

Conference Paper

Indonesia's Prospects As World Class Maritime Power

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Abstract

The possession of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) allows a country to enhance their bargaining position. This approach is coercive rather than peaceful. The idealistic approach using "peaceful" methods to deter the national security threats remains valuable, however, especially for Indonesia as a maritime nation. Indonesia has three factors which obstruct its development as a maritime power. First, there are limited regulations regarding the condition of "secure" regional security in ASEAN. Second, there are limited military funds. Finally, the sea level conditions in the Indonesia waters (known as brown and green sea) are not conducive to naval development. One solution is to leverage the Indonesia Military's international relations to enhance national maritime power.

Keywords: Weapon of Mass Destruction, Maritime Power, Internationalism

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Published: 11 November 2020

Publishing services provided by
Knowledge E

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Selection and Peer-review under the responsibility of the IC-HEDS 2019 Conference Committee.

1. Introduction

This writing will be based on the Indonesian Navy capabilities and conditions which will be compared with South Korean Navy capabilities and conditions, the conditions regarded from the international relations of both countries with their neighbor countries and also from geographical and regional conditions and treaties, such as treaty about Weapon of Mass Destruction (WMD).

First of all, this writing will described about the world class navy qualifications which will be used as the main focus in this writing and used it to look over the opportunity that can be implemented to Indonesia which already implemented in South Korean Navy strategies, technologies and foreign policies. Overall, the world class navy must be qualified for operating what so called as the "Blue Water Navy" [1] which refer to the navy power which ready to cruise over oceanic area [1]. However, after a country is ready to operated blue water navy, the power of blue water navy depends from 5 factors [2], which are; undersea, logistics, air, strike and experience.

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In this paper South Korean Navy will be regarded as the point of learning to boost Indonesian Navy power through South Korean strategies in all over its islands to protect their sovereignty from regional threats [3] which can be seen from their “Middle Power Diplomacy” [4]. Also the fact in some media showed that the South Korean Blue Water Navy capable to uphold their navy power rank at the top number one in all over Asia [5] this number accuracy supported by the great history of global shipbuilding by Korean world class shipbuilder, the Daewoo Shipbuilding and Marine Engineering (DSME) which build the first South Korean tactical submarines in 1993 and already have their chemical carrier technology by 1979 [6]. Not only their regional diplomacy and domestic infrastructure which are sturdy, but also South Korean global bilateral diplomacies with most great maritime power countries, this can be seen from their decision to decide their conflict resolutions over maritime sovereignty conflict with Japan [7] by taking the maritime drill with Japan and its allies [8]. From all three sectors; domestic, regional and global maritime strategy of South Korea, will be implemented to Indonesian Navy, in order to achieved the world class navy capability.

Before we start implemented South Korean strategies to Indonesian Navy, need to be mentioned briefly some Indonesian Navy treaty, values, capabilities and conditions can be supported by South Korean strategies. There's one point from Indonesian Navy mission value, which able to be supported by taking South Korean as a learning point, which is stated in number 2 in The Missions of TNI AL;

“Menjamin tegaknya kedaulatan dan hukum, keamanan wilayah laut, keutuhan wilayah NKRI, serta terlaksananya diplomasi angkatan laut dan pemberdayaan wilayah pertahanan laut” (Ensure the sovereignty and law, maritime security, integrity of Republic of Indonesia, also the implementation of maritime diplomacy and maritime security empowerment) [9].

To build an effective and efficient maritime diplomatic policy requires great military power, by Indonesian Navy ranked in 12th [10] and its growth in military sector ranked in rank 116th [11] makes Indonesia will needed a lot of diplomatic actions in domestic, regional and global levels to achieved Indonesian Navy's target to become a world class navy [12].

Based on the background stated above, we would like to put this research objective to look at the prospect of Indonesia to become the world class maritime power without owning, or using WMD as the power projection, this kind of power has been owned by the maritime power of South Korea.

2. Methods and Equipment

2.1. Methods

Methods in this paper constructed from four parts; research methods, research design, analytic methods, and data gathering. These methods also serve as the scope that limited this research in order to sharpen the result and discussion. All four parts of methods in this research based on the perspective of two experts; Neuman, and Sugiyono.

First, the type of method to construct this paper is Qualitative-Descriptive research. Qualitative research explained as a research that used a set of data in a form of words or picture [13] Descriptive serve as purpose of this research which trying to create set categories or classify types, and clarify sequence of stages [13] that on this paper focused on the maritime policy issues and governance, including regional security.

Furthermore, based on qualitative type, the design research of this paper is Case Studies that explained as in depth exploration of a program, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals [14]. This research design is in line with the aim of this research, which is explaining the event that taking form of policy in a specific activity, which is maritime power, also, observing multiple individual, or in this research seen as actors.

The analytical technique of this paper is an Analytical Comparison, which applying Methods of Difference. This technique explained as the technique of analysis that compares characteristics among cases that focuses on the differences among cases [13]. This explanation is indeed in line with discussion of this paper, which aiming to explore the policy and approach differences of Indonesia in facing maritime power and WMD issues.

As for the data gathering method, this paper is using secondary data, which available on various sources, ranged from books to internet, this approaches is necessary as this is a past event that being analyzed, this method also served as a suggestion from academic and literature perspective towards practice sector.

3. Results

3.1. Indonesia Military Affairs

Indonesian 21st century internationalism in this paper will be discussed its foreign policy transformations each of Indonesian government regimes has adjusted Indonesia foreign

policy to gain more significant role in international relations. Indonesia internationalism will be defined by described Indonesia national power which led into the analysis of current and the possibility of future Indonesian internationalism foreign policies.

Indonesia powers hereby will be defined from three factors [15]; economically, military and politically, Indonesia is not yet become the dominance power in the regions or global order, but it is quickly emerged to continuously grew its power. Indonesia economy capability can be seen from Indonesia Gross Domestic Product (GDP) which highly raising in 2009 until 2012 and sustain at 868 billion USD at 2013 [16], Indonesia economy capability raising and effectively used for domestic and global purposes, it proven by the number of poverty in Indonesia which start to decreased in 2006 at 17.8% and keep decreasing up to 11.3% in 2014 [17].

Indonesia military in this paper will be regarded as the vulnerable point, as the Indonesian Military only ranked at 116th while countries that have direct border with Indonesia such as Malaysia ranked at 58th and Singapore ranked at 15th [18]. However, this military power only based on the expenditure from GDP, as beforehand described the Indonesia GDP is highly raising hence makes Indonesia military growing simultaneously. By the economy and military vulnerabilities and capacities led Indonesia foreign policy into a stronger liberal internationalism which will gain most advantage while Indonesia emerged its power in regional and international relations.

Internationalism not only used for conducting an international cooperation and gains the image of good etiquettes in the eyes of global government, the word internationalism moreover liberal internationalism classified into fourteen points by one of the great internationalist, the United States President, Woodrow Wilson [19], internationalism used to defines the new American foreign policy which also as the contradictory of former American foreign policy which based on the theory of isolationism [20]. Theory of internationalism meant to the establishment of the global government to lower the sovereignty of a country in purpose to expect a country foreign policy to have more consideration into the world peace and domestic prosperity [1], certainly internationalism only effectively applied to a country with a high number of national power, as we cannot denied that the condition of international relations is in anarchy [21]; however the liberal internationalism substance also effectively applied into specific regional relations and bilateral cooperation as the recent Indonesia foreign policies strengthen the relations within ASEAN in order to effectively compete in international relations.

Indonesia internationalism strategy also need to be able to resolved the 21st century international relations challenges; geo-economic not in line with geopolitics, trust deficit of traditional international relations actors and high politics imbalance with low politics

[22]; whereas internationalism should create a balance within international relations, therefore in sustaining its role in international relations, Indonesia used liberal internationalism substance towards ASEAN to gain more opportunities as the representative of ASEAN in the international order; Indonesia internationalism in its regional proven by Indonesia has strengthen its domestic policy to welcome ASEAN programs such as ASEAN Economic Community.

The achievement of Indonesia in setting its foreign policy strategy by liberal internationalism is considerably giving major advantage in Indonesia economics, as ASEAN considered as the main activator in one out of three regions of centers of economic gravity [22]. As Indonesia considered as the representative of South East Asia in global order has indirectly affected the result of 2014 G20 summit towards Indonesian economic growth, Indonesia make the significant achievement in its comprehensive growth strategy which targeted to decrease Indonesia inflation up to 2.8% in 2018 from the latest inflation data in 2014 [23] while other nations only boost their economics by 2.1% [24]. The raise in Indonesia economics sustainability in global economics will affect Indonesia military and international politics, as described beforehand the close intercourse between military and economy to strengthen Indonesian security within its region as to mention will also affected Indonesia legitimacy as the representative of South East Asia. As in the two level games concept described the increase and or sustainability of domestic economy in global economy also affected Indonesia foreign policy which give Indonesia more options to determine the foreign policies [25].

Indonesia can be seen doing internationalism-based foreign policies widely both in regional and international system, there is three points to defined Indonesia internationalism; first is to understand the international relations is in anarchy, also the assumption that states in it are looking for advantages like Indonesia do, therefore in order take an advantages, a country need to meet its vulnerability, like what Sun Tzu said in its book *The Art of War*, "if you know the enemy and yourself, you need not fear the result of hundred battles" [26], like the active role of Indonesia inside ASEAN to overcome Indonesia vulnerabilities such as in economic and military. Second, is to look after the strategy of Indonesia in enhancing its role in ASEAN to gain the sustain consideration as the most qualified South East Asia representative by the international perspective which giving plentiful opportunity for Indonesia to take a role in international system either looking for the opportunity for gaining national interest or common interest of ASEAN. Third, by the condition of strong interdependency as Indonesia maintain its cooperation both in regional and international level; therefore, Indonesia needs to look after its domestic economic growth and social welfare. Within each foreign policy that

Indonesia established should not give the improvement just in the surface which only reducing the number of inflation and or poverty, but more into how to maintain all opportunities to strengthened Indonesia's capability to be able to independently control its powers. And it is highly possible to do so.

The possibility of independency by maximize the opportunities is highly important for Indonesia, not to be distrusted the international relations, as in fact Indonesia only able to be strong enough to be independent by the international relations, but the condition of international relations which is in anarchy need to be note as if the condition getting worst, Indonesia must be able to save its people by retreating from international system to not let it cave in in the chaos. Such event already happened before, when cold war take place and Indonesia implemented its foreign policy called "*mendayung diantara dua karang*" and the foreign policy "*bebas aktif*", which basically retrieve Indonesia from the world system when there was an turbulence in international system; this-kind foreign policy must be done if another turbulence happened, even though in the future Indonesia already hold its widely cooperation with states through investment or direct investment in Indonesia, or any kind of economically and or military cooperation; while giving a necessary aids to the international systems.

Defining Indonesia internationalism by reflected the present Indonesia internationalism- based foreign policies need to be pursued; regarding how Indonesia did their internationalism as described above and regarding all the positive and advantageous possibilities in the future, the next preparations that must to be done by Indonesia; first is to prepared its people mindset all over Indonesia especially to keeping them united as they will interact with the international system directly as explained in liberal internationalism [1] and second to prepared the government quality which needed to be firm and smart enough to take any actions towards any international system conditions to protect Indonesia position in global order.

4. Discussion

First level to be analyzed is the domestic level, which will include the government role over shipbuilding industry and the importance of domestic control over ship building industry, also shipbuilding company itself. In short, this point will be regarding government and industrial role in maritime security by regarding geographical capability. This shipbuilding industry factor will be used to describe their influence to one of five world class navy factors, which is logistic.

The biggest shipbuilding industry in Indonesia, PT PAL [27], have different concentration with DSME in navy ship building, even both corporations are in the same production type as they produced commercial and military ship. The different focus of building a military ship also able to be regarded by the geographical condition in both countries, Indonesia with our shallow water which only able to produce 7.300-ton landing platform [28] while South Korea water which deep enough to build 10,670- ton class warship.

The policy differences in both corporation is the management control, amazingly, most of South Korean shipbuilding and military industry like Daewoo Shipbuilding & Heavy Machinery controlled by one big corporation, Samsung Heavy Industries, under Samsung. Different with Indonesia industry policy, with all various military industries such as PT Pindad, and many more shipbuilding industries controlled by various corporations, this policy make the domestic market competition become tighter and harder to build the product or inventing a product that requires and or needed for Indonesia even in fact Indonesia have the capability and capacity to produce bigger ship like the PT Dok & Perkapalan Kodja Bahari with their facility to build 175m with weight up to 12000 ton [29], those statement also supported by the finding research of Laksamana, about the strategy that he mentioned including the shipbuilding sector [30].

Second level is the regional, cooperation can be advantageous in regional security, while become boomerang if a country targeting to be a world class navy, as the restriction from the treaty will affected directly to the domestic policy, such as ZOPFAN (Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality), also the Treaty on the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone [31]. In this point, the treaties will be used to analyze one of five factors in building world class navy, which is strike. The strike capability which meant to destructive power of the navy, the most possibility is the cruise missile or nuclear weapon, the case become more complex when it's comes to regional cooperation, while South Korea independently growing their military power, Indonesia have the limitation as Indonesia as one of ASEAN member.

One of ASEAN treaty is to make a peaceful with neutrality or less conflict within ASEAN members [32], based on this treaty; the implementation of reducing conflict comes into the establishment of Treaty on the Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone which prohibit ASEAN members to develop or owning any nuclear weapon [33]. The impact of those limitation on developing nuclear weaponry is reducing the capability to be legitimated as the world class navy, however, this regional corporation should be used maximally to support the vulnerability that created by the restriction of nuclear weaponry and energy. Even don't have the military power as a single country, in fact ASEAN countries can make up a better cooperation in terms of maritime security, ASEAN

navy will be regarded as the world class navy, from that point, Indonesia would be able to have a better view to look after any opportunity to enhance domestic navy to become individually recognized as world class navy.

In this global level analysis will be regarded Indonesia foreign policy towards the world class navy all around the world, even Indonesia not yet capable as world class navy as South Korean Navy capable to, Indonesia and ASEAN make a huge leap of maritime corporation especially with U.S. and E.U. like what South Korean have in their RIMPAC (Rim of the Pacific) exercises [34]. In this point, bilateral treaties will be used to analyze three out of five factors in building world class navy, which is underwater, air and experience.

Indonesian as individual country has the most experience in operating submarines with US, start from the year of 90s [35]. The long term exercises over submarine experience both in Indonesia and U.S. territory makes both country relation in maritime getting closer, like their bilateral cooperation and understanding in Java Sea about U.S. ship wreck [36]. Not only with U.S. navy enhanced Indonesia's experience in maritime warfare and corporation, but also indirectly from regional corporations such as ASEAN and EU maritime corporations [37]. Regional maritime corporation bring Indonesia capability recognized by the world class navy countries, in fact that Indonesia individually or regionally (ASEAN) is fully able to implemented South Korea's Middle Power Diplomacy [4] even without the Weapon of Mass Destruction (WMD) nor nuclear power.

The rising of Indonesian Military power proven by the Indonesia participation in the middle of blue water navy training, the RIMPAC 2014 [38], Indonesia capability is raising and approved capable going into the oceanic operation, even Indonesian Navy only regarded as Rank4 navy, as described as; "Medium Regional Force Projection Navy - These are navies possessing the ability to project force into the adjoining ocean basin. While they may have the capacity to exercise these further afield, for whatever reason, they do not do so on a regular basis [39].

5. Conclusion

There are several points that Indonesia can implemented to enhance its capacity to get the global recognition as one of world class navy, from three sectors that developed the most by South Korean to strengthen its navy, especially the domestic policy, the major importance of shipbuilding industries, Indonesia should also do the same thing, as Indonesia need higher security to protect Indonesia's major territory which is water.

Indonesia have the additional point by having tight corporation with its regional, which most East Asia country, this cooperation shouldn't use as the 'hideout' but more into enhance the navy power as fast as possible.

Even with all vulnerability in geographical area (shallow water) and the lack of destructive power (non-WMD country), doesn't make Indonesia didn't go to cruise in the ocean as basically Indonesia alongside with two great oceans the Indian Ocean and the North Pacific Ocean, while also Indonesia have the dock to build such ship, even though Indonesia need to deploy a lot of navy frigate (fast ship) to encounter border problems and domestic sea territory by the shallow water of Indonesia domestic territory.

After regarding all South Korean vulnerability in domestic by well-managed infrastructures, in regions by deter the maritime threats from its neighbor and also their middle power diplomacy and their world class navy excellent standing; and by Indonesian navy's domestic and geography vulnerabilities, regional capabilities and global capacity; Indonesian must be able to change its maritime strategy to start to operated blue water navy operation in order to become world class navy without WMD this strategy is highly needed for the sake of domestic and regional security; by enhancing the domestic technology and shipbuilding, tightening regional bounds and increasing our experience by global maritime cooperation.

Funding

This work was supported by Asymmetric Warfare Department, Faculty of Defense Strategy, Indonesia Defense University

Acknowledgement

The authors would like to thank their colleague for their contribution and support to the research. They are also thankful to all the reviewers who gave their valuable inputs to the manuscript and helped in completing the paper.

Conflict of Interest

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

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