



## Indonesian Defense Diplomacy in Achieving Cyber Security Through ADMM-Plus 2014-2019

Samuel Mangara Sianturi

Departemen Hubungan Internasional, Universitas Indonesia  
Depok, Jawa Barat

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### Abstract

*Cyber security issues began to emerge along with advances in the field of information technology and the rapid increase in internet use. However, the greater the need for the internet in the daily activities of the world community, the more potential international security threats arise from activities within the cyber scope. Given the "borderless" nature of cybercrime, it is necessary to deal with other countries. Indonesia's participation in ADMM-Plus illustrates Indonesia's efforts to achieve national interests, namely cyber security through the external environment. This study aims to discuss Indonesia's defense diplomacy in achieving cyber security through ADMM-Plus 2014-2019. By using defense diplomacy theory and qualitative methods, this research illustrates that Indonesia's diplomacy in ADMM-Plus is still at an early stage, so it is difficult to say that the diplomacy has not been maximized. However, the presence of ADMM-Plus has a positive impact on Indonesia, especially in terms of cyber security.*

**Keywords:** ADMM, ADMM-plus, cyber security, defense diplomacy

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### INTRODUCTION

International security issues faced by countries in the world are constantly changing and expanding. Now international security issues are starting to lead to non-traditional security issues that have various forms of new security threats. One of them is the issue of cyber security. Cyber security issues began to emerge along with advances in the field of information technology and the rapid increase in internet use. However, the greater the need for the internet in the daily activities of the world's people, the more potential international security threats arise from activities within the scope of cyber or cyberspace.

Kittichaisaree (2017) in his work entitled *Public International Law of Cyberspace* sees several forms of problems in the world of cyberspace that can be a threat to the state. The first is *Cyber Espionage*. *Cyber espionage* is the activity of stalking or spying to collect information without obtaining permission from the rightful owner of the information. The second is *cybercrime*. Cybercrime itself has various forms such as; malicious domains, ransom ware, malware, botnets, crypto jacking, and other cybercrimes that continue to grow along with technological advances. The third is *cyber terrorism*. Cyber terrorism itself means acts of terrorism that are in cyberspace or computer network devices, such as hijacking aircraft navigation, hijacking public transportation using computer devices and others (Kittichaisaree, 2017: 297).

The cyber security problem described by Kittichaisaree (2017) turned out to have also happened in Indonesia. The first problem is *cyber espionage*. Reporting from Tempo.co, there are four major wiretappings that have occurred in Indonesia and two of them were carried out by Australia. The first was the wiretapping of the official residence of the then Governor of DKI Jakarta, Joko Widodo in 2014. The second was the wiretapping of the KPK against the Head of the Criminal Investigation Department, Susno Duadji. The third is wiretapping by telephone operators. New York Times and the Canberra Times reported the alleged wiretapping 1,8 million subscribers of Telkomsel and Indosat by NSA and Australian intelligence agencies. Fourth is the wiretapping of the Indonesian government by Australia. The wiretapping conducted in 2009 focused on the circumference of the Indonesian Presidential Palace, namely Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, including the presidential family. (Istman, 2014)

The second problem is *cybercrime* or cybercrime. Based on data from the Kaspersky security network (KSN) that banks and SMEs (Small and Medium Enterprises) in Indonesia were

targeted by *hackers* in the first quarter of 2020. SMEs in Indonesia experienced the second most cyber-attacks in Southeast Asia (CNN Indonesia, 2020). Not only that, in 2010, according to data from antivirus companies Sophos and Symantec, Indonesia was in the top three positions in the list of countries infected with *Stuxnet* (Detik.com, 2010) The official website of the Indonesian government was not spared from cyber-attacks. According to the Indonesian Institute for Security Incidents Response Team on Internet Infrastructure (ID-SIRTII), a website owned by the Indonesian government with the domain name *internet.go.id* is the most targeted target by hackers in cyberspace, compared to other domains. It was recorded that in 2014 there were 3,288 incidents of attacks on government sites with the *.go.id* domain. (Rahmanto, 2015).

The third problem is *cyber terrorism*. In 2016, according to the National Police Chief Gen. Tito Karnavian, currently terrorists are recruiting members and training bombs through social media. In addition, terrorist actors also seek funds through bitcoin. One of the cases is the alleged terrorist Nur Solihin, who often carries out acts of terrorism through social media. (Hidayat, 2016)

Based on these problems, threats originating from cyberspace can cause disruption to the economic, political, and social sectors and even disrupt national security and defense (Primawati & Pangestu, 2020: 8). Mengingat the nature of cyber-crime "borderless" then necessarily need treatment involving other countries. Opt-in Indonesia in ADMM-Plus describe Indonesia's efforts to achieve national interests through the external environment.

ADMM is a meeting forum for Defense Ministers from ASEAN member countries. This forum is an arena for defense diplomacy that raises the themes of security cooperation such as cooperation in natural disaster management, building trust and openness, and exchanging information. ADMM has also experienced significant development by involving partner countries outside ASEAN. This expansion led to the addition of the ADMM name to ADMM- Plus. The security areas that are the focus of ADMM-Plus also include practical security cooperation, namely cooperation in non-traditional security fields.

One of the main focuses of ADMM-Plus is cyber issues and strengthening cyber security. As of 2019, there have been 5 ADMM-Plus meetings related to cyber security. During this period, there were several achievements, including the establishment of a *cyber security portal*, *glossary of cyber terminologies* and *points of contact and technical personnel directory* where all three have been tested in the *Table Top Exercise* in the Philippines (Kemhan, 2019). This shows that cyber problems are one of the important issues discussed in ADMM – Plus.

According to Fitri (2018) in her work entitled *National Cyber Policy in the Era of Globalization*, international cooperation can be a solution to improve Indonesia's cyber security today. Therefore, this paper will look at Indonesia's defense diplomacy in ADMM – Plus by using defense diplomacy theory.

## RESEARCH METHODS

This research is a qualitative research. According to Alan Bryman (2004), qualitative research tends to focus more on words than on the quantification of numbers in data collection and analysis. Qualitative research methods emphasize context description because detailed discussion is very important to show the significance of the research subject and provide an explanation of the context in which an event that is the focus of research occurs (Bryman, 2004: 366–367). In addition, according to Neumann (2014) qualitative methods of research Interpret data in a way to make sense of the data obtained. In qualitative research there is what is called theory and data. Data and theory are a unit in which the data obtained are literated, inventoried, qualified, then the problem is described with the existing facts and compiled in an article. (Neumann, 2014:13)

This study uses two techniques in collecting data, the first is literature study. The author studies various literatures related to research phenomena, especially regarding concepts and theories used in research. The second is the interview. Interviews were conducted with the guidelines that have been prepared. This was done to obtain important data related to the research phenomenon. (Creswell, 2010: 266–270).

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This study uses defense diplomacy as the main analytical framework. Defense diplomacy is a concept aimed at integrating military and diplomatic instruments related to conflict prevention and crisis management. In general, there are several definitions of defense diplomacy. Matsuda Yasuhiro (2006) in his writing entitled *An Essay on China's Military Diplomatic: Examination of Intentions in Foreign Strategy* provides an understanding of defense diplomacy as all diplomatic activities related to national security and military diplomatic activities (Yasuhiro, 2006: 3). According to Juan Emilio Cheyre (2013), defense diplomacy activities in the modern era are one component of public diplomacy which has the aim of maintaining peace, protecting the territorial integrity of the country, and avoiding the emergence of conflicts through international cooperation.

In its development, there are three forms or variants of defense diplomacy, namely *Defense diplomacy for confidence building measures*, *Defense diplomacy for defense capabilities*, and *Defense diplomacy for defense industry* (Multazam, 2010: 14). By using the three variants of defense diplomacy, the author will see how far Indonesia's defense diplomacy is related to cyber security in ADMM-Plus.

The first form of defense diplomacy is *Defense diplomacy for confidence building measures* (CBM). Defense diplomacy is carried out to build good relations with other countries and aims to reduce tension or eliminate negative perceptions between countries (Cottey & Foster, 2004: 15-16). The success of a good defense diplomacy relationship in terms of CBM will form an environment of mutual trust between the parties.

Based on the explanations related to the achievement of the ADMM - Plus which has explained previously shown that cooperation by Indonesia with the country - countries that joined the ADMM - Plus related to cyber security is still early exploratory stage. At five meetings from 2017 to 2019, discussions related to cyber security were still around the definition of cyber security and the legal framework. Although it is still in the early stages, this is an important step because there needs to be an understanding regarding cyber security.

*“Essentially the understanding is returned to each country within the country or national understanding because if we talk about cyber security, even then the cyber security that is understood by one country to another is not necessarily the same. For example, if Indonesia understands it as cyber security, Russia understands it as information security” (Interview with Wely, ASN BSSN on 7 May 2021)*

The second form of defense diplomacy is *Defense diplomacy for defense capabilities*. Defense diplomacy for defense capabilities is carried out in order to materially strengthen defense capabilities such as defense equipment and other defense components. (Matthews, 2001: 1-9) As previously explained, there has been no significant thing from Indonesia's defense diplomacy in ADMM-Plus, particularly related to cyber security. However, with the change of ADMM to ADMM - Plus which involves countries outside ASEAN, it is hoped that in the future it will be able to increase the defense capabilities of ADMM members, especially related to cyber security. This is as explained by Chalermpanupap (2011) in his article entitled *Potential, Prospects and Direction of Practical Cooperation within the Framework of ADMM-Plus* that one of the reasons for changing ADMM to ADMM-Plus is not only as a forum for dialogue and discussion, ADMM-Plus can also be a forum to increase practical cooperation for the armed forces of ASEAN countries and their partners. This will further strengthen the region's capability to face various security challenges together.

According to research from Trisni, Isnarti & Halim (2017) with the title *Improving ASEAN Cyber Security through Cyber security Cooperation with Australia*, Australia, which is an ASEAN dialogue partner and part of ADMM-Plus, is able to help ASEAN countries to improve cyber security capabilities. Therefore, in 2018 the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of Australia agreed to establish cooperation in the cyber sector through the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). Through this MoU, Indonesia and Australia can realize common interests so as to strengthen friendly relations between the two countries based on the principles of equality and reciprocity. Indonesia and Australia will cooperate in various fields, including: sharing information and *best practices*,

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capacity building and strengthening connections, as well as cooperation in the digital economy; and in the field of handling cyber crimes. (BSSN Law and Public Relations Bureau, 2018) One of the realizations of the MoU between Indonesia and Australia related to cyber security is the holding of a Cyber Bootcamp in collaboration with Australia National University (ANU). The purpose of the Cyber Bootcamp program is to provide training to participants from Indonesia regarding cyber security.

Apart from Australia, China and the United States are also partner countries in developing cyber security capabilities. However, according to Fery, the two countries that are also part of ADMM-Plus are more about the relationship between the state and the private sector, namely Huawei and Cisco companies. The Indonesian government and private companies cooperate in the form of research and development.

*“There are also activities held not by the government, but instead B to G (Business to Government). For example, telecommunications companies Huawei and Cisco. They have carried out collaborative activities with the government, including with BSSN. They make an MOU and follow-up cooperation. And on average we move in the field of capacity building or competence. However, at these places we also made bargains to do joint research. So, what is interesting is that there are B to G activities and sometimes even G to G activities are followed up into B to G activities. There are even B to B activities based on existing activities” (Interview with Fery, ASN BSSN on August 7 May 2021)*

The third form of diplomacy is *Defense diplomacy for defense industry*. Defense diplomacy for the defense industry is diplomacy that aims to develop and strengthen a country's defense industry. *The outcome* of this diplomacy is political and economic independence, thereby reducing the level of interdependence or dependence of a country in the procurement of defense equipment (Multazam, 2010: 20).

ASEAN member countries are *net-purchasers* of military equipment from countries that have advanced defense industries. This is also later supported by the increasing defense budget of ASEAN countries. So that the increased weapons budget does not flow to countries other than other ASEAN countries that have the ability to produce defense equipment, a mechanism is needed so that ASEAN countries can help each other in developing their defense industry. This mechanism will also be needed to help ASEAN countries reduce arms dependencies that have the risk of an embargo. Based on this, the ASEAN Defense Industrial Collaboration (ADIC) was formed. (Tomotoka, 2013, in Dilahwangsa, Bhakti & Pedrason, 2019: 7)

The idea of defense industry collaboration was first discussed at the fourth ASEAN Defense Ministerial Meeting (ADMM) in Hanoi. ADIC was formed to reduce ASEAN's outward arms spending, so that ASEAN's budget can be saved. With all the scope of activities owned by ADIC, it is expected that this defense industry collaboration will reduce defense imports in ASEAN member countries from 25 billion US dollars to 12.5 billion US dollars cumulatively. (CSIS, 2011: 1)

However, looking at the data released by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute between 2011 and 2016, cooperation between ASEAN members is less significant. In defense industry collaboration, each country has a tendency to limit information or data in the development of a weapon. This is because the defense industry concerns national interests and is closely related to the military capacity of a country. What's more, most ASEAN member states are still not fully convinced in terms of technology sharing or in loosening protectionist attitudes towards their respective defense industries. Therefore, this is still a challenge in defense industry cooperation. (Dilahwangsa, Bhakti & Pedrason, 2019: 19-21)

The difference in the development of the defense industry between ASEAN countries is also an obstacle. It is noted that of the ten ASEAN countries, only four have adequate defense industry foundations. This disparity in the development of the defense industry makes it difficult for ASEAN countries to determine the starting point in defense collaboration, where each country is able to contribute. This disparity arises because several countries have different economic growth. Generally, the better the economy of a country, the bigger the budget for defense will be. Then, the perspective of each government's defense industry development needs is different. Singapore, for example, sees developing a domestic defense industry as indispensable. This is due to their *midget psychosis* perspective which always feels vulnerable as a small country but surrounded by big countries such as Malaysia and Indonesia (Bitzinger, 2013 in Dilahwangsa, Bhakti & Pedrason , 2019:21 ),

Within the scope of ADMM-Plus, as previously explained, discussions related to cybersecurity in ADMM-Plus are still at an early stage. Have not reached the cooperation or discussion related to the defense industry. However, Indonesian Defense Minister Ryamizard Ryacudu and Australian Defense Minister Marise Payne met at the *Defense Ministers' Meeting* at Fleet Base East Garden Island, Sidney, Australia in March 2017. At this meeting, the two Defense Ministers discussed bilateral defense cooperation. in the field of maritime security, defense industry, as well as science and technology related to cyber security. They also discussed cooperation in the defense industry to strengthen bilateral cooperation while increasing the defense industry of the two countries. The Australian Defense Minister also discussed the longstanding cooperation in defense science and technology between the two countries. (Kemhan, 2017)

Based on the explanation above, it can be said that although it is still in its early stages, the presence of ADMM-Plus has had a positive impact on Indonesia, especially in terms of cyber security. Through ADMM-Plus, good relations and mutual trust are created between countries that are involved in ADMM-Plus. In addition, ADMM-Plus can also be the starting point for Indonesia to conduct bilateral relations with countries that are also members of ADMM-Plus to increase capabilities and the cyber security industry.

## CONCLUSION

Regression testing does not provide a significant value between the two variables, making research on regional income assistance to income inequality closer to finding variables that affect income inequality. For example, education and health are closely related to income inequality. Agriculture is also a sector that needs to be developed because it is the focus of many people. Hakim (2009) considers the economic contribution to the agricultural sector, so industrialization should be stimulated and based on that sector to not interfere with labor conditions. If this industrialization model is adopted, two critical things will soon be achieved; On the one hand, an adequate level of economic growth will be obtained.

On the other hand, the number of workers involved in the industrialization process is vast. In this way, the accelerated industrialization process in Indonesia will not cause as many problems as is the case in many countries, such as unemployment and income inequality. This research can be a reference for the government in reducing income inequality by focusing on education, agriculture, and health.

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