INDONESIA’S DEFENSE DIPLOMACY STRATEGY IN FACING CHINA’S GRAY ZONE IN THE SOUTH CHINE SEA

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ABSTRACT

Purpose: This study aims to identify an effective strategy for Indonesia to counter China’s gray zone tactics in the South China Sea.

Theoretical Reference: Employing a quantitative method with a descriptive approach rooted in the positivist philosophy, this research follows the principles outlined by Sugiyono (2011). This method is chosen for investigating specific populations or samples, with a focus on quantitative/statistical data analysis to test predetermined hypotheses.

Method: The research employs multiple regression analysis to assess the significance of Soft Power Diplomacy and Smart Power Diplomacy strategies as essential national resources for persuading China to undertake desired actions in addressing the challenges posed by China’s Gray Zone in the South China Sea. Smart power, as defined by Jr J.N. (2007), involves integrating soft and hard power for a comprehensive strategy. According to R. Wilson (2008), smart power effectiveness lies in combining a robust military force with investments in alliances, partnerships, and cooperation.

Result and Conclusion: The findings indicate that both Soft Power Diplomacy and Smart Power Diplomacy are influential tools and strategies within Indonesia’s foreign policy context to effectively navigate and counteract China’s Gray Zone activities in the South China Sea.

Implications of Research: The identified strategies hold significant implications for shaping Indonesia’s defense diplomacy against China’s gray zone tactics, emphasizing the importance of integrating soft and hard power elements for a more comprehensive and efficient approach.

Originality/Value: This research contributes to the field by highlighting the relevance and effectiveness of Soft Power Diplomacy and Smart Power Diplomacy as key components in Indonesia’s defense diplomacy strategy, providing a nuanced understanding of countering China’s Gray Zone activities in the South China Sea.

Keywords: Indonesia’s defense strategy, China’s gray zone tactics, South China Sea, geopolitics, soft power diplomacy.
A ESTRATÉGIA DE DIPLOMACIA DE DEFESA DA INDONÉSIA FACE À ZONA CINZENTA DA CHINA NO MAR DA CHINA MERIDIONAL

RESUMO

Objetivo: Este estudo visa identificar uma estratégia eficaz para a Indonésia para combater as táticas da zona cinzenta da China no Mar do Sul da China.

Referência Teórica: Empregando um método quantitativo com uma abordagem descritiva enraizada na filosofia positivista, esta pesquisa segue os princípios delineados por Sugiyono (2011). Este método é escolhido para investigar populações ou amostras específicas, com foco na análise de dados quantitativos/estatísticos para testar hipóteses predeterminadas.


Resultado e conclusão: As descobertas indicam que tanto a Diplomacia de Poder Suave quanto a Diplomacia de Poder Inteligente são ferramentas e estratégias influentes no contexto da política externa da Indonésia para navegar e neutralizar eficazmente as atividades da Zona Cinza da China no Mar da China Meridional.

Implicações da Pesquisa: As estratégias identificadas têm implicações significativas para moldar a diplomacia de defesa da Indonésia contra as táticas da zona cinzenta da China, enfatizando a importância de integrar elementos de poder brando e duro para uma abordagem mais abrangente e eficiente.

Originalidade/valor: Esta pesquisa contribui para o campo, destacando a relevância e a eficácia da Diplomacia de Poder Suave e da Diplomacia de Poder Inteligente como componentes-chave na estratégia de diplomacia de defesa da Indonésia, fornecendo um entendimento diferenciado de combater as atividades da Zona Cinza da China no Mar da China Meridional.


1 INTRODUCTION

China's tactics in the South China Sea to dominate the seas in the South China Sea region is to use the gray zone strategy. In the strategic review literature, the Gray Zone strategy is a situation where there is uncertainty regarding the rules of engagement that can be used by the enemy to gain strategic advantages without the need to use explicit military force, known as "grey zone operations" (grey zone operations). There is no
universally agreed-upon definition of the grey zone, but broadly speaking, the gray zone can be understood as the “area of operations between war and peace” where strategic objectives are met using components that do not trigger a military response, (Lyle J. Morris et al. al., 2019).

Geographically the South China Sea region is a very large area covering two large islands, namely the Spratly Islands and the Paracel Islands, Scarborough and geographically it borders Brunei, China, Taiwan, Malaysia, the Philippines, Vietnam, stretching from Singapore, Malacca to the Taiwan Strait, including the North Natuna Sea. The People's Republic of China's successive extensive territorial expansion towards its neighboring countries reduced the maritime territory of several countries in the South China Sea region, causing conflicts with Taiwan, Vietnam, the Philippines, as well as Brunei Darussalam and now Indonesia. Efforts to mutually claim control over some or all the waters in the South China Sea by China became clearer in 2012 that China has unconditional sovereignty over the waters of the South China Sea. Indonesia also opposes China, especially regarding the North Natuna Sea. (Francisco R and A Pahlevi: Koran Tempo: 2013)

The main cause of this conflict arises due to the strategic value of the South China Sea, which is a strategic water area (SDA) that is rich in natural resources. This condition further complicates the dynamics of the South China Sea (SCS) conflict and makes its future even more difficult to predict. Many countries have interests in the South China Sea which also has a strategic location as a distribution route for goods and services. It is estimated that this region has trillions of barrels of oil and natural gas reserves, marine biodata and fish that can meet Southeast Asia's food needs (Fajrina Nur Amaliana 2020, 15)

It is estimated that the Paracel and Spratly Islands have significant natural resources (SDA), especially minerals, oil and natural gas. The Chinese government itself is very optimistic about the potential of natural resources that exist there, because of the research they have done and is still being carried out. Oil reserves in the South China Sea total 213 billion barrels, according to a report by the US Energy Information Administration (EIA). This amount is about 10 times greater than the United States' national oil reserves. Meanwhile, American scientists estimate there are about 28 billion barrels of oil in the South China Sea. According to the EIA, the largest natural resource reserves could come from natural gas and are estimated to be around 900 trillion cubic
feet, the same as Qatar’s oil reserves (BBC online, 21 July 2011). This amount does not include those owned by Indonesia in the northern Natuna Sea region.

In carrying out its claims in this area, China uses a Gray Zone Strategy in Indonesia’s North Natuna Islands, Paracel Islands, and Spratly Islands, which are a group of uninhabited islands, atolls or coral reefs. China’s claim to disputed territorial sovereignty extends several hundred kilometers from southeastern Hainan province to the North Natuna Sea. China claims that ownership of the South China Sea dates back 2,000 years. Territorial claims in the South China Sea based on a 1947 map. Beijing released a map detailing China’s sovereignty claim in the South China Sea.

The South China Sea is also claimed by Malaysia and Brunei. According to Brunei, marine structures such as Bombay Castle, Louisa Reef, Owen Shoal and Rifleman Bank are all within Brunei’s exclusive economic zone, but the oil-rich kingdom claims only Louisa Reef on its continental shelf. As the Luisa Reef is part of the Spratly Islands, its marine structures are also claimed by China and Vietnam.

Malaysia recognizes legal majority ownership of the small Spratly islands (BBC online, 21 July 2011). However, China then rejected Malaysia’s claim and continued to recognize the region as its own and included it in the nine-dash line and used its Gray Zone Strategy to pressure Malaysia. For Indonesia, China has applied the same method to stop oil and gas drilling in the northern Natuna region because it is in China’s "nine-dash line area." However, Indonesia has rejected this claim and declared the southernmost point of the South China Sea as Indonesia’s Exclusive Economic Zone based on the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea in 2017. Indonesia has also changed the name of the area to the North Natuna Sea.

Countries that claim sovereignty over the South China Sea have repeatedly received requests from the Chinese government to stop mineral and oil exploration in the waters. The Chinese Navy is suspected of increasing its military strength in the Spratly Islands. Vietnam is said to have claimed that China had deliberately established a new administrative district in the South China Sea and sabotaged two Vietnamese research projects in the South China Sea. As a result, there were the largest anti-Chinese mass demonstrations ever in the country's capital, Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi. (CNBCNews:2022)

Worrying security concerns, especially regarding the control, stability, and security of the South China Sea in the future, emerged in 2012 when the Chinese
government suddenly made absolute claims over the entire South China Sea region, including all maritime territorial ownership of its neighboring countries in the region. Since then, there has been an increase in tensions due to military actions and the strengthening of China's naval presence, which has created threats and provocations at sea and in the diplomatic field. Apart from that, they also aggressively and provocatively threatened the navy and fishermen of the Philippines, Vietnam, and Indonesia.

According to the author, violent conflicts resulting from the increasing presence of Chinese ships in Chinese waters in recent years have become very worrying. If this situation continues and countries in the region cannot resolve it, it is very likely that open war will occur in the East Sea.

Regarding the condition of the South China Sea, when viewed from Indonesia's perspective, there are many fundamental differences regarding the border dispute between Indonesia and China in the South China Sea or North Natuna Sea, which has strategic natural resources for Indonesia. Indonesia views that maritime border settlement is based on UNCLOS 82, while China adheres to the nine-dash line. The impact of these two differences will only create disputes that are detrimental to both countries. The area claimed by China is in Indonesia's EEZ and is geographically connected to the South China Sea. In Indonesia's view China has been involved in various violations in the region, including the use of fishing vessels and paramilitary fishing militias, as well as violations committed by the Chinese Coast Guard. China's method above in claiming Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) is by crossing the grey zone strategy. If you look at the UNCLOS maritime law created in 1982, China’s recognition violates Indonesia's sovereignty.

Figure 1. Grey Zone China

Source (Tribunnews 2021).
The entry of Chinese naval ships in the Exclusive Zone owned by countries in the South China Sea region has led to increased tensions. This also happens with Indonesia. This is an act against Indonesia's sovereignty over the Exclusive Economic Zone and continental shelf of the Natuna Islands based on the 1982 UN Convention. At the same time, China stated that the ship entered the Natuna Islands territory which traditionally belongs to China, so it did not violate the fishing area. traditional fish (maritimnews 2016).

To overcome China's aggressiveness above, Indonesia, as a member of ASEAN, continues to play an active role through various peaceful diplomacy initiatives with the aim of resolving the conflict in the South China Sea. Through the Southeast Asian Cooperation Organization (ASEAN), together with other ASEAN members, Indonesia continues to play a role in preventing war and mediating conflicts peacefully. Indonesia has built positive working relationships with other countries at odds with China and attempted to balance those demands.

It needs to be understood in the context of the South China Sea conflict, as a sovereign country, every country has the right to control its territory in accordance with international law. This is Indonesia's commitment to advancing regional peace strategies diplomatically. China's actions in violating Indonesia's EEZ are a violation of international law, and are a reflection of China's overlapping maritime boundaries and China's aggressiveness. For this reason, Indonesia needs to find a way to resolve this conflict. This needs to be done so that Indonesia is not affected by China's Gray Zone Strategy with its various violations.

Data shows that China's first violation occurred on November 22 2015, when a Chinese fishing boat entered Indonesian waters near Natuna. The response from Indonesia is still in the warning stage and is not dangerous (CNN, 2017). The next violation occurred in 2016 when three Chinese ships tried to enter Indonesia's EEZ. The three Chinese fishing vessels entered the EEZ in March 2016 and started fishing, (according to the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries MMF).

The second violation, where Indonesian authorities arrested Chinese fishermen who were carrying out illegal fishing in the Indonesian Exclusive Zone. The third violation was committed by Chinese fishermen on May 27 2016, when Chinese fishermen were arrested while fishing illegally in the waters of the Natuna Islands. The Chinese fishing boat refused to stop. The Indonesian coast guard then firmly took measured action
and shot the fishing boat. The Chinese trawler is now detained by Indonesia and can no longer be used because of the CCP (DW 2016).

Third, mid-December 2019, when Chinese fishing vessels again entered Indonesia's EEZ escorted by the Chinese Coast Guard, a similar incident occurred again. At the time of the incident, 64 Chinese ships were operating in Indonesia's exclusive economic zone, according to information released by the Indonesian Maritime Security Agency (BAKAMALA) (Hastuti, RdotK. 2020).

According to Bonny Lin, Cristina L. Garafola and others, this was a provocative action by the Chinese Navy in the waters of the South China Sea. This means that China's grey zone strategy is an application of geopolitical, economic, military and cyber strategies with a coercive character implemented by the Chinese government which has capabilities that are above the diplomatic and economic approaches and military power that have been used by countries in general.(Rand C: 2022 )

Rand C further explained that China's Gray Zone strategy is aimed at demonstrating the use of its power to control the South China Sea region. China divides its strategy into three elements, namely: Economics, Geopolitics, Cyber, simultaneously using these three elements indirect external pressure, using regional forums; bilateral and direct external pressure; as well as through direct action in the target country or region, for example using local representatives.

Second, military tactics have become the domain of the military, especially in the air, sea, land, and generally in some of China's military services. Research by the Air Force's RAND project is designed to assist policymakers in ASEAN countries and Indonesia. Categorizing China's gray zone tactics and identifying the most problematic tactics that can be prioritized, developing a framework within which China's gray zone strategy typically focuses on a specific country, region (e.g. maritime traffic). China's Gray Zone Strategy employs various types of gray area tactics from time to time.

L Bonny, CL Garafola 2022) A Chinese study of gray zone tactics came to the following key findings:

1. China believes that the gray zone is an extension of China's way of exercising its power to control a region. These steps can pressure countries to act in China's interests and achieve its domestic, economic, foreign and security goals without causing backlash or conflict.
2. Over the past 10 years, China has used the power it has and implemented nearly 80 different gray zone strategies against Taiwan, Japan, Vietnam, India and the Philippines.

3. The Chinese third metric helps identify which tactics are most difficult to execute. How China's Gray Zone Strategy undermines the stability of countries in the region, as well as how difficult it is to confront allies and partners, and how often China uses it.

Table 1. List of Violations of Indonesian Sovereignty by China from 2014 to 2019 can be seen in the table below

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>November 2015</td>
<td>Chinese fishing boats enter Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Maret 2016</td>
<td>The Indonesian Kapatroli (KKP) has arrested two Chinese illegal fishing vessels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mei 2016</td>
<td>Kapatrol KRI Oswald Siahaan 354 and Ship Gui Be Yu where KRI captured the radar of foreign ships' movements.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>June 2016</td>
<td>Chinese fishermen caught stealing fish in Natuna waters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>December 2019</td>
<td>The CGC intervention in Natuna on 19–24 December was carried out by the Head of BAKAMLA who supervised 64 fishing vessels.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Republika.co.id 2020)

Through the implementation of the gray zone tactic, which routinely deploys fishing boats, fishing militias, and China's coast guards. Through political and economic diplomacy, President Jokowi responds to this issue. The President then held a meeting at the Republik Imam Bonjol Ship -383 on 23 June 2016 to act, where the President participated in the patrol.

However, does Indonesia have a specific strategy to deal with China's provocative actions under the gray zone strategy in the South China Sea? So far, no literature explains Indonesia's strategy in dealing with China's gray zone strategy in detail.

For this reason, this research is directed at examining Indonesia's strategy in dealing with China's gray zone.

**2 METHODOLOGY**

**2.1 RESEARCH METHODS AND DESIGN**

In carrying out the research the author used a descriptive quantitative research method, namely a research method based on the philosophy of positivism, namely collecting a certain population or sample, using research instruments,
quantitative/statistical data analysis, aiming to test the hypothesis that has been applied (Sugiyono 2011:8). The analysis technique used is multiple analysis technique.

2.1.1 Population and Sample
The population of this study was 120 people. Each method has a volume level of 1-6 and the group consists of lecturers and students as well as observers in the field of defense diplomacy, so the author took 25 people who understand the problem as research samples, from these 100 people the author was guided by the opinion of Suharsimi Arikunto who stated that "If there are no more than or below 100 subjects, all of them should be taken, so that the research is population research. Furthermore, if there are more than 100 subjects then 10%-15% or 20%-25% can be taken (ASuharsini, 2017).

2.2 MEASUREMENT
Three scales were used in this study: Soft Diplomacy Influence Scale, Hard Diplomacy Influence Scale, Smart Diploma Influence Scale.

2.2.1 Statistical Hypothesis
The statistical hypotheses have been described above by using various tests that have been replaced by data analysis, so from the various statistical tests it has been found that the statistical hypotheses are as follows:

H0 = no influence of Soft power, hard power and smart power strategy on China's gray zone in the South China Sea.

H1 = There is the influence of Soft Power, Hard Power, Smart Power Strategic of China's Gray Zone in the South China Sea.

In principle, no special treatment was given to the subjects in this study, because basically the required data already existed. The researcher's task is to collect and analyse data, after which a conclusion is given. Data analysis is the core of a series of research activities because it can provide basic and theoretical assumptions that can be used as research conclusions.

Measuring significance in the leverage test, using a significance level of 5% (α = 0.05), the selection criteria are as follows:

If the significance value is > 0.05 then H0 is accepted. If the significance value is < 0.05 then H0 is rejected.
3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF CHINA’S GRAY ZONE IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA GRAY ZONE STRATEGY

Since 2013, China has been actively reclaiming the Spratly and Paracel Islands and building military installations there. The justification for building these artificial islands is based on China’s nine-dash line claim in the South China Sea. China's territorial claims were rejected by the Permanent Court of Arbitration in 2016, but China refuses to recognize its PCA decision and continues to develop islands and fisheries in the disputed area, (The Guardian 2016).

Non-military forces such as the Coast Guard and militias such as fishing vessels allow China to assert its territorial claims without the risk of escalating conflict. (Thomas Kane. 2002). The use of these components aims to maintain the threshold of conflict and not reach the level of open warfare. The presence of warships in the waters of the South China Sea could increase tensions between the claimants of the South China Sea – namely Malaysia, the Philippines and Vietnam. In addition, China's navy is still in the development stage (fleet), so it cannot be used frequently to carry out China's claims in the South China Sea. conduct Freedom of Navigation Operations (FONOP) patrols. In addition to the strategic advantages of lowering the threshold for conflict, the use of non-military and paramilitary components also has tactical advantages, namely blurring the boundaries between combatants and non-combatants. Attacks on fishing vessels supporting military operations (auxiliary fleets) are justified, but in practice, according to international humanitarian law, it is difficult to distinguish between civilian fishing vessels and paramilitary vessels on land (James Kraska and Michael Monti. 2015).

3.1.1 Multiple Regression Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tabel I</th>
<th>Basis for Decision-Making</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coefficients</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Model</td>
<td>Unstandardized Coefficients</td>
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<td></td>
<td>B</td>
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<tr>
<td>I (Constant)</td>
<td>-1022.661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X1</td>
<td>4.288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X2</td>
<td>3.751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X3</td>
<td>2.322</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Dependent Variable: Y
a. First Hypothesis (H1)

The results of the first multiple regression model are presented in Table 1. The standard regression analysis method is used to measure the influence of each independent variable on the dependent variable. Two variables representing the effect of x1: Soft Power Diplomacy on Y: Gray Zone Strategy

As shown in Table 1, the independent variable Soft Diplomacy is known to show a statistically significant effect on the dependent variable. Soft Diplomacy variable X1 is 0.04 <0.05, and the t value is 2.361 > t table 2.228 so it can be concluded that the influence of X1: Soft Power Diplomacy has a significant effect on Y: Gray Zone Strategy.

b. Second Research Hypothesis Test (H2)

The results of the second multiple regression model are presented in Table 2, and this model hypothesizes the effect of Hard Diplomacy.

As shown in Table 1, Hard Diplomacy Variable X2 is 0.169 > 0.05, and the t value is 1.484 <t table 2.228 so it can be concluded that there is no effect of X2: Hard Power Diplomacy on Y: Gray Zone Strategy.

c. Third Research Hypothesis Test (H3)

The results of the third multiple regression model are presented in Table 3, and this model hypothesizes the effect of Smart Diplomacy on the Gray Zone. The standard regression analysis method is used to measure the influence of the independent variables on the dependent variable of the Smart Power Strategy on the Gray Zone Strategy.

As shown in Table 1, Smart Power Diplomacy As shown in Table 1, the Variable Soft Diplomacy X2 is 0.039 <0.05, and the t value is 2.380 > t table 2.228 so it can be concluded that there is an effect of X2: Smart Power Diplomacy on Variable Y: Gray Zone Strategy. Then the third strategy formulation is acceptable and can be used to deal with the Gray Zone Strategy.

3.2 STRATEGIC OPTIONS DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

If you look at the statistical test results above, it can be concluded that the Hard Diplomacy strategy was not chosen because the Hard Diplomacy Variable X2 was 0.169 > 0.05, and the t-count value was 1.484 <t table 2.228 so that it can be interpreted that there is no effect of X2: Hard Power Diplomacy on Y: Gray Zone Strategy. For this reason, the authors only limit the analysis to two variables namely.
A. Soft Power Defense Strategy

Soft power diplomacy is a significant national resource that can be used to persuade other countries to take the desired action or reap the desired benefits. A country's foreign policy tools and strategies can be used to implement this soft power (Trunkos 2013:4-5).

Soft power diplomacy is one of the two instruments of diplomacy, and its opposite is hard power diplomacy. Soft power diplomacy is a way of promoting national interests through a social and cultural approach, while hard diplomacy is a way of promoting national interests through approaches such as military force. Soft diplomacy is certainly more effective in influencing other countries without causing huge casualties and costs.

For middle power countries like Indonesia which do not have the hard power assets needed to achieve the desired political and economic goals, soft power is very important. Soft power can be a different strategy for these countries to exert greater influence on other countries (Elfving-Hwang, 2013;2, Lee, 2009:123, Lee, 2012:2, Lee and Melisen, 2011: 5). Both governmental and non-governmental organizations engage in public diplomacy.

Soft power diplomacy tools as part of public diplomacy do not use provocation, agitation, or irony to draw attention to problems, soft diplomacy emphasizes alternative solutions through messages of peace. To consider foreign policy issues, public diplomacy actors must engage in cross-cultural dialogue regarding changes in attitudes and shared social understanding. (Djelantik, 2008: 213).

The concept of power is recognized by the science of international relations. According to Joseph Nye (Nye Jr.), having power is the ability to persuade others to take certain actions. , 2004:2) Soft power is the range of action from cooperative power, the capacity to influence what others want. Cooperative power has the ability to change political decisions in such a way that certain political preferences are deemed institutionally unrealistic and thus prevented from being expressed by others. ) or through attractions (attractions derived from culture, values). (Accessed October 17, 2022) (available at: http://www.educuse.edu/education/158676.

An asset that can be used as an attraction is a source of soft power. Three main factors contribute to a country's soft power: its culture, which attracts other parties; the political principles he upholds; and his foreign policy, which gave him moral and legal authority.
The strength of soft power is culture, which can be divided into two categories: high-brow cultures that appeal to certain elites, such as literature, the arts, and higher education. Similarly, pop culture is centered on the creation of commercial entertainment, Nye Jr., (2008:96).

Soft power is an attraction that can only be created if the resources used meet the requirements to change the view of the intended target. Therefore, to create soft power, it is important to understand what makes soft power attractive and acceptable to target audiences, whatever the source. (Nye Jr, 2008:96).

For this reason, the state needs to use soft power in national defence through soft power diplomacy to function as a vehicle for implementing foreign policies that are supported by the state. Building friendship-based foundations that will lead to international cooperation and peace is an anticipated goal of state diplomacy (Nye Jr., 2004: 5).

Indonesia can emulate the United States which has exerted significant soft power, especially in the field of international politics. Apart from the United States, the Asia-Pacific region is home to China and India, both of which are actively pursuing soft power to realize their desire to dominate the world (global power ambition).

Countries like Norway and the EU show a similar human spirit. By actively helping to lay the foundations for world peace, they also stand out on the global political stage. Soft Power Diplomacy (Srivastava, Viviek Kumar, 2013). In Asia, India and China use the concept of soft power very differently from the European Union and Norway. This shows that there are still some areas of unexplored knowledge and areas of scientific progress that have not been studied or have not been investigated.

Apart from that, through soft power diplomacy, educational diplomacy can also be used as an effective strategy to open up opportunities to achieve these targets. There are several approaches that have been taken by the Government of Indonesia through the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemdikbud), by carrying out various overseas cooperation activities, including: 1) sending students, university students, teaching staff, Indonesian educators abroad; 2) increasing the provision of scholarships to foreign students; 3) conducting a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU); 4) involving high-ranking officials in various international forums and meetings with foreign parties; 5) fostering cooperation in publications, research and technology transfer; 6) training and
establishing schools for Indonesian citizens abroad; and 7) facilitating curriculum exchange, double degree and sister city (Kemdikbud 2011).

In order to improve and strengthen Indonesia's position in partnership with countries in the world, the Ministry of Education and Culture in 2013 opened Indonesian Houses of Culture in almost 10 countries. (Republika 2012). These activities are carried out with awareness to increase soft power.

To be able to carry out soft diplomacy policies, it is necessary to move the Indonesian Education Attache, which is one of the main agents that functions as a facilitator, coordinator, and liaison in carrying out activities abroad. Apart from that, to support the implementation of this diplomacy, the Indonesian government must also increase the number of existing Education Attachés. By increasing the number of representatives of Education Attachés in various countries, to streamline and anticipate existing developments.

Strengthening the function of the Indonesian Education Attaché marks an effort to strengthen neo-diplomacy or diplomacy carried out by people to people, to differentiate it from classic diplomacy which only involves the country's elite.

b. Smart Power Diplomacy Defense Strategy

Smart power, according to Nye (2013: 564), is an approach that successfully combines Hard Power and Soft Power to make a difference. The Soft Power Index which was released in 2010 placed Germany, France, England, Switzerland and the United States among the five countries with the largest soft power assets. Smart power is accessible to all countries, not just the big ones.

However, many smaller countries often use clever strategies to beat them. Norway, for example, has a population of only 5 million but has outperformed countries with larger populations in areas such as economy and education and peace. With Smart Power, Norway becomes more attractive by supporting peace policies and development assistance. On the other hand, China, which has a large population and growing military power thanks to its economic and military resources, has chosen to invest heavily in Soft Power resources so that Hard Power appears less threatening in the eyes of neighboring countries.

Additionally, Nye said Smart Power faces major obstacles. As mentioned previously, some countries may have stronger resources than other countries, but they may not have sufficient ability to manage the resources they have to use them as strength
in order to achieve the desired goals. In some cases it can be said that the United States was unable to change power since centuries ago because of the ineffectiveness of government, especially in the 18th century.

In that era, America discovered its smart power through an open economy and civil society, from Hollywood to Harvard, which contributed greatly to America’s soft power outside of government. If a country is large enough to have a surplus of assets and can afford the consequences of its mistakes, this transfer of power may be easier to accomplish.

Understanding different resources and the issues involved in their effective combination in different contexts is the first step towards smart power and an effective energy transition strategy.

In some perspectives, particularly in the twenty-first century, Smart Power means the ability to leverage existing capabilities to collaborate and build comprehensive, durable security for everyone. Diversity and comparative advantage are strengths in this promising field. According to China’s new security notion, our problems are all related to each other, so when we make policy decisions in our region, we will swim or sink together.

According to Nye, "smart" countries can increase the credibility and potential of their soft power by performing well both at home and abroad.

Facts about international relations today show that the use of soft power and hard power is necessary at the same time. Often, hard power and soft power complement each other. Both represent the capacity to shape the behaviour of others to achieve desired goals, and as such, the two are connected. Smart power refers to the capacity to integrate soft and hard power to produce an integrated strategy. Jr J.N. (2007). Consequently, smart power refers to the capacity of actors to achieve their goals effectively and efficiently by combining hard power and soft power. R.Wilson (2008) asserts that one way smart power can use hard power is by combining a strong military force with investment in alliances, partnerships, and cooperation.

4 CONCLUSION

Based on multiple regression tests, soft power diplomacy and Smart Power Diplomacy strategies are significant national resources that can be used to persuade China to take the desired action or reap the desired benefits in dealing with China's Gray Zone.
in the South China Sea. These two strategies have had a significant effect as a tool and strategy for Indonesia's foreign policy in dealing with China's Gray Zone in the South China Sea.

Smart power refers to the capacity to integrate soft and hard power to produce an integrated strategy J.N. (2007). Consequently, smart power refers to the capacity of actors to achieve their goals effectively and efficiently by combining hard power and soft power. R.Wilson (2008) asserts that one way smart power can use hard power is by combining a strong military force with investment in alliances, partnerships, and cooperation.
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