



**The Mere Dream of Modern and Strong Naval Forces:
A Reflection on Indonesia's Naval Modernization During President Jokowi's First
Term of Administration 2015-2019**

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS

**Submitted as one of the requirements to obtain
Sarjana Sosial (S.Sos.)**

By:

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**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS STUDY PROGRAM
CIKARANG
JANUARY, 2023**

THESIS ADVISOR
RECOMMENDATION LETTER

This thesis titled “**The Mere Dream of Modern and Strong Naval Forces: A Reflection on Indonesia’s Naval Modernization During President Jokowi’s First Term of Administration 2015-2019**” prepared and submitted by Mohamad Lail Febryantsyah in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor in the Faculty of Humanities, has been reviewed and found to have satisfied the requirements for a thesis fit to be examined. I therefore recommend this thesis for Oral Defence.

Cikarang, Indonesia, 1 December 2022

Recommended and Acknowledge by,

1 December 2022



Muhammad Sigit Andhi Rahman, Ph.D.

Thesis Advisor I

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The Panel of Examiners declare that the undergraduate thesis entitled “**The Mere Dream of Modern and Strong Naval Forces: A Reflection on Indonesia’s Naval Modernization During President Jokowi’s First Term of Administration 2015-2019**” that was submitted by **Mohamad Lail Febryantsyah** majoring in International Relations from the Faculty of Humanities was assessed and approved to have passed the Oral Examinations on 16 January 2023.



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ABSTRACT

Mohamad Lail Febryantsyah, International Relations 2019, President University Thesis

Title: *“The Mere Dream of Modern and Strong Naval Forces: A Reflection on*

Indonesia’s Naval Modernization During President Jokowi’s First Term of Administration 2015-2019”

The continuously evolving strategic environment and multidimensional threats demand the state to adapt and adopt appropriate defence policies, strategies, and doctrine. Indonesia, based on the Defence Ministerial Law Number 19 of 2015 in which continues to pursue the second phase of the MEF project or the Minimum Essential Force for the TNI (Tentara Nasional Indonesia) in order to support the grand vision of the Global Maritime Fulcrum policy or the “Poros Maritim Dunia” in which President Joko Widodo’s flagship programme. The fulfilment of Minimum Essential Force is closely related to meeting the needs of the weapon system and defence equipment in supporting strength, deployment and capability of defence. This thesis aims to analyse the implementation of Phase 2 (2015-2019) of the Minimum Essential Force strategy implemented by the Indonesian Government and to discover the Indonesian Government’s commitment to support the development programme. The Politics of Budget Theory will be used in order to theoretically framed the findings of this research which answered the question of this research. It is found that the conflicting interest between defence needs and subsidy for social welfare which the author discovered within the Indonesian House of Legislatives (DPR-RI) because of the “parties interest” which they claimed as the “people’s voice” then resulted to a small portion of the defence budget which will be divided for the Army, Airforce, and the Navy. This then gives the Indonesian Navy an even smaller portion left for it to spend which then posed a challenge for the Indonesian Navy in its effort to build its fleet with the minimum budget.

Keywords: *Minimum Essential Force, Global Maritime Fulcrum, Hollow Force, Defence, Indonesian Navy, Defence Equipment.*

ABSTRACT

Mohamad Lail Febryantsyah, International Relations 2019, President University Thesis

Title: *“The Mere Dream of Modern and Strong Naval Forces: A Reflection on*

Indonesia’s Naval Modernization During President Jokowi’s First Term of Administration 2015-2019”

Lingkungan strategis yang terus berkembang dan ancaman multidimensi menuntut negara untuk beradaptasi dan mengadopsi kebijakan, strategi, dan doktrin pertahanan yang tepat. Indonesia, berdasarkan Undang-Undang Menteri Pertahanan Nomor 19 Tahun 2015 yang terus mengejar proyek MEF tahap kedua atau Minimum Essential Force TNI (Tentara Nasional Indonesia) dalam rangka mendukung visi besar kebijakan “Poros Maritim Dunia” yang menjadi program unggulan Presiden Joko Widodo. Pemenuhan Minimum Essential Force erat kaitannya dengan pemenuhan kebutuhan alutsista dan alutsista dalam mendukung kekuatan, pengerahan, dan kemampuan pertahanan. Tesis ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis pelaksanaan Tahap 2 (2015-2019) dari program Minimum Essential Force yang dilaksanakan oleh Pemerintah Indonesia dan untuk mengetahui komitmen Pemerintah Indonesia dalam mendukung program pembangunan kekuatan TNI AL. Teori Politik Anggaran akan digunakan untuk membingkai secara teoritis temuan penelitian ini yang menjawab pertanyaan penelitian ini. Penelitian ini kemudian menemukan bahwa pertentangan kepentingan antara kebutuhan pertahanan dan subsidi untuk kesejahteraan sosial yang penulis temukan di Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia (DPR-RI) karena “kepentingan partai” yang mereka klaim sebagai “suara rakyat” yang kemudian mengakibatkan sebagian kecil anggaran pertahanan akan dibagi untuk Angkatan Darat, Angkatan Udara, dan Angkatan Laut. Hal ini kemudian menyebabkan anggaran yang didapatkan oleh TNI AL semakin kecil, yang akan memberi tantangan kepada TNI AL dalam usahanya mengembangkan kekuatan armadanya dengan anggaran yang kecil.

Keywords: *Minimum Essential Force, Poros Maritim Dunia, Hollow Force, Pertahanan, Angkatan Laut Indonesia, Alutsista Pertahanan.*

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Table Of Contents

RECOMMENDATION LETTER	ii
PANEL OF EXAMINER APPROVAL SHEET	iii
STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY	iv
SCIENTIFIC PUBLICATION APPROVAL FOR ACADEMIC INTEREST	v
ADVISOR’S APPROVAL FOR PUBLICATION	vi
ABSTRACT	vii
ABSTRACT	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	ix
Table Of Contents	x
LIST OF TABLES	xii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
LIST OF CHARTS	xiv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xv
CHAPTER I	1
1.1. Introduction	1
1.2. Problem Identification	4
1.3. Research Question and Objective	7
1.4. Literature Review	7
1.5. Conceptual Framework	9
1.6. Scope and Limitations	11
1.7. Research Methodology	11
Chapter II	13
An Overview of the Indonesian Navy	13
2.1. The Role of a Navy	13
2.1.1. Diplomatic Role	13
2.1.2. Military Role	15
2.1.3. Policing or Constabulary Role	15
2.1. The Indonesian Navy During Old Order Era	15
2.2. The Indonesian Navy During New Order Era	18

2.3.	The Indonesian Navy on The Present Day	21
2.3.1.	Naval Modernization Efforts	22
2.3.2.	Indonesian Navy Current Capabilities	24
2.4.	The Future of the Indonesian Navy	27
	CHAPTER III	29
	Indonesia's Defence Budgeting Process and Its Impact Towards Naval Modernization	29
3.1.	Defining Indonesian Budget (APBN)	29
3.2.	An Introduction to Indonesian Budgeting System	31
3.3.	The Role of the Indonesian House of Legislatives	32
3.4.	The Role of the Ministry of Defence.....	33
3.5.	The Role of the Ministry of Finance	34
3.6.	A Deep Exploration on The Budget Constraints	35
3.7.	The Struggle on building a "Balanced fleet" with the available budget	37
	CHAPTER IV	40
	Conclusion	40
	Bibliography	42

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 – Indonesian Navy Fleet During the Old Order Era... ..	17
Table 2.2 – Indonesian Navy Fleet During the New Order Era	20
Table 2.3 – The Indonesian Navy Current Naval Assets as of 2021.....	25
Table 2.4 – The Indonesian Navy Current Aerial Assets as of 2021.....	26

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 – Budget Formulation Mechanism of Indonesia	5, 32
Figure 1.2 – The GDP of Indonesia 2015-2019	5
Figure 1.3 - Indonesia’s Defence Budget 2015-2019	6
Figure 1.4. – Politics of Budget process framework by Carlos Santiso	10

LIST OF

Figure 3.1 – The Visualization of APBN Classification

.....29

LIST OF CHARTS

Chart 2.1 – Comparison of TNI AL Fleet’s from Three Period of Time	27
Chart 3.1 – Comparison Between Indonesia’s Defence Budget and Indonesia’s Budget on Subsidy	36

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAW	: Anti Air Warfare.
ABRI	: Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia.
AGF/H	: Command Ship/ With Hangar
AGHS	: Hydrographic Survey Vessel.
AGOR	: Oceanographic Research Vessel.
AGOS	: Oceanographic Surveillance Vessel.
AGS/H	: Survey Ship/ With Hangar.
AKS/L	: Stores Ship/ Light.
AOR/L/H	: Fleet Replenishment Oiler with RAS Capability/Light/With Hangar.
AOT/L	: Oiler Transport/ Light
AP	: Armored Transport Ship.
APBN	: Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara.
ASuW	: Anti Surface Warfare.
ASW	: Anti-Submarine Warfare.
ATF	: Ocean Going Tug.
AX/L/S	: Training craft/ light/ sail.
BAKAMLA	: Badan Keamanan Laut (Indonesian Coast Guard).
BAPENNAS	: Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (Indonesia' National Development Planning agency).
CAATSA	: The Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act.
CBM	: Confidence Building Measures.
CSAR	: Combat Search and Rescue.
DITJEN RENHAN	: Direktorat Perencanaan Pertahanan
DISLAIKMATAL	: Dinas Kelaikan Material TNI Angkatan Laut
DPR-RI	: Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia (Indonesia's House of Legislatives).
EW	: Electronic Warfare.
FF/G/H/M	: Frigate/With Surface-To-Surface Missile/With Hangar/With

SAM.

FS/G/H/M	: Corvette/With Surface-To-Surface Missile/With Hangar/With SAM.
GDP	: Gross Domestic Products
GMF / PMD	: Global Maritime Fulcrum / Poros Maritim Dunia.
HA/DR	: Humanitarian Aid and Disaster Recovery.
JAKHANEG	: Kebijakan Pertahanan Negara.
KCR	: Kapal Cepat Rudal.
KOARMADA	: Komando Armada.
LC/M//U/VP	: Landing Craft/ Medium/ Utility/ Vehicles and Personnel.
LP/D/H	: Landing Platform/Dock/Helicopter.
LS/D/L/H/M/T	: Landing Ship/Dock/Logistic/With Hangar/Medium/Tank.
MCO	: Mine Countermeasure Ocean.
MEF	: Minimum Essential Force.
MOD	: Ministry of Defence.
MP	: Maritime Patrol.
MRH	: Multi-role Helicopter
MS/C/D/I/O/R	: Mine Sweeper/Coastal/Drone/Inshore/Ocean/River.
OPV	: Offshore Patrol Vessel
PB/F/G/I/M/R/T	: Patrol Boat/Fast/With Surface-To-Surface Missile/Inshore/With SAM/Riverine/With Torpedo
PC/C/F/G/H/T	: Patrol Craft/Coastal/Fast/With Surface-To-Surface Missile/With Hangar/With Torpedo.
POLAIRUD	: Polisi Air dan Udara (The Police's corps of water and air).
R&D	: Research and Development.
SSK	: Conventionally Powered Attack Submarine
TNI	: Tentara Nasional Indonesia / Indonesian Military.
TNI AL	: Tentara Nasional Indonesia Angkatan Laut / Indonesian Navy.
TPT	: Transport.