THE ANALYSIS AND RESOLUTION OF NORTH NATUNA SEA CONFLICT IN THE FUTURE

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Abstract
The North Natuna Sea (NNS) conflict among some countries has been an important case in Indonesia. Related to the North Natuna Sea conflict, it will discuss Indonesia’s future conditions faced with the interests of China itself. The NNS conflict is a prolonged conflict because it is faced with security conditions for China itself, also related to the future of the country which is related to economic conditions and territory for China. From the results of predictive analysis both in exploration, projection, and forecasting, the results obtained are Scenario I: China’s hegemony in prioritizing its interests has not changed by continuing to carry its nine dashed line, Scenario II: China’s hegemony began to reduce its military power in the NNS so that tensions were reduced and Scenario III: Entering social power, which in this case is the concept of cooperation and the presence of ASEAN in bridging conflicts that occur so as to create security stability in the NNS. The results of the analysis stated that, the system-change scenario is faced with a concept that is favorable for countries in conflict in the NNS, especially Indonesia. If faced with an open war, of course this will have a negative impact on the safety of the nation and world peace, then cooperation is the right choice to avoid prolonged conflict. However, a more definite mechanism is needed to regulate the concept of Indonesia - China Cooperation in managing the NNS which certainly does not necessarily interfere with the nation’s sovereignty.

Keywords: North Natuna Sea, Conflict, predictive analysis

Introduction
Conflict frequently occurs when people actively pursue goals or views that do not match, whether correctly or incorrectly, and it is a normal and inescapable aspect of human relationships. There is always something related to one or more of the basic human needs, from the physical to the emotional.
Among the three types of violence described by Galtung (1990), there is 'direct-structural-cultural' violence, as exhibited in Figure 1:

![Galtung’s “DSC” Triangle](image1)

**Figure 1. Galtung’s “DSC” Triangle**

Direct violence is where it includes verbal, emotional and psychological violence. In addition to direct violence, Galtung identified two forms of indirect violence - structural and cultural. Although more difficult to identify generally in society, these two forms of violence often and still produce harmful effects on others. In addition, MCDC (2014) also explained that Galtung’s theory of conflict also matches the triangle in figure 2. Although conflict is a phenomenon that occurs throughout the world, and almost everyone has encountered some form of it, it can be challenging to define conflict in a way that covers all cases - from the inner conflict of an individual to a minor disagreement between two individuals, to a threat of war by a nation-state, and a popular definition that makes defining conflict difficult. Conflict is commonly described as: an argument, a clash, a battle, a contest, a contradiction, a disagreement, a dispute, a fight, an opposition, a struggle, or a war.

![Galtung's "ABC" Conflict Triangle](image2)

**Figure 2. Galtung's "ABC" Conflict Triangle**
Based on the figure 2, contradiction is understood as a problem or resource that ends in a dispute or incompatibility between 2 or more parties. Furthermore, it produces the attitude of the actors in conflict with, for example, perceptions, emotions, stereotypes so that behavior emerges from the events that occur. It can be understood that from this triangle, conflict occurs if there are several things that are disputed or contested coupled with a sense of hatred or dislike for others, resulting in division or violence both verbal and physical.

To see the implementation of Galtung's ABC conflict triangle, it can be applied to the North Natuna Sea conflict, especially between Indonesia and China. In this case, it is clear that the contradiction is that Indonesia's territory in the North Natuna region is felt to have violated its sovereignty and sovereign rights by China. This is indeed considered to be a threat to the Indonesian nation considering that NKRI is a fixed price for Indonesia, especially the control of natural resources in the region. This creates a national attitude that rejects, gives a wave of protests to China and is also not infrequently haunted by other issues over China's control of other economic sectors that can worsen people's thinking. Given the many interests in the North Natuna Sea, Indonesia showed behavior by presenting its fleet in the area. This behavior is the result of contradictions and the showing of Indonesia’s attitude towards the conflict that occurred. The following is a description of Galtung's ABC triangle:

![Galtung's ABC Conflict Triangle for the North Natuna Sea Conflict](image)

Figure 3. Galtung’s ABC Conflict Triangle for the North Natuna Sea Conflict (Processed by the writers)
Galtung, J. (2015) in his writing states that the formula in achieving peace is to view equally four concrete synchronizations: (1) cooperation with equity; (2) harmony through empathy to understand the legitimate goals of the parties; (3) conciliation for trauma to reduce the desire for revenge; and (4) conflict solutions to reduce aggression. This can be depicted in figure 5 as follows:

\[ \text{PEACE} = \frac{\text{EQUITY} \times \text{HARMONY}}{\text{TRAUMA} \times \text{CONFLICT}} \]

Figure 4. Formula in achieving peace

Discussion

In achieving the peace formula that has been shown, of course, the North Natuna Sea (NNS) conflict can be observed with predictive methods that can be described in the form of certain schemes. Using estimative methodologies, it is possible to understand that this method analyzes and plans the future in detail while taking into consideration known risks. Under extreme conditions, the predictive team can provide a detailed report on what features and tasks to expect during future development. It is difficult to change the direction of a project if the estimation/predictive method relies on an ineffective early phase analysis. Risk analysis can be used to select things that need to be planned ahead.

There is some knowledge related to estimative methodology, one of which is Kepner & Tregoe's (2013) which illustrates that in an organization, there are 4 main mindsets that must be owned, namely what is happening, why it can happen, what steps must be taken and what things will come in the future. From Kepner & Tregoe's (2013) method, it can be understood that in looking at the future, the first step that can be taken is to assess and clarify the conditions that have occurred. Furthermore, correlating the causes and effects of this occurrence will lead to a decision that must be taken. In the end, anticipating all the things that can happen in the future is the most important step.

A similar method is also described in Box-Jenkins (1970) which describes statistical time series analysis by applying autoregressive moving average (ARMA) or autoregressive integrated moving average (ARIMA) models to find the best fit of the time series model to the past values of the time series. Scott (2019) explained that the model estimates data range by using inputs from a specified time series. Various time series data types can be analyzed with the Box-Jenkins model for the purpose of forecasting. However, this paper will
discuss R.M. Clark's (2019) predictive/estimative model as a form of "target-centric" process that focuses on estimation modeling, or "creating future target models".

In R.M. Clark's approach, data is combined with an evaluation of forces acting on an entity to determine its future state and estimate its current presence. The concept of identifying forces acting on an entity, identifying future forces and predicting possible changes over time in old and new forces is essential for successful forecasting. In addition to redundant and conflicting data, the analyst also considers his or her level of confidence in the data. A quantitative approach is possible if time allows and confidence can be measured in the data.

According to Clark (2019), this methodology employs three prediction mechanisms: extrapolation, projection, and forecasting. There is a common approach among all three predictive mechanisms that is based on assessing forces acting collectively. Forecasting assumes that forces change and that new forces are added between current and future conditions, projection assumes that forces do not change; extrapolation assumes that forces do not change.

Figure 5. Predictive or estimative methodology (Clark, R.M., 2019)

Based on figure 5, the following are the steps in this methodology:

a. The first step is to estimate the state of an entity in the past and in the present. Target models can represent almost anything, including terrorist organizations, nations, clandestine trade networks, industries, technologies, or ballistic missiles.

b. The second step is to determine the forces that influenced the entity's current state. A graphic representation of these forces (Forces 1 and 2) can be seen in the figure, with the thickness of the arrows indicating the strength of the force. Extrapolating the future
state based on these forces will result in the future state shown (Scenario 1).

c. When making projections, consider the effects of possible changes in existing forces. The projected future conditions differ from the extrapolated future conditions due to a decrease in force one (Force 1) (Scenario 2).

d. Making a forecast involves starting with the projection, then identifying new forces that may act on the entity and combining their effects. This figure shows one new force emerging, which results in a different estimated future state from what was predicted (Scenario 3).

e. Evaluate the forces affecting the entity to determine its likely future state. This forecast is heavily influenced by strong and certain forces. The least weighted forces are those whose nature or effect the analyst is uncertain about (weak forces and forces with low confidence.

Extrapolations derived from estimation methodologies are based solely on what has already been observed. Although extrapolation is considered the most conservative prediction method, it is not without its limitations. Extending a linear curve on a graph with historical performance as the basis is an example of extrapolation. A prediction starts from now and spreads forward as long as the direction of the system does not change, while there is little uncertainty regarding the current state of the target model (straight-line extrapolation).

The significance of new information is relatively low in this situation of low uncertainty and high confidence. New information is given high value in prediction when there is uncertainty about the state of the model. When there is uncertainty about the forces acting on the target, prediction uncertainty is high when there is uncertainty about the state of the target.

A projection or forecast is a probability statement about a future scenario rather than an extrapolation describing how it will look. According to this statement, if A occurs, plus some allowance for unknown or unknown factors, then B is likely to happen or something very similar to it, or at least B will become more probable. Projections have a higher level of reliability than extrapolation. During extrapolation, the assumption is that forces that are assumed to remain constant will change in the future, while in extrapolation, the assumptions are assumed to remain the same.

It is usually more effective to make projections rather than extrapolations in the short to medium term. In reality, however, even the most optimistic projections often seem extremely conservative. Even the best experts in a field cannot predict all the consequences
of new political, economic, social, technological, or military developments. Disruptive technologies and disruptive events are often referred to as these new developments. A forecast in intelligence is used to determine alternatives to the most likely future for the target model. Considering alternative future states of a target is essential to making effective strategic decisions, since no future can be predicted, and strategies should be formulated in light of alternative future states. The interrelationship between trends and forecast events must be systematically displayed through the development of a model. It is the objective of forecasting to identify new forces that will affect a target - to think about the possible impact of new technologies in distantly related fields like plastics, or new constraints imposed by pollution's sociological impact, or new lifeforms derived from genetic engineering - and to present them as possible scenarios to the user. There is no doubt that forecasting is one of the most challenging prediction techniques. Projection models must incorporate probabilities of force changes. A new force must also be identified from across politics, economics, social, and technical arenas and assessed for impact. Forecasting relies heavily on scenarios because of this complexity.

Designing a good prediction scenario requires an iterative process as described in Figure 1. Iteration is key to dealing with complex patterns and complicated models. The basic analytical paradigm will model the past and current state of the target, followed by a predictive model of its likely future state, usually created in the form of a scenario.

Related to the North Natuna Sea conflict, it will discuss Indonesia's future conditions faced with the interests of China itself. The NNS conflict is a prolonged conflict because it is faced with security conditions for China itself, also related to the future of the country which is related to economic conditions and territory for China. Like China too, Indonesia is faced with the same conditions where natural resources and territorial sovereignty are things that should be fought for.

Kembara, G. (2018) argues that a peaceful resolution and stability of the North Natuna Sea is crucial for Southeast Asian countries. A peaceful resolution will also be a guarantee for positive and conducive future relations between China and Southeast Asia. Thus, through the project "Partnership for Regional Peace: Operationalizing ASEANChina Strategic Partnership in Southeast Asia". Four policy recommendations to be made: (1) Legal Principles to Promote Cooperation and Minimize Tensions in the North Natuna Sea, (2) Confidence Building Measures, (3) Preventive Diplomacy, and (4) Crisis Management. In this regard, ASEAN member governments and
China itself should contribute to a lasting solution in the North Natuna Sea.

Ratifying countries may not refer to the provisions set forth in legally binding international regulations simply because they exist. In order to ensure that the various articles stipulated in the regulation are implemented, states must cooperate on the basis of good faith and non-prejudice. To enforce UNCLOS provisions, such as delimitation and joint scientific exploration, in disputed areas such as the North Natuna Sea, states must cooperate under the spirit of UNCLOS. By promoting such cooperation, tensions that are sparked by misunderstandings or unclear information will be minimized. When conflict arises, four approaches are established to manage conflict. The first thing states should do when identifying a potential conflict is to exchange information at a multilateral level in order to clear up confusion and avoid misinterpretations. As a second measure to respond to crises, countries should seek early mediation from third parties and use hotlines for fast and direct communications among high-ranking leaders. It is suggested that Track II platforms be used to change political mindsets to see the bigger picture beyond national interests. Third, countries should begin reducing maritime security vessels in the area at the end of the crisis, utilizing a variety of perspectives to mediate and end the crisis. Further, ASEAN should expand its mediation role.

Four, countries should promote crisis management awareness at the national and regional levels to better manage future crises, encourage people-to-people and military-to-military exchanges to build confidence, and organize simulation exercises for crisis management in the North Natuna Sea on the Track II platform to promote mutual understanding of lessons learned.

In line with previous opinions, Sekarwati, S. (2019) in her article argues that Indonesia welcomes progress in efforts to resolve the North Natuna Sea dispute between Beijing and ASEAN. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in a statement said that in Penang, Malaysia, the first reading of a single draft Code of Conduct (COC) has been carried out which will regulate daily traffic in the North Natuna Sea. Currently, the COC negotiation text has been finalized so that it can proceed to the second reading. According to Minister of Foreign Affairs Retno, trust in efforts to resolve the North Natuna Sea dispute is very important for the creation of peace and stability. Because stability and peace can only be realized if all parties concerned respect international law, including UNCLOS 1982.

Based on the previous statement, the predictive method that can be described can be guided by extrapolation, projection and forecasting with "system-change" scenarios. Scenarios in intelligence itself are descriptions in the form of stories of future target models. Scenarios are used primarily for planning and decision-making in order to
explore possible future conditions, given a set of assumptions. Each scenario represents a picture of a distinct and plausible segment of the future. The goal of scenario planning is to highlight the major forces shaping the future. Scenario planning can also help stakeholders to anticipate the future and respond better.

Driving force scenario has weaknesses, which are addressed by the system change scenario. The objective of this study is to examine systematically, comprehensively, and consistently the relationship between social, technological, economic, and political forces, including the significance of social, technological, economic, and political forces. In other words, these types of scenarios differ from demonstration scenarios (in which a single outcome occurs and the forces that might lead to another outcome are ignored) and driving force scenarios (in which future developments are taken into account but new ones aren't considered as driving forces).

A system change scenario is usually not constrained by a single event and does not have one dominant driving force. Cross-impact analysis is used to identify interactions between events or developments, then alternative futures are developed from those interactions. A cross-impact analysis of events or developments in one area and their consequences in other areas is highly recommended for system change scenarios, which involves examining how one area's events or developments will impact another's events or developments.

In the implementation of predictive methods related to the NNS case, the starting point for the analysis to be carried out is the condition of an entity / ability referring to the previous description, namely China's national interests faced with several neighboring countries in the past and in the present. While the factors or forces that affect the entity are PMESII or Political, Military, Economy, Social, Infrastructure, and Information. The following is an illustration adapted from R.M Clark (2019):

a. Predictive Analysis of Extrapolation

Entity: China’s National Interest

Factor/Force 1: Economy

Factor/Force 2: Military (- or smaller)
In the predictive analysis of Force 1 and Force 2 extrapolation, there is no change, predicted for China with stable economic conditions and existing military strength in fighting for the nine dashed line area they claim.

b. Predictive Analysis of Projection

Entity: China’s National Interest

Factor/Force 1: Economy

Factor/Force 2: Military, undergoing change (shrinking)
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In the predictive projection analysis, Force 1 Economy has not changed but Force 2 has changed. It is predicted that China still prioritizes the economy but the use of military power is reduced due to many driving factors in creating stability in the LCS.

c. Predictive Analysis of Forecasting

Starting point of the Projection predictive analysis results:

Entity: China’s National Interest

Factor/Force 1: Economy

Factor/Force 2: Military, undergoing change (shrinking)

Factor/Force 3: Social
Figure 8. Forecasting Predictive analysis of NNS Conflict

In the predictive analysis of forecasting, from the position of the results of the predictive analysis of the projection, accumulated Economic Force 1 has not changed and Force 2 has changed and then added Social Force 3, which is predicted to be an intention to maintain regional stability by promoting peaceful values.

From the results of predictive analysis both in exploration, projection, and forecasting, the results obtained are Scenario I: China's hegemony in prioritizing its interests has not changed by continuing to carry its nine dashed line, Scenario II: China's hegemony began to reduce its military power in the LCS so that tensions were reduced and Scenario III: Entering social power, which in this case is the concept of cooperation and the presence of ASEAN in bridging conflicts that occur so as to create security stability in the NNS.

Conclusion

Based on the results of the analysis above, the system-change scenario is faced with a concept that is favorable for countries in conflict in the LCS, especially Indonesia. If faced with an open war, of course this will have a negative impact on the safety of the nation and world peace, then cooperation is the right choice to avoid prolonged conflict. However, a more definite mechanism is needed to regulate the concept of Indonesia - China Cooperation in managing the LCS which certainly does not necessarily interfere with the nation's sovereignty.
An example is utilizing the mechanism of bilateral relations between Indonesia and China by jointly managing the fishing business in these waters between Indonesian and Chinese state-owned enterprises. This win-win management pattern has been applied by several countries that originally had maritime border conflicts, such as between Russia and Norway in the North Sea or between Bangladesh and Myanmar in the Bay of Bengal. If this joint management is successful, then Indonesia can also invite other countries that also claim the South China Sea to turn conflicts into mutual benefits, which is the perspective in the blue economy.

In addition, Kertopati, S. (2020) added that from a security perspective, Indonesia through ASEAN can try to accelerate the completion of the Code of Conduct (COC) in the South China Sea between the ASEAN Navy and the Chinese Navy. With the COC in effect, each Navy implements a conflict prevention mechanism at sea. This COC mechanism is very important to reduce the escalation of conflict from escalating into war. Interested parties with COC can also be opened not only between Navies, but also between Coast Guard and Air Force. So, Navy warships, Coast Guard ships, and ASEAN and Chinese Air Force fighters all respect the COC.

From the perspective of diplomacy, it is very important to elaborate 4 statements of the Indonesian Foreign Minister in dealing with the current situation. The foreign diplomacy shown by the Indonesian Foreign Minister is the implementation of government policy to prioritize diplomacy and negotiations while still prioritizing Indonesia’s national interests. With the Foreign Minister’s official statement, the Ministry of Defense can follow up with defense diplomacy, the army Headquarters follows up with military diplomacy and the Navy Headquarters follows up with naval diplomacy. So, it is very important to have an inter-Ministerial meeting between the two countries, and even bilateral meetings between Armed Forces Commanders and bilateral meetings between Naval Chiefs.

Based on the explanation that has been described and by considering the degree of power between Indonesia and China, the following is a proposal for the concept of NNS conflict resolution based on Galtung’s ABC framework:
Figure 9. The Concept of “Unity” (in blue circles) in NNS Conflict Settlement

Bibliography


