



**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

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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.*

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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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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.