

CHAPTER IV

THE LITTORAL STATES EFFORTS IN MAINTAINING SECURITY AND STABILITY IN THE SULU AND CELEBES SEA

Much transnational crime where happened in Southeast Asia has urged many states to collaborate in order to tackle security issues, in particular for that country where be passed sea international trade route. The Sulu and Celebes Sea is area where located bordering three countries (Indonesia, Malaysia, Philipines). Regarding the International Maritime bureau (IMB) this area has become danger zone of Southeast Asia for mechant shipping due to rising of kidnappings (Reuters, 2017). Security problem in the Sulu and Celebes Sea is dangerous by a complex threat which affects Indonesia, Malaysia, Philipines.

Considering this problem as an International problem, it requires good coordination and cooperation as well of each country. To carry out this kind of security problem, collaboration is a must. For the first time in many years, Philipines, Malaysian and Indonesian leaders have been speaking of the Southern Philipines as being the weak link in regional security and began to call for trilateral maritime policing in Sulu and the Celebes Sea.

A. International Regime facilitates the cooperation among states

The study of international regimes has been an important part of international relations for over two decades. The meaning is, the study of regimes is an effort to understand the means and conditions under which states cooperate with one another. International cooperation is so central in international politics (Brahm, 2005).

The theory of the international regime is very relevant to analyze cases happening in the Sulu and Celebes Sea. Since the problem not only threaten a state but also a region, it means that cooperation should be considered as soon as possible. According to Keohane, international regimes are instruments that can help states to realize their common interest in international cooperation. So the effect of international regimes does not consist in changing the interests of the states involved – and thus their preference order – in order to facilitate international cooperation. In his regime theory, however, Keohane stated that international regime have an effect and also identifies several pathways through which they facilitate international cooperation (Schieder & Splinder, 2014).

Keohane makes it clear that the theory of regimes operates under a specific situational precondition: the states that are active in the issue-area concerned must share common interests which they can realize only through cooperation (Hasenclever, Mayer, & Rittberger, 1997, hal. 30). Therefore to carry out the maritime security problem in the Sulu and Celebes Sea, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Philippines held several meeting to find which the best way to solve the problem. The three states had shared common interest and immediately realized that establishing cooperation among three states should be set up.

Successful responses to maritime security threats require international cooperation because those threats are primarily transnational. Maritime capacity and the safety of the shipping lanes in all parts of the world are matters of deep concern to all of states, and ensuring the security and functionality of these international assets demands a coordinated, multinational effort.

Cooperation necessary to manage interstate conflict and more on cooperation to counter extra-regional and transnational threats. Cooperation occurs when states modify their own policies to meet the actual or anticipated preferences of other states in order to facilitate realization of their own goals.

Operationalized security cooperation is a specific type of cooperation in which state policies designed to address a common security threat have evolved to the level that they can be effectively implemented (Bradford, 2005, hal. 9).

Regimes can facilitate cooperation by providing information, reducing transaction costs, facilitating linkages, and lengthening the shadow of the future (Axelrod, Robert, & Keohane, 1993). In this case the cooperation that had been launched by Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines has been driven by International regime. International regime agreed rules and norms of international behaviour on particular issues pursued by cooperating states are thus supposed to provide governance independently of the sources of international power. Thus, the regime can be described as the behaviour of actors in international relations that includes interests in it. This behavior can result in cooperation and through institutional regime can be implemented.

Based on this theory, the main actors in international relations is a state that has a role in influencing international politics. These influences can be seen in the behaviour of the State that affect the norms and rules that are embraced by the international organization which in the end creates a behavior on the organization or cooperation. Regime can be useful by providing information in these situations. The norms, rules and procedures in making decisions are related to expectations and behavior from the State (Barkin, 2006).

Regimes facilitate cooperation by establishing standards of behaviour which affects to all members that each states are in fact cooperating. When states expect each other to cooperate, the probability of sustaining cooperation and maintaining social order within the international system is assured. In a world of sovereign states, the basic function of regimes is to coordinate states behaviour to achieve desired outcomes in particular issue area (Ebaye, 2009). International regime had pursued the three states to negotiating that leads

them to establish international cooperation. The creation of principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures that had been agreed upon the three states had proved that international regime has a role to solve maritime security problem in the Sulu and Celebes Sea.

B. Cooperation Built by The Three States

1. Trilateral Cooperative Arrangement Indomalphi (TCA)

The three states had reached an agreement over a year ago, in May 2016, on conducting joint patrols and sharing intelligence, in the aftermath of a series of kidnappings for ransom of foreigners by the Abu Sayyaf Islamist group. Abu Sayyaf, which has a base in the southern Philippine islands, had beheaded some victims when ransoms were not paid. The defense leaders of the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia signed a Trilateral Cooperation Arrangement in Jakarta on July 14, 2016, agreeing to encourage the operationalization of the Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) for Maritime Patrol and Providing Immediate Assistance; Operating Guidelines on Information and Intelligence Sharing; and Combined Communication Plan. In working out the arrangement in June 2016, defense officials from the three countries agreed to deploy a combined force of sea marshals to prevent the kidnappings and also other cross-border crimes such as piracy (Library of congress , 2017). The goal of this cooperation is to address the security challenges associated with each countries border waters. The initiative however showing their commitment and promise as a first step towards improving the security architecture in an area where terrorist activity has had operate and had major economic impact (Macloed, 2017).

In order to maintaining the Sulu and Celebes Sea from transnational crime Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines have held a series of high-level meetings and issued joint statements considering the creation of something called a Trilateral Co-operative Arrangement (TCA). Malaysian Deputy Chief of Navy, Vice Admiral Datuk Anuwi Hassan stated that these maritime crimes he said, has brought Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines to form the Trilateral Cooperative Arrangement (TCA) that encompasses sea patrol, air surveillance, intelligence sharing and the establishment of Maritime Command Centres within the Sulu Sea region. This cooperative arrangement he said, is adopted from the successful Malacca Straits Patrol (MSP) initiative participated by the littoral of Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand which reduced incidents of piracy and sea robbery in those waters (Daud, 2017).

With the signing of TCA, littoral states are confident that the sea routes will be safe for commercial ships and the maritime community in this region. However, successfully carrying out this trilateral maritime security framework will require all three governments to sustain their commitments, including the need to put aside political concerns.

2. Trilateral Maritime Patrol (TMP)



Figure 4.1. Officers of the Indonesian, Malaysian and Philippines militaries cut a ribbon at a ceremony announcing new joint patrols by the three countries. (CNN , 2017)

After the three government have conducted several of high-level meeting towards security problem in The Sulu and the Celebes Sea The Trilateral Maritime Patrol (TMP) arrangement between Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines has officially been launched on Monday 19 June 2017 in Tarakan Indonesia (Zack, 2017). The Trilateral Maritime Patrol was inaugurated at a ceremony attended by Indonesian Defence Minister Ryamizard Ryacudu, his Malaysian counterpart Hishammuddin Hussein, and Philippine Defence Secretary Delfin Lorenzana, at Tarakan Naval Base.

The joint operation was initiated by Indonesia, Malaysia and Philippines in the face of security challenges associated with each country's border waters. The Indonesian Military (TNI) said that this cooperation is a step taken by the three countries in the spirit and centrality of Asean, in maintaining stability in the region in the face of non-traditional threats such as piracy, kidnapping, terrorism and other transnational crimes in regional waters (Chan, 2017).

With the official establishment of the Trilateral Maritime Patrol (TMP), Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines militaries have agreed to step forward joint patrols and surveillance in the area. The TMP has established set procedures that have been agreed upon by the three countries, which includes information sharing and improved communication in addition to joint sea and air patrol. Hot pursuits into each other's waters will also be streamlined via Maritime Command Centres (MCC) set up to facilitate the implementation of the TMP (Zack, Hisham: Sulu Sea safe with TMP, 2017).

To implement the increased intelligence sharing and joints patrols, there will be a Maritime Command Center (MCC) in each nation, Tarakan in Indonesia, Tawau in Malaysia, and Bongao in the Philippines. The maritime patrols will also include air and land elements. Moreover, this trilateral cooperation provide the exchange of information because the speed and accuracy of information is very much needed in order to controlling, measuring, and anticipating the possible escape of terrorist groups (CNN , 2017).



Figure 4.2. Location of Maritime Command Centers (Tarakan, Tawau, Bongao)

3. Trilateral Air Patrol (TAP)



Figure 4.3. The defense ministers of Indonesia, Malaysia and Philippines launched the trilateral air patrol at the Subang Air Base in Malaysia on 12 October 2017 (Andolong, 2017)

Following the success of the Trilateral Maritime Patrol (TMP) that has been launched 19 June 2017 in Tarakan Indonesia, the three countries upgrading their capability and security system to secure the maritime areas of common concern among the Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia. Considering the importance of coordination and trust in maintaining peace and developing security in the region, the Defense Chief of Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia officially launched the joint Trilateral Air Patrol on 12 October 2017 at RMAF Subang Air Base in Malaysia.

The air patrols mark yet another step in the growing trilateral cooperation between the three states as they continue to confront a range of security threats amid concerns about rising Islamic State influence in the subregion. The TAP, as it stands, is meant to adopt a monthly rotation following the opening of the air space of all three countries, with the objective being gradual coordination between the three sides and integration with

the maritime patrols. Malaysian Defense Minister Hishammuddin Hussein said Malaysia would take the first lead using Royal Malaysian Air Force aircraft, after which the Philippines and Indonesia would follow. But few specifics were publicly disclosed by officials about exactly how this process would unfold.

As these trilateral patrols continue to play out, it is also important to note that though attention tends to be lavished on them by outside observers, officials from these countries continue to emphasize they are in fact only one manifestation of the responses – unilateral, bilateral, minilateral, and multilateral – being taken by the three states to counter the rising threat from the Islamic State. Each of the three states has been stepping up their own security measures in response to the growing terror threat. And we have also seen bilateral efforts between them, whether it be setting up more joint command posts as Malaysia and Indonesia agreed to do last month at the 40th Malaysia-Indonesia General Border Committee Meeting or ongoing subregional cooperation between Malaysia and the Philippines.

With the Islamic State and terrorism more generally very much on the mind of Southeast Asian officials this year, as evidenced by the focus in other fora this year, developments on this front will be important to track (Parameswaran, 2017).

Philippine Defense Secretary Delfin N. Lorenzana, Malaysian Defense Minister Dato' Seri Hishammuddin Tun Hussein, and Indonesian Defense Minister Ryamizard Ryacudu all expressed their commitment to continue collaborating together, in particular on countering the movement of violent extremists and terrorists across the porous borders of the three countries. Secretary Lorenzana said that today's launching of the

Trilateral Air Patrol, the cooperation among our three countries is complete.

Philippine defense chief also said that the fact, the maritime patrol is working very well. The maritime patrol have not had incidents, piracy or kidnappings in the maritime areas of common concern. The three states would like to maintain that. The addition of the trilateral air patrol will definitely enhance our operation against lawless elements in the seas.

To operate this security system, the Air Forces of the three countries will take turns in leading the joint air patrol operation. All three Air Forces have already made the commitments on the deployment schedule of air assets. The rotational naval and air patrols, as well as information sharing and communications, will be supported by the Joint Maritime Coordinating Centers in Tarakan, Indonesia; Tawau, Malaysia; and Bongao, Philippines.

Minister Hishammuddin in his speech also emphasized the threats posed by terrorist organizations that have already activated their base of operations on the maritime borders of neighboring countries. In addition, Minister Ryacudu noted that through discussions, such as the upcoming ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting, other members of the ASEAN are welcome to join the efforts facilitated by the INDOMALPHI initiative. The Indonesian defense chief also underscored the capability of ASEAN countries and their militaries, as well as the potential of the member states to address pressing security issues through cooperation.

Aside from the defense ministers, the chiefs of the armed forces and the air forces of the three countries, Singapore's Senior Minister of State for Defense Dr. Mohamad Maliki Bin Osman and Brunei's Deputy

Defense Minister Dato Seri Pahlawan Abdul Aziz bin Haji Mohd Tamit also attended the ceremony as observers (Press Release Department of National Defense , 2017).

Since the realization of cooperation, the maritime patrol have not had incidents, piracy, or kidnapping in the maritime areas of common concern. The Joint Patrol will definitely enhance the cooperation against lawless elements in the seas. Asean applauded the launch of Trilateral Cooperative Arrangement (TCA) by the three states. As the three states welcoming Asean to join the efforts to further strengthen regional capacity to combat this scourge, Asean expressed the readiness to cooperate with dialogue partners and other external parties based on mutually agreed modalities and consistent with international law and domestic law.