense cooperation usually includes periodic cooperation, this is because the form of cooperation is formal and uses an agreement. In addition, there are also temporary agreements, for example joint training agreements where the time is written depending on how long they practice. Then based on the region, defense cooperation can be regional or international. In addition, there is also the scope of defense cooperation. In combat training, the area is usually stated explicitly and clearly in the agreement (Supriyatno, 2014).

Based on this explanation, Supriyatno (2014) concludes that, defense cooperation is an international transaction carried out by two or more countries for a specific purpose or what is referred to as the national interest of the cooperating countries, using treaties or treaties or in writing and formally. A treaty is an agreement between two or more countries with the intention of establishing a reciprocal relationship based on international law. The aim is to place binding obligations on participating countries (Starke, 1989). Names or types of treaties in international cooperation including defense cooperation, namely convention, protocol, agreement, arrangement, verbal process, statute. declaration, *modus vivendi*, exchange of letters or notes, final act, and general provisions. These names are often used in drafting defense cooperation agreements. However, the term most often used is the Defense Cooperation

Agreement (DCA). Besides that, they also often use the term Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in the implementation of making international agreements.

In defense cooperation there are principles that contain norms and standards that must be obeyed and implemented by each signatory to the cooperation document, including mutual respect for the independence of each party; full respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country; not interfering in each other's internal affairs; equality; win-win solution; peaceful coexistence; not engage in mutual aggression; the recognition and implementation of universally recognized international legal norms; and *Pacta Sun Servanda*, which means that the agreement that has been put into effect is binding on the parties and must be implemented in good faith. Then the scope of defense cooperation includes the exchange of technical and scientific data; exchange of experts, technicians, and military participants and lecturers; production support related to defense equipment and components; defense industry; technology transfer; technical support; education and training; exchange of intelligence information; Defense science and technology; personnel exchange; visit; joint training in operations, logistics and intelligence; joint exercises and joint exercises; joint and or combined patrols; development and training of communications, electronic warfare, and information technology; research and development; and maritime security (Supriyatno, 2014)

Defense cooperation between countries is a very sensitive matter, be it bilateral or multilateral. Countries that are directly or indirectly involved in defense cooperation will be positively and negatively affected by this cooperation. This is because defense cooperation will show the characteristics and direction of a country's journey, as well as what national interests are desired by that country, including issues related to state sovereignty, security, stability, and people's welfare (Supriyatno, 2014). Defense cooperation between Indonesia and Japan aims to achieve the national interests of each country, especially in dealing with strategic issues in the Indo-Pacific region.

Methodology

The research method used in this study is a qualitative approach. According to Catherine Marshal (1995) a qualitative approach is a process that tries to gain a better understanding of the complexities that exist in human interaction. This research uses a case study design, in which researchers explore the national interests of Indonesia and Japan in the Indo-Pacific region and defense cooperation between the two countries. Researchers used interview data collection techniques and literature studies. Interviews were conducted with the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Indonesian Ministry of Defense, Embassy of Republic Indonesia in Japan, Embassy of Japan in Indonesia, and defense academics. While literature study was carried out by examining primary data sources from official Indonesian and Japanese government documents, books, literature, notes, and reports related to the problem under study (Nazir, 2003).

Results and Analysis

Security Complexities in the Indo-Pacific Region

The complexity of security in the Indo-Pacific region is seen first by determining which system and which unit. What is referred to as a system here is the Indo-Pacific region itself, and the units are countries within the Indo-Pacific region, namely China, Japan, South Korea, North Korea, the US, Australia, countries in Southeast Asia, and others. The distribution of power in the Indo-Pacific region is quite diverse. Almost all countries with the largest military and economic power in the world are in this region, such as the US, China, Australia, Japan, India, South Korea and North Korea. Even so, there are also countries with low power such as countries in the Southeast Asian sub-region where the majority of their military power is still low and their economy is still developing. As a result of differences in the

distribution of power, a conflictual relationship arises. Where the strong feel they have to control the region, and the weak have to find a way so that their country can survive.

Polarity in the Indo-Pacific region itself is included in the great power type, where the existing polarity is centered on multipolar with great power as the poles. In the Indo-Pacific region, even though the polarity at play is centered on many actors or multipolar such as Japan, China, India, Australia, the US, South Korea, North Korea, ASEAN, even European countries such as Britain and France, in the end the poles still heading towards the two great power countries, namely China and the US. Differences in power distribution accompanied by regional polarity which is multipolar but still leads to the great power pole, this is one of the reasons the Indo-Pacific regional system is unstable.

Similar to what was stated by Breslin (2010) that a region is not a unitary unit based on geographical proximity, but also other elements such as culture, economy, language, political relations, and other elements that support the formation of a shared identity between these units as a region. So based on this explanation the area called the Indo-Pacific is not only assessed as a geographical area that lies along the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, but also has other elements. Such as culture, developing economic activities, political relations between state and non-state actors, and other identities that make this region known as the Indo-Pacific region. Threats in the Indo-Pacific region are quite diverse, ranging from traditional to non-traditional threats in this region. The traditional threats that emerged in this region were territorial disputes in the South China Sea and East China Sea, conflicts in Taiwan, and the War on the Korean Peninsula which eventually gave rise to defense blocs such as QUAD, AUKUS, and other blocs. All traditional threats in the Indo-Pacific region can lead to open conflict between countries in the region.

The South China Sea's dispute, for example, with its large natural resources and strategic location at the crossroads of the world's economic pathways, makes countries compete to establish their sovereignty over that country. China as the country that triggered this dispute on the basis of historical claims, accompanied by the sending of its military fleet in this region, of course makes other claimant countries whose territories are claimed to be furious. Several countries have pursued diplomatic paths to resolve this dispute, especially ASEAN which is trying to resolve it peacefully. However, the huge potential in this region makes it difficult to settle disputes peacefully. As a result, other claimant countries are also preparing themselves by establishing military alliances with Western countries, especially the US. Likewise, what happened in the East China Sea, where a territorial dispute occurred between China and Japan over the ownership of the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands. Both countries claim the island. The Indo-Pacific region has threats of destabilizing or coercive unilateral actions that could change the status quo and escalate tensions in the SCS and East China Sea, followed by the militarization of disputed features such as the use of dangerous or coercive coast guard vessels, and attempts to interfere with the exploitation of other countries' natural resources.

Another problem is that the war on the Korean Peninsula has not ended between North Korea and South Korea. Even though there is no open war, the status of unfinished war remains a traditional threat that needs attention. Since the armistice, North Korea has focused its country on military strengthening. Instead of improving the economy of people like South Korea, North Korea prefers to develop its military strength, especially nuclear weapons. North Korea has repeatedly violated several UN Security Council Resolutions by repeated launches of short-range ballistic missiles and other weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles of all ranges. Nuclear weapons, which are weapons of mass destruction, are a serious fear not only for countries in the region, but also for the international community. Therefore, the situation on the Korean Peninsula has never escaped international attention.

Then the conflict in Taiwan caused by China's ambition to make Taiwan part of its territory has also become a source of serious traditional threats. US participation in the Taiwan issue accompanied by the deployment of its military fleet to this region is a sign that this conflict has the potential to become an

open war. Even recently, tensions between China and Taiwan, accompanied by the participation of the US in this conflict, have increased after the War in Ukraine. Russia's entry into Ukrainian territory is a lesson in itself for China in responding to Taiwan. So that recently China has been seen trying to carry out acts of provocation and intense military deployment to Taiwan. Taiwan itself is also currently more vigilant and closer to its US ally. The US responded seriously to this with the visit of the Speaker of the US House of Representatives Nancy Pelosi during a visit to Taiwan on August 2nd 2022 to meet Taiwanese President Tsai Ing Weng. The arrival of this high-ranking US official certainly made China furious. China's Foreign Ministry condemned Pelosi for what it described as a "cruel and provocative act". Beijing said that Pelosi's trip to Taiwan was tantamount to seriously interfering in China's internal affairs, seriously undermining China's sovereignty and territorial integrity, seriously trampling on the one-China principle, and seriously threatening peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait (Reditya, 2022).

Tensions in the Indo-Pacific region are not only due to the military deployment of China and the US, but also the entry of the military fleets of US alliance countries such as Britain, France and Australia which also enter this region. Increased military activity in the Indo-Pacific region and growing military power in Indo-Pacific countries including China will be able to cause a Cold War in the region so that it is possible for a conflict to arise to show the strength of each alliance and country.

In addition to traditional threats, the Indo-Pacific region is also vulnerable to non-traditional threats such as pandemics, climate change which causes natural disasters, terrorism and maritime crimes. The currently developing COVID-19 pandemic is a serious threat to human security. Although the visible impact is not as much as the impact of the World War, this phenomenon has claimed the lives of more than 6 million people. Until now, there are still cases in various countries. Natural disasters are also non-traditional threats that need attention. These natural disasters are in the form of droughts, floods, landslides, forest fires, smog. Even though the disaster occurred due to natural factors, it was humans who were the main actors in the natural damage that occurred. Most of the Indo-Pacific region is territorial waters, so maritime crimes often occur in this region. Maritime crime is a significant problem considering that half of world trade is shipped through this region. Piracy, illegal trade, human trafficking, and terrorism are also forms of maritime crime.

In addition to the pattern of enmity in the form of threats, in this region there is also amity or cooperation between countries and countries and countries with international institutions. Cooperation in this region is built between countries that feel the same fate in terms of territorial disputes with China. In addition, cooperation is also formed on the pretext of a shared desire to uphold international law of the sea and open sea lanes, trade and navigation in the Indo-Pacific region. Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region occurs, one of which is between the United States and its alliances which are members of QUAD and AUKUS. In addition, cooperation also occurs on the basis of a shared desire to create a stable, safe and prosperous Indo-Pacific region. This cooperation is common under the ASEAN umbrella. Both the enmity and amity patterns were formed on the basis of consideration of each country's national interests in the Indo-Pacific region.

Indonesia's National Interest in the Indo-Pacific Region

Based on interviews with the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Indonesia's national interests in the Indo-Pacific region are listed in the AOIP initiated by Indonesia and agreed upon by ASEAN leaders at the 34th ASEAN Summit in 2019. The agreement on AOIP is a form of implementing ASEAN centrality to maintain peace, security, and stability in the Indo-Pacific region. AOIP adheres to principles including transparency, openness, inclusivity, and promotes good cooperation with fellow member countries and other partners. This is also the same as what was conveyed by the Director of ASEAN External Cooperation at the 34th Meeting of the ASEAN-Japan Forum in Hanoi 2019 saying that Indonesia together with ASEAN has an interest in continuing to maintain and guaranteeing the current geo-strategic dynamics so as not to disturb peace and stability in the region. The aim is to make the Indo-

Pacific region a peaceful, stable and prosperous region (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2019). When dissected based on the concept of interests according to Nutterlein (1979) based on its basic goals, Indonesia's national interests in the Indo-Pacific region are as follows:

a. Defense Interests

Indonesia has an interest in protecting the state and its Indonesian citizens from threats of violence from other countries or from outside the country. A crucial threat to Indonesia's defense is the territorial dispute in the SCS. Part of Indonesia's territory in Natuna is included in the ninedash line area claimed by China based on history. Even though Indonesia is not a claimant country, Indonesia does not necessarily agree with what China claims. Indonesia instead emphasized that the area is still and will remain the sovereign territory of the Republic of Indonesia. This was emphasized by the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo during his visit to Natuna. He emphasized that from the past until now Natuna is the territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (DW, 2020). Until now, the dispute over the LCS area is still ongoing. Even as a result of China's unilateral actions, defense blocks such as QUAD and AUKUS emerged, accompanied by the deployment of their military fleet in this region. The following describes the territorial dispute involving the Natuna Islands.



Map of China's Claim Area over Indonesia's Natuna Sea

Source: (Ziyadi, 2020)

In addition, non-traditional threats are also threats that cannot be ignored. The COVID 19 pandemic, terrorism, natural disasters, and maritime crimes are non-traditional threats that are also a serious concern for the Indonesian government. Therefore, Indonesia is trying to make various efforts so that Indonesia's national interests, in this case the defense aspect, can be maintained.

b. Economic Interest

Most of the Indo-Pacific region is ocean. The sea is an important route for world trade. The Malacca Strait which is one of the most densely populated straits in the world is located between Indonesia and Malaysia. This strait is the shortest route between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. Every year, more than 83,000 ships pass this route. And almost more than 40% of world traffic passes this route (Dzulfaroh, 2022). Therefore, maintaining maritime stability and security is something that Indonesia must do in order to safeguard economic interests. Prof. Makarim Wibisono, a defense

academic, mentioned in an interview that Indonesia pays great attention to international trade and international economic relations. Indonesia sees the area around Indonesia, be it the Asia Pacific or the Indo-Pacific, as a very important region for efforts to develop international trade and economy. Therefore, for Indonesia to maintain regional stability it will be able to maintain a good climate to promote international trade and economy. Rizerius Eko Hadisancoko, who is a defense expert and practitioner, explained in an interview that a strong economy will be formed if the state's security is also strong. It is impossible for a country to be prosperous if the country is not safe. Likewise, it is impossible for strong defense and security if the economy is weak or unstable. These two things must go hand in hand like a currency that cannot be separated. Indonesia's national interest is how to maintain stability in the region so that all activities that are political security and economic run parallel to each other.

c. World Order Interests

Indonesia also has an interest in maintaining regional environmental stability as an effort to ensure the continuity of state security and interests in the regional and international environment. In this aspect, Indonesia will make every effort to ensure a sense of security for the country and its citizens, including making efforts to prevent and maintain in the short and long term from threats that make the regional situation unstable. This is in accordance with what was conveyed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, Retno Marsudi. He stated that for Indonesia, the role of the region in supporting world peace must be strengthened. Regional security is the backbone of world peace. It is in this context that Indonesia will continue to work to strengthen the architecture of the Indo-Pacific region (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2019).

d. Ideology Interests

In the ideological aspect, Indonesia seeks to protect a set of values that are trusted and used as guidelines including the values of openness, existence, inclusivity, hiding cooperation, and obedience to applicable international law. These values are the principles of AOIP. Indonesia will make efforts to ensure the preservation of these values from threats that can erode them such as unilateral actions from other countries, terrorism and other threats that can threaten the preservation of these values.

Japan's National Interests in the Indo-Pacific Region

Based on a document entitled Free and Open Indo-Pacific released by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Japan's national interest in the Indo-Pacific region is to promote peace, stability and prosperity throughout the region, making the Indo-Pacific free and open as an "international public good", by ensuring a rules-based international order including the rule of law, freedom of navigation and overflight, peaceful settlement of disputes, and promotion of free trade (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2022). When dissected by Natcherlein's (1979) concept of national interests, based on its basic goals, Japan's national interests in the Indo-Pacific region are as follows:

a. Defense Interests

Based on interviews with the Embassy of Japan in Indonesia, Japan's national interest in the Indo-Pacific region in the defense aspect is to maintain Japanese sovereignty, especially over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands. Chinese activity on this island is getting higher from time to time. The China Coast Guard (CGC) and other Chinese ships frequently intrude into the Senkaku/Diaoyu Island area. So, this became a serious threat to Japan's defense. Until now the dispute is still not over.



Map of the Senkaku/Diaoyu Island Region

Source: (Berlianto, 2016)

This is in accordance with the Japanese Defense White Paper which is issued annually. In the White Paper, the threats surrounding Japan include China's military increase which is considered to endanger Japan, Russia's aggression against Ukraine, and North Korea's provocation which repeatedly launches ballistic missiles including ICBMs. Besides that, non-traditional threats such as pandemics, natural disasters, terrorism, and maritime crimes are also serious problems for Japan (Ministry of Defense of Japan, 2022).

b. Economic interest

Japan's economic interests, according to an interview with the Embassy of Japan in Indonesia are that Japan needs energy sources and basic materials from various countries. Which sources of energy and staples are distributed by sea. Therefore, the security of sea lanes is very important, especially related to the continuity of export and import. In 2020 Japan was ranked fourth for total exports and ranked fifth in the world's largest import ranking (OEC, 2020) Japan's economy is also heavily dependent on its relationship with China. Therefore, since 2017 Japan has been trying to improve its relations with China diplomatically. Japan will try to avoid a serious political conflict with China. Japan's economic interests depend on the economic regionalization of the Indo-Pacific, the FOIP's vision will continue to emphasize inclusiveness with China. While on the other hand it also emphasizes collective rule-making and adherence to international rules and norms.

c. World Order Interests

Japan has an interest in maintaining regional environmental stability as an effort to ensure the continuity of security and state interests in the Indo-Pacific region. In this case, Japan will make efforts to ensure a sense of security for the country and its citizens, including carrying out prevention and maintenance efforts for the short and long term.

c. Ideological Interests

In the ideological aspect, Japan's interests are that Japan wants to promote the values of peace, stability and prosperity in the region, by ensuring a rules-based international order including the rule of law, freedom of navigation and overflight, peaceful settlement of disputes, and promotion of free trade.

The national interest is the fundamental goal and the most determining factor that guides decision makers in formulating foreign policy. By understanding the national interests of each country and realizing that the two countries have something in common, namely wanting to create a safe and stable region, the two countries agreed to carry out defense cooperation. This defense cooperation is a manifestation of Japan's foreign policy in order to achieve the country's national interests in the region.

Implementation of Defense Cooperation between Indonesia and Japan in the Indo-Pacific Region

Defense cooperation between Indonesia and Japan officially began with the signing of a Memorandum between the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia and the Ministry of Defense of Japan regarding Cooperation and Exchange in the Defense Sector in 2015 which was held at the 2+2 Meeting between the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia and Japan (Ministry of Defense of Republic Indonesia, 2015). The memorandum agreed on defense cooperation within the scope of exchanging information on defense institutions and issues, as well as exchanging and sharing views and knowledge of common interest on various issues, one of which is related to the situation in the region. The MoU was then implemented in various forms of activity, including the following:

1. Meeting 2+2;
2. Cooperation Agreement on Transfer of Defense Equipment and Technology;
3. Military to Military Talks (MTMT) and Politico Military Talks (PM Talks);
4. Maritime Security FGD/Seminar 2018;
5. RI-Japan Cyber Working Group in 2016;
6. Indonesia-Japan Maritime Forum (IJMF);
7. Collaboration between Bakamla RI (Indonesian Coast Guard) and the Japan Coast Guard (JCG);
8. Increasing cooperation in the field of maritime cooperation such as remote island development, maritime surveillance and maritime law enforcement, as well as humanitarian assistance and disaster relief;
9. Fisheries cooperation through grants of 2 (two) fishery monitoring vessels and grants;
10. Provision of ODA (Official Development Assistance) loans in the field of disaster prevention;
11. Cooperation in the Sulu-Sulawesi Sea and affirming the strengthening of cooperation in the field of economic security, including in the supply chain and digital sectors, as well as in anti-terrorism measures;
12. Visiting Navy Ships and participating in training with Sail Komodo;
13. Exchange of soldiers and students;
14. HADR Training and Seminars, International Law of the Sea, Oceanography, and International Aviation Law.

The defense cooperation carried out by the two countries is aimed at achieving their respective national interests both in the aspects of defense, economic, world order and ideological interests.

Obstacles in The Implementation of Defense Cooperation Indonesia and Japan

In the implementation of defense cooperation, it should be carried out in the principle of equality to achieve common interests and mutual benefits. However, in the implementation of defense cooperation between Indonesia and Japan in the Indo-Pacific region, there are still obstacles that can hinder the smooth running of cooperation. The first obstacle is related to the internal condition of Japanese society. Based on an interview with the Embassy of Republic Indonesia in Japan, the national trauma experienced by Japanese citizens after the nuclear bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki made some Japanese people reluctant to have a large military force. They prefer Japan to focus on economic development, rather than defense. Another obstacle according to the Embassy of Republic Indonesia in Japan was the existence of the Japan-US alliance agreement which prevented Japan from carrying out its foreign policy freely. Japan's foreign policy needs to consider US foreign policy. This can be seen in the Japan Defense White

Paper which is issued every year. In the Japanese Defense White Paper, the Japan-US alliance is one of the three main pillars of Japan's defense (Ministry of Defense of Japan, 2022).

Then the third obstacle is related to Constitution No. 9 Japan which prohibits the use of force as a means of settling international disputes. In the implementation of several bilateral cooperation platforms between Indonesia and Japan, this constitution is not that much of an obstacle. However, this constitution only felt an obstacle when Indonesia and Japan agreed to cooperate in the Transfer of Defense Equipment and Technology which was signed on March 30, 2021. Based on an interview with the Indonesian Ministry of Defense explained that in this cooperation agreement, Indonesia and Japan agreed to build Mogami class Frigates in collaboration with Japan's Mitsubishi Heavy Industry (MHI). Unfortunately, in transferring defense equipment and technology, Japan has a principle that prohibits Japan from transferring defense equipment and technology to any country for purposes contrary to the constitution, namely prohibiting the use of force as a means of settling international disputes. Meanwhile, Indonesia made this frigate with the aim of strengthening maritime defense. Especially in responding to threats in the Natuna Island. Where in this area foreign military and fishing vessels often enter the territory of Indonesian sovereignty.

In an interview with the Japanese Embassy in Jakarta, the obstacles to cooperation in the transfer of defense equipment and technology is that it was very difficult to reach an agreement on the extent to which this transfer of defense equipment and technology would be carried out. Considering that the transfer of defense equipment and technology, especially in the field of defense, is a sensitive matter. Therefore, it is very difficult to achieve mutual benefits and satisfaction between the Government of Indonesia and Japanese companies. Bearing in mind that in defense cooperation there are principles of equality and mutual benefit, this needs to be done carefully.

Another obstacle according to Prof Makarim Wibisono is the difference in the principles of the ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific adopted by Indonesia and Japan's Free and Open Indo-Pacific. When viewed from AOIP, Indonesia and ASEAN member countries want the Indo-Pacific region to be an inclusive region, so that all actors or countries can enter. However, the Indo-Pacific idea that Japan owns along with its alliance which is incorporated in QUAD (Japan, the US, Australia, and India) wants the Indo-Pacific region only for groups of countries that are inconsistent with democratic principles, excluding China. Although, currently there are indications that Japan's FOIP concept has started to open up to any country, including China. However, this openness is only limited to economic relations, considering that Japan's economy is very dependent on China. What is expected in the future is how QUAD or AUKUS will be more inclusive, not just exclusive. Then the external obstacle experienced in implementing this bilateral cooperation was the COVID-19 pandemic. The existence of this pandemic has hampered the movement of human activities and goods between countries. So that several meetings, seminars, trainings that should be carried out in person must be carried out online. Even the delivery of grant ships from Japan to Indonesia has also been hampered due to this pandemic.

Conclusion

The current situation in the Indo-Pacific region is unstable and full of traditional and traditional threats. This certainly endangers the national security of countries in the region and outside the region. Based on the assessment of the situation in the Indo-Pacific region, Indonesia and Japan as countries located in the Indo-Pacific region have their own national interests. Based on its level, Indonesia's national interest in the Indo-Pacific region is included in the major issue, while based on its objectives, it includes aspects of defense, economic, world order, and ideological interests. Based on its level, Japan's national interests in the Indo-Pacific region are included in vital issues, while based on their objectives, they include aspects of defense, economic, world order, and ideological interests.

The implementation of Indonesia and Japan's defense cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region was carried out based on the Memorandum between the Indonesian Ministry of Defense and the Japanese Ministry of Defense regarding Cooperation and Exchange in the Defense Sector in 2015. From the memorandum, various defense cooperation activities were carried out in accordance with the contents of the memorandum. In the implementation of defense cooperation between Indonesia and Japan in the Indo-Pacific region, various obstacles were found that could hinder the implementation of defense cooperation. These obstacles include the national trauma experienced by the Japanese people after the nuclear bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki; the existence of a Japan-US alliance agreement; discrepancy between the agreement on the transfer of defense equipment and technology with Japan's Constitution No. 9; difference between AOIP concept and Japanese FOIP; and constraints due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

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