

Indonesia “Active Free” Strategic Culture in Maintaining the “Balance of the Power” on the Southeast Asia Area

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Abstract

The struggle for influence and power between west and east in the Southeast Asea Region needs to understand Indonesia's “Active Free” Strategic Culture as an indicator. Indonesia's neutrality in the regional political stage has been tested in the long history of ASEAN. Free and active strategic culture is a basic adaptive value that Indonesia has in understanding threats, the ability to respond to various interests and agreement not to interfere in the affairs of their respective countries. This study focuses on analyzing the free and active strategic culture in Indonesian defense diplomacy and analyzing how the Ministry of Defense uses the active and free strategic culture in strengthening Indonesia's defense diplomacy in the region of Southeast Asia. This research uses a qualitative method with a phenomenology approach. The results of the study show that officials at the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, National Defense Institute, and Indonesia Defence University related to a free and active strategic culture in strengthening Indonesia's defense diplomacy in the Southeast Asian region. The conclusion is that the Free Active strategic culture is still relevant as an instrument to adapt and strengthen Indonesia's defense diplomacy in the Southeast Asia region.

Keywords: Strategic Culture, Free Active, Strategic, Diplomacy, ASEAN and Defense Diplomacy

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1. Introduction

Defense Studies places defense planning as a constitutive element of defense and strategic studies. The use or not use of force in policy decision making in foreign relations, military operations, and global external involvement (Breitenbauch, H., & Jakobsson, A. K., 2018). The dynamics that need to be observed in the next five (5) years include economic growth that has implications for the development of military power, especially in the Asia Pacific region. This dynamic dramatically influences the increasingly complex and multidimensional patterns and forms of threats, in the form of military threats, non-military threats, and hybrid threats that can be categorized as real and not yet real threats (Indonesia Defence White Paper). So that the dynamics of the international strategic environment always carry implications, both positive and negative, on the other side simultaneously, which directly or indirectly affect national development. Positive implications bring benefits in supporting national ideals, goals, and interests, while negative implications lead to increasing potential threats to the survival of the country. Various issues that take place in the global sphere have intercorrelations and inter-implications on other issues in the regional and national spheres, and vice versa. So that it becomes a threat that was originally traditional (military), now and in the future, it will be dominated by non-military threats or collaboration between the two and are multidimensional in nature. These threats can be carried out by state and non-state actors.

Strategic culture theory is developed for the first time in modern security research and defense policy by the writings of Ken Booth. He defines as traditions, values, attitudes, behavior patterns, habits of a nation, symbols, achievements, and special ways of adapting to the environment and solving related problems with a threat and use of force. Then Jack Synder in 1977 saw that the Soviet Union's strategic thinking was a set of general beliefs, attitudes, and behavior patterns of its military elite, which was seen as based on its culture in other words against US hegemony. In 1981, strategist Colin S. Gray argued that different national styles, which were rooted in historical experience and formed distinctive characteristics in the making of a country's strategy. Thus defining strategic culture as a way of thinking and acting by calculating the strength, which comes from the perception of the historical experience of a nation, the perception of oneself and the unique experiences that shape a society. Snyder, together with Colin Gray and Ken Booth, are considered as the first generation strategic cultural experts who examine the link between strategic culture and nuclear weapons policy to security policy. Next, Alastair Iain Johnston, entitled *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History*, is considered a strategic cultural expert representing the third generation, conducting studies focused on the character of Chinese strategic culture and causal links in the use of military force to counter external threats. Another strategic culture expert, Johnston, argues that strategic culture as an environment of ideas that limits the choice of behavior so that one can predict the strategic culture of a country that is the country of China, he concluded that there are two (2) Chinese strategic cultures, among others first, a series of assumptions and ranking preferences symbolic or idea and second, reflecting the hard realpolitical strategic culture that the best way to

deal with security threats is to get rid of them by means of using force. He also separates strategic culture from the strategic behavior of the country and remains within a good distance and its influence can be tested scientifically.

Furthermore, there are several strategic cultural experts, namely Gray argues that strategic behavior cannot be separated from strategic cultural thinking, so the method used is a method that helps researchers to understand and not explain strategic behavior. Thus, the analysis of strategic culture must be driven by the desire to interpret the meaning of strategic behavior rather than an attempt to explain the cause of the behavior and strategic cultural theory cannot accept the comparative theory testing that is usually done by positivists.

Indonesia was born as an independent country free from foreign intervention and did not take sides with any country so that the concept of Free and Active politics was born. At the beginning of Indonesia's independence facing the Western and Eastern Bloc in the Cold War era, Bung Hatta said "Rowing between the Two Corals", international political conditions which happened to be a big challenge for Indonesia in determining the choice of the fate of the Indonesian people until now so formulating a Foreign Policy. Starting from this, it became the implementation of every Indonesian Foreign Policy. However, every leadership had differences due to experiencing different national conditions and interests. The defense diplomacy strategy is used to integrate military and diplomatic instruments related to managing crises and conflict prevention. Defense diplomacy has traditionally been understood as a tool of a country's defense and security policy to find friends or alliances. In its development, post-traditional defense diplomacy aims to build good relations with other countries to reduce uncertainty in the international environment aimed at national interests. National interest (national interest) is the main pillar for his theory of foreign policy and realist international politics. This Morgenthau approach is so well known that it has become a dominant paradigm in international political studies after World War II. Morgenthau's thought is based on the premise that diplomatic strategies must be based on national interests. Thus, Morgenthau develops abstract concepts and whose meanings are not easily defined, namely power and interests, which he considers as a means and at the same time a goal and international political action so that he states that the national interests of each country are the pursuit of power, that is, anything that can shape and maintain a country's control over another country.

2. Literature Review

The development of the term "strategic culture" and its use in modern security research and defense policy begins with the writings of Ken booth (1990) defining it as traditions, values, attitudes, behavior patterns, habits of a nation, symbols, achievements and specific ways of adapting to the environment and solving problems related to a threat and using force. Whereas Jack Snyder, at the end of 1977, about the strategic thinking of the Soviet Union, which, according to him, was a series of general beliefs, attitudes, and behavior patterns of his military elite, which were seen based on their culture. According to him, rationalism and game theory in International Relations are unable to explain why certain countries have unique and different behavior from one another while opposing the intellectual hegemony of "American Strategic Man". Furthermore, in 1981, strategist Colin S. Gray argued that different national styles rooted in historical experience eventually formed distinctive characteristics in the strategy-making of a country such as the US and the Soviet Union. Furthermore, he defines strategic culture as a way of thinking and acting by calculating the strength, which comes from the perception of the historical experience of a nation, the perception of oneself, and the unique experiences that shape a society. Furthermore, Snyder, together with Colin Gray and Ken Booth, were considered as the first generation strategic cultural experts who examined the link between strategic culture and nuclear weapons policy and assumed that strategic culture was a semi-permanent influence on security policy. This strategic cultural study then increasingly developed in the 1990s, along with the advancing paradigm of constructivism.

Nearly all strategic cultural experts devote their attention to highlighting aspects of national culture that play a role in influencing security policy. As we know, national culture includes many elements. In accordance with the framework of the first generation of strategic cultural experts, Jeannie L. Johnson then constructs by determining which elements of the national culture are most prominent in influencing a country's security policy, which then forms its unique strategic culture. Johnson himself argues that strategic culture is a set of beliefs, assumptions, and ways of behavior originating from shared experiences and shared narratives (both verbally and in writing) that shape collective identity and relationships with other groups, and determine goals and appropriate ways to achieve goals security. Accordingly, according to Johnson, some elements of national culture that are considered to be able to survive long as forming a country's strategic culture are identity, norms, values, and perceptive lenses. Thus in understanding national culture related to security issues is the first step to understanding strategic culture at the next level.

According to Goldstein & Pevehouse said that the definition of Foreign Policy is a strategic policy taken by the government in determining their actions in the international world (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2013, p. 147). According to Waltz (1979) that international politics is depicted as an element of government and a mix of elements of community-supranational organizations, whether universal or regional, alliances, multinational

companies, trade networks, or not so that the international political system is considered anarchist. Indonesia, in its foreign policy, adheres to the principle of free and active, which is enshrined in the national interest. Based on Article 37 of Law No, 37 of 1999. In its explanation is a foreign policy which is essentially not a neutral politics, but a foreign policy that is free to determine attitudes and policies on international issues and does not bind themselves a priori to one world power and actively make a contribution, both in the form of thought and active participation in resolving conflicts, disputes, and other world problems, for the realization of a world order based on independence, eternal peace, and social justice.

The culture of Free Active Strategy is basically active in utilizing constructive western and eastern interactions. For this reason, constructivism is one of the mainstream perspectives in the study of International Relations (IR) in understanding the strategic culture of free and active Indonesia. Constructivism arises as a thought in seeing international organizations. That explicitly the constructivist assumption sees the world order as 'intersubjectivity', there are no concrete values, which are certain, or objectively able to explain the world order. The assumption of constructivism is (Jackson & Sorensen, 2009, p. 307) namely: The social world is not something given, but the social world which is an area of intersubjectivity or in other words the social world is very meaningful for the people who make it and live in it, and who understand it.

As for the theories prior to constructivism, namely realism and liberalism, they have explanations that contradict each other over international organizations. Realism sees that the international system is something that anarchy has only the state that has the highest authority to see international organizations as a situation of the balance of power so that the state always adheres to its main objectives, namely security and survival while liberalism sees the international organization as a reflection of cooperation among countries that are able to achieve common interests.

In the constructivism perspective, active free politics is formed between western bloc liberalism and eastern bloc realism, which are not pro against the Russian Soviet Union and the Anglo-Saxon so that the thought is directed to encourage cooperation between each of the opposing blocs. The constructivist approach, in this case, has several indicators that can describe human security issues, including norms, identity, and interests. Indonesia, which is in the Southeast Asia region, has the same collective identity, norms, and objectives as other countries, namely rejecting colonialism and prioritizing security stability so that a regional mechanism in the Southeast Asian region is realized in the form of an association of ASEAN countries.

Not only from the perspective of constructivism Active Free Strategic Culture is sometimes biased from the perspective of the balance of power is a concept of global politics, where the behavior of a country is determined by the environmental situation, which is part of realism or political realism in international relations. Balance of power is a theory explaining how a country's behavior responds when facing another country's power. Waltz, in his article entitled "Theory of International Politics," states the balance of power theory as the development of theories of the international political system (Waltz, 1979, p. 65). What follows is explained that the similarity of certain behaviors towards countries in the same region is not identical due to national or domestic factors caused by their external actions and policies due to the link between national and international.

3. Research Methods

This study uses a qualitative-descriptive method to explore research questions. Creswell explained that qualitative research is. "The means for exploring and understanding the meaning of individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem". In essence, this study intends to examine why and how a phenomenon occurs. The selection of qualitative methods is based on several arguments; from a number of research designs that have surfaced this, researchers will conduct research with research designs with qualitative methods. The selection of qualitative methods is based on several arguments, namely; Researchers examine the reality that has been obtained in the initial study that the research problems have not been seen real or clear, related to a free active strategic culture.

Through this phenomenology approach, the existence of a variety of experiences from activities on research subjects chosen by the researcher in accordance with the roles, authorities, and responsibilities carried out, will provide a real picture of the phenomenon. Researchers look for data in the field through in-depth interviews and reviewing documents to search for and find "Accordance accidentally (intentionality) free as an active free active culture." Moreover, through this phenomenology approach, finding noema noesis, whereas a subject is a strategic culture and the object is active free. Further discussion related to the research design designed by the researcher will provide a detailed explanation related to the source and subject of the study, the place and time of the study, data collection techniques accompanied by data validity techniques, and data analysis techniques.

4. Research Results and Discussion

In 2018, the total population of ASEAN member countries will be around 647.45 million. Indonesia is not only a founding member of ASEAN, but Indonesia is also the largest contributor in terms of gross domestic product and also one of the member countries with a positive trade balance. In addition, he has the highest number of

residents so far. Around one-third of all people in ASEAN live in Indonesia and are also one of the most populous countries in the world. Among ASEAN members, this is, of course, the most powerful, not only in numbers but in large part because of its stable and growing economy. In July 2018, the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) released the Global Peace Index (GPI), which is an annual ranking list of the safest countries in the world, where ASEAN member countries are within. As for what is assessed are security and peace, three (3) categories of peace are ongoing conflicts, level of disputes, and militarization, which are further divided into several sub-categories and there is also an assessment of the level of crime, terrorism, weapons, corruption and government activities. According to World Bank data, the ranking of the economies of ASEAN member countries is based on the gross domestic product (GDP) and purchasing power parity (PPP) based on current prices of the US \$ 1,042 trillion or equivalent to Rp 14,837 trillion in 2018.

Geopolitics in the perspective of International Relations is a method of studying foreign policy to understand, explain, and predict international political behavior through geographical variables. This includes the study of regions, climate, topography, demographics, natural resources, and applied regional science that is being evaluated. The emergence of new forces results in a balance of power against hegemony in geopolitics. The geographical location of the Southeast Asian region and ASEAN is at the crossroads of the world. Geographical-ecological conditions that shaped Indonesia as a tropical archipelago and located at the crossroads of communication between the world regions in Southeast Asia also influence the development of demographic, economic, social, and cultural life of the Indonesian people. In addition, historical factors owned by Indonesia also influence the formation process of Indonesian society and nation and their identity, through the interaction of various factors in it. The result of the interaction of these various factors gave birth to the process of forming a society, nation, and nation-state along with the identity of the Indonesian nation, which emerged when nationalism developed in Indonesia in the early 20th century. Pancasila is the background of the formation of the archipelago insight, due to geopolitics and geostrategic based on Indonesia's geographical position. The direction and flow of Indonesian politics is a reflection of the Indonesian Cultural Strategy itself as a reflection of the Indonesian nation's geographical conditions in shape;

4.1 How to adapt to the Southeast Asian region

According to Dewi Fortuna Anwar (1996) who said that Indonesia's strategic culture was not limited to asking about the country's efforts to deal with problems, such as challenges facing international relations, but also asking questions relating to the development of military power. Nevertheless, that is non-offensive or diplomatic. This is a special way for the Indonesian people to adapt to the strategic environment by favoring one of the blocks or camps. Indonesia formulated the 2015-2019 National Defense General Policy as follows:

- a. The dynamics of the development of the strategic environment at the global, regional and national levels can change and accumulate into various forms of threats, risks, and opportunities for national interests and influence the management and implementation of national defense. Various forms of threats need to be identified and anticipated by analyzing various factors that influence directly or indirectly on national interests. Analysis of the strategic environment that is so dynamic and complex is one of the basic considerations in formulating policies. Noting the development of the strategic environment, the National Defense General Policy is directed at the implementation of national defense, which is arranged in layers and is universal.
- b. Geopolitics and Geostrategy, Indonesia's geographical position as an archipelagic and maritime nation located between two continents and two oceans, is the basis for formulating a national defense strategy. Conceptually, Indonesian geopolitics is the insight of the archipelago, namely the perspective and attitude of the Indonesian people regarding themselves and their geographical forms based on the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Whereas Indonesia's geostrategy is basically a national strategy of the Indonesian nation in utilizing the territory of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia as a public living space in order to design directives about development policies and targets to achieve national interests and goals. Indonesia's geostrategy is formulated in the form of the conception of national resilience. By paying attention to Indonesia's geopolitics and geostrategy, national defense development is adjusted to Indonesia's geographic constellation in order to ensure the sustainability of national development.

Furthermore, related to the policy of developing a national defense system that is integrated with the national security system in ensuring national interests are implemented by:

- a) Encourage the formation of a National Security Council that is able to integrate the national security policy framework.
- b) Assist the role of institutions in the security sector in formulating and integrating policies in the national security sector.
- c) Encourage the integration of institutions in the security sector with the national defense system.
- d) Support the improvement of coordination, control, and handling of national security.

"Free and active" strategy culture which means we are not neutral as passive but active. So the implementation of a free and active foreign policy requires hard work, needs many resources, needs much energy, needs a strong

mentality, needs a strong economy and needs a strong Armed Forces so that our influence increases, so we become a form of active and free form depends on one country. The Ministry of Defense and the TNI undertook engagements with partners in Southeast Asia free and active with the clash, not making the cooperative relationship not prevent us from continuing to work. However, in the implementation of a free and active foreign policy, the TNI and the Ministry of Defense are going in line with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including in defense cooperation.

In general, the birth of ASEAN, which made our free and active politics brought the stability of the region, which is the key and is a regional organization that prevents war so that economic, cultural, and other cooperation with inter and intra ASEAN countries is carried out. The philosophy of free and active has been owned by Indonesia since a long time ago who did not want to join the warring parties and was carried out until now. Even now, our divided world implements active free principle. Free to determine foreign policy and actively participate in world peace. So that the context of free and active culture is free to choose to collaborate with anyone and also active to make cooperation for the sake of stability in the area again the main guideline is the national interest

The strategic culture has been integrated with the ASEAN way in the ASEAN Charter, which is aimed at realizing peace and security stability that is oriented to values within the region and always prioritizing political, security, economic and socio-cultural cooperation. Nevertheless that the ASEAN Charter.

4.2 Culture Free Active Strategy in solving problems

According to the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that foreign policy in formulating a threat sees from the development of the strategic environment and from the defense side viewed from the geopolitical and geostrategic aspects. Through the Director General of the Asia Pacific Region, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that the free and active strategic culture was as follows: Indonesian Foreign Policy (Polugri) based on Mohammad Hatta's thoughts when delivering a speech before the KNIP Workers' Council Session on September 2, 1948 in Yogyakarta entitled "Rowing Between Two Corals "So far it has solidly shaped, colored and directed our polygons and still made Indonesia a country that has its own character in the international political arena. Of the two (2) foundations of thought, we have so far succeeded in directing Indonesia's dignified Polugri and fighting for national interests on the one hand while on the other hand not further exacerbating block/interest differences in the international community and in fact encouraging cooperation. The free-active principle given by the founders of our nation is basically not a matter of not making choices to entrench in one of the blocks but rather how we play a large role in the international political constellation while ensuring that our national interests are maintained. Maintaining a free and active policy needs to increase power and influence. So the implementation of a free and active foreign policy requires hard work, needs a lot of resources, needs a lot of energy, needs a strong mentality, needs a strong economy and needs a strong Armed Forces so that our influence increases thus is a form of active free and not dependent on one country. (Denny, 2020).

The definition above is a free and active strategic culture conveyed by the Director of Southeast Asia, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in simple language, which is not in favor of one of the camps / blocks, its implementation requires a great effort to increase power and influence by formulating threats aimed at national interests.

The philosophy of free and active has been owned by Indonesia since a long time ago who did not want to join the warring parties and was carried out until now. Even now, our divided world implements active free principle. Free to determine foreign policy and actively participate in world peace. So all countries are free according to their respective versions, but free and active Indonesia can be seen from the South China Sea, which does not favor one of the countries. In fact, by implementing the free and active, the indo-pacific region is not an area of contestation or competition between the two-state powers, namely China and America. We want to be influential players and not dictate them. (Dyah, 2020)

The Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2015-2019 states that Indonesia's foreign policy, which is free and active, is still carried out using the all-directions foreign policy approach. At a practical level, good relations and cooperation in all countries are implemented in the spirit of a million friends, zero enemies. This approach is sharpened by Indonesia's focus on becoming a bridge-builder for various interests and positions in the international arena, as a form of Indonesia's contribution to world order, lasting peace and social justice.

4.3 Perceptions of free politics are active in the use of force.

In using the strength of the Indonesian people to consider various parties, not only in the country but also in friendly countries. Some of his opinions are related to the perception of free and active politics in the use of force as follows: that the people play an active role in determining state policy, including determining foreign policy, determining defense policy, strategies to resolve problems with other countries that are based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. (Suratno, 2019). State policies, including the determination of foreign policy, have an

active role of the people found in Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. That free and active politics in international relations will find the philosophy and values of a country. Strengthening relations and binding between countries in international relations will be formed into a strategic culture and will find universal values that do not conflict with each other, for example, togetherness, mutual cooperation and so on. (Zakky, 2019). Strategic culture relates to norms and values and strategic environmental studies that start from the global, regional and national environment through the eight (8) Gatra approach namely geography, demographics, natural resources, defense, and security Ipoeksosbud and the use of force in resolving disputes and conflicts are avoided wherever possible (Rudiwan, 2019)

Indonesia's free and active strategic culture is leading in ASEAN, becoming a role model. For example, the state of Singapore has become a role model in the economic field. Judging from its historical aspect, Singapore was granted independence from Malaysia. Countries in the Southeast Asian region before becoming a member of ASEAN have learned the values of togetherness that are implemented in mutual cooperation, cooperation, and sitting equally low standing together high, which is a strategic culture. ASEAN ways can also be concluded as a strategic culture of each ASEAN member country. The strategic culture has been integrated with the ASEAN way in the ASEAN Charter, which is aimed at realizing peace and security stability that is oriented to values within the region and always prioritizing political, security, economic and socio-cultural cooperation. (Pitoyo, 2019). ASEAN Way is an agreement not to use military force in solving problems

The ASEAN Way implementation prioritizes regional security stability. Responding to attacks in October 2016 and August 2017 against security forces in the northern Rakhine state by members of the Arakan Rohingya Rescue Army (ARSA), a Rohingya militant group, resulting in a military crackdown on Rohingya residents and reportedly caused thousands of deaths and human rights violations. In September 2019, Insecurity continued in Rakhine state with ongoing clashes between the military and ethnic Rakhine rebels, while an alliance of ethnic armed groups in the northeast announced a break in fighting. Violence continued in several cities in Rakhine State when the Arakan Army and security forces clashed. Unknown assailant on September 1 stabbed a police officer who was not on duty to death in the city of Ponnagyun, the bodies of two decapitated and mutilated men found in Myebon city on September 10, prompting the military to declare the situation in the area "resembling anarchy". The UN Fact Finding Mission on 17 September presented a final report on alleged human rights violations by the Myanmar military and security forces to the Human Rights Council, identifying patterns of ongoing attacks "aimed at erasing identity and removing" Rohingya from Myanmar, as well as persecution military during operations in the states of Rakhine, Shan, and Kachin. (<https://www.crisisgroup.org>)

Related to the conflict in Rohingya Myanmar, that Indonesia considers it an international event so that the Government of the Republic of Indonesia takes policies, attitudes, and steps to achieve national goals in accordance with article 1 number 37 of the 1999 NRI Law, Pancasila and the opening of the 1945 Constitution regarding humanitarian tragedies and Alinea fourth (4) carry out order and peace. In addition, fellow ASEAN member countries Indonesia support in maintaining.

5. Cultivation of an Active Free Strategy Culture

Foreign policy is a reflection, which in turn is the essence of national identity. National identity in which is influenced by international structures to achieve national interests (Jepperson et al., 1996: 53-65). According to the 2015-2019 National Defense General Policy that Indonesia's geostrategy is basically a national strategy of the Indonesian nation in utilizing the territory of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia as a national living space in order to design directives about development policies and targets to achieve national interests and goals. Indonesia's geostrategy is formulated in the form of the conception of national resilience.

Indonesia itself has established a policy that defense diplomacy is an inseparable element of total government diplomacy by following the government's foreign policy and coordinating with relevant stakeholders. Related to the relationship of in line cooperation with active free politics, so defense is the context of defending from within or from us how the outside parties and on the other hand how to establish relations with outsiders. So in line with foreign relations. The Ministry of Defense is also free to enter into any defense cooperation. Moreover, the most important point is to participate in maintaining world peace actively. So that the free strategic culture is active in strengthening defense diplomacy as a basis for values in providing advice, opinions, decisions to the government for the national interest.

In Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 3 of 2002 of state defense, the defense states that national defense starts with the philosophy and outlook of life of the Indonesian people to guarantee and uphold the Unitary Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. In this Law, it is stated that all efforts to maintain state sovereignty, territorial integrity of the Unitary Republic of the Republic Indonesia, and the safety of all nations from threats and disturbances to the integrity of the nation and state. Strategic culture in which there are a threat and national security into a single unit that needs to look at geopolitics and geostrategic. In addition, strategic culture can be used to assess how other countries are our concern because, in culture, it can be a consideration, calculation of how in the formulation of national defense policies.

State sovereignty, territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia and the safety of the nation. When this is a vital interest for the Indonesian people, to carry out these defenses. Indonesia determined to use a deterrence strategy. Lawrence Freedman in his book *Deterrence* explains the main principle of deterrence, namely that the actual deterrence is a coercive strategy. Coercive is defined by Freedman as: "the potential or actual application of force to influence the action of a voluntary agent." The concept of deterrence developed in defense strategies to prevent war is a strategy of denial by denial and denial by retaliation (retaliation).

The strategic cultural analysis must be driven by a desire to interpret the meaning of strategic behavior rather than an attempt to explain the cause of the behavior, and strategic cultural theory cannot accept the comparative theory testing that is usually carried out by positivists. However, there are differences in the views of the first generation, second and third, and then the analysis tool uses the first generation because it has clear elements as a reference for the analysis. According to Gray, Some elements that influence security policy are not always appropriate when incorporated into a strategic cultural framework, because culture must have a long-lasting nature not only in the form of opinions, current attitudes or shifting patterns of behavior. Next, Jeannie L. Johnson then determines which elements of the national culture are most prominent in influencing a country's security policy, which then forms its unique strategic culture, due to aspects of national culture that play a role in influencing security policy.

Defense diplomacy is a concept that was coined by the UK through the Strategic Defense Review in 1998. Defense diplomacy was initially intended to integrate military and diplomatic instruments related to conflict prevention and managing crises (Center Thucydide, 2003). Basically, there are three (3) main variants of defense diplomacy (Multazam, 2009, p. 14) the first is defense diplomacy for confidence-building measures (CBM), second is defense diplomacy for defense capabilities and finally defense diplomacy for defense industry so that each through bilateral and multilateral cooperation mechanisms. Cooperation holds the principle of mutual benefit and aims to achieve national interests in the field of defense carried out in peacetime and the basis of values in providing advice, opinions, decisions to the government.

6. Conclusions and Recommendations

The reality that strategic culture is a collection of traditions, values, attitudes, behavioral patterns, habits of a nation, symbols of achievement and special ways of adapting to the environment and solving problems related to a threat and the use of force into a strategic environment analysis in the form of geographic constellations, geopolitics, and geostrategy. So that the strategic culture of the theory of Ken Booth, Synder, Gray, and Jeannie L. Johnson can be used as an instrument to adapt, solve problems, and guide the use of force in the strategic environment of the Southeast Asian region. However, a free and active strategic culture in its use requires a large amount of energy to provide influence and strength in accordance with international norms.

Strategic culture in assessing related to security and behavior of international relations needs to be built a study and analysis of strategic culture so that there is a comprehensive understanding of the strategic culture of free active and easily understood and implemented in the concept of organizing and managing national defense that can be elaborated in strategic policies in the framework of defense country. So that the need for systems and mechanisms to be mutually agreed upon between each agency to be built to utilize a free and active strategic culture in strengthening defense diplomacy in balancing and strengthening the defense system, so that it can be implemented as a basis for values in the arrangements for providing suggestions, opinions, agendas, formulations policy, decision making, implementation, the decision to the government, to policy evaluation and the need for conditions and effects as indicators of success.

There is the famous Sun Tzu phrase, "If you know the enemy and know yourself, you need not fear the result of hundred battles." ... or know the enemy and yourself, you will not be afraid of the results of a hundred battles that this expression is the result of prediction because we know and compare the strength of self and enemy.

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