

Implementation of Indonesia's Sea Defense Strategy Policy In Facing Military Threats to Support Sea Power

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Abstract

Indonesia in realizing the World Maritime Axis country requires good physical and mental conditions where all elements greatly affect the performance and performance of the country in carrying out defense and security in order to achieve national goals. This article uses a qualitative method. Regarding the Implementation of the Archipelago Sea Defense Strategy Policy in Facing Military Threats to Support Sea Power. Using the theory of policy implementation according to Edward III, namely Communication, Resources, Disposition and Bureaucratic Structure. To obtain data using the Library Research method, which includes the use of books, scientific journals, trade publications, magazines, newspapers, the internet, and artifacts. That when viewed based on Edward III's first policy implementation theory of communication that good communication will bring Indonesia into defense diplomatically with the country concerned without having to go to war, disposition requires Indonesia to take an active role in *collective security* efforts in the ASEAN Regional region so as to create decisions that can be mutually agreed upon in cases of territorial waters or state borders in the ASEAN Regional region, resources require Indonesia to understand the current threat spectrum that the glass of power of *great power* countries has occurred in the region so that the government must take the right steps in fulfilling both human resources and defense equipment, and finally the bureaucratic structure where all elements responsible for marine security must take part in maintaining marine security and defense and minimizing the egocentricity of each institution in order to achieve national goals.

Keywords: Policy Implementation, Archipelago Sea Defense Strategy, Military Threats

Introduction

Indonesia in realizing the World Maritime Axis country requires good physical and mental conditions where all elements greatly affect the performance and performance of the country in carrying out defense and security in order to achieve national goals.

Indonesia, which is located in a strategic cross position in the world, provides great opportunities in realizing the world's maritime axis country. In addition to its strategic position, Indonesia is also endowed with a lot of natural resources and human resources. This supports the sustainability and policies of the government in organizing the country.

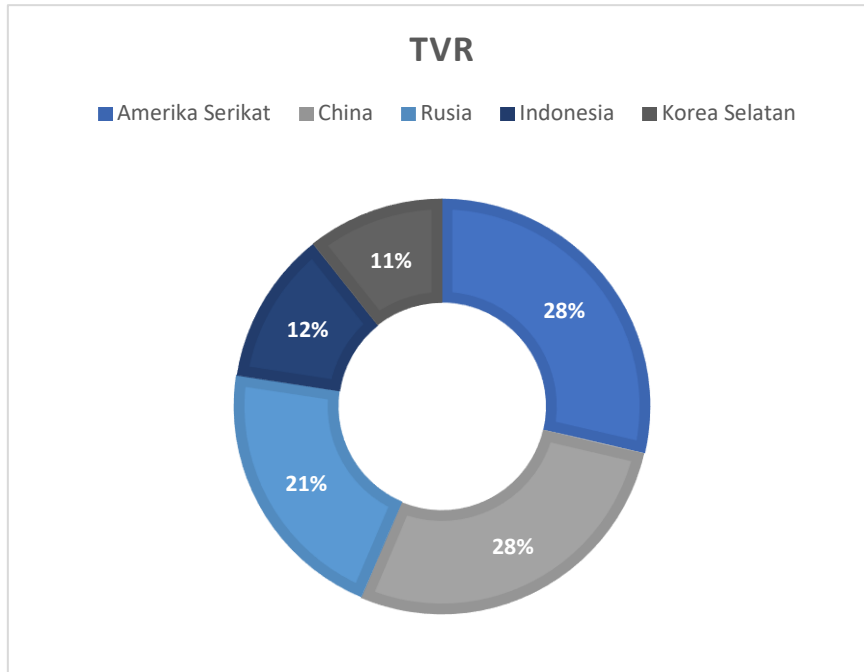
In addition, as a country with an area of about 2/3 in Southeast Asia, it has many factual and potential threats. (Salim, 2015). Therefore, the state cannot remain silent waiting for threats to come but prepare with all available capabilities to deal with threats, disturbances, obstacles and challenges.

Indonesia is known as a maritime country with an area that is mostly ocean. To maintain territorial sovereignty, of course Indonesia must have a strong navy that is even respected. In the world there are several countries with the most powerful and respected navies today. the military power of a country is compiled from the strength of the land army, navy and air force.

The World Directory of Modern Military Warships (WDMMW) provides a comprehensive overview of the current military strength as well as the inherent weaknesses of modern naval militaries around the world. This information on modern naval military power is

viewed in light of a country's resources and provides a unique, visual, and analytical insight into the key aspects of modern warfare including sea control and critical waterways. At present, 36 countries have been researched for their navies and the total assets of all 36 countries are 2,949 military power assets. (WDMMW, 2023).

Picture 1. Comparison of True Value Rating (TvR) of Naval Power of 5 Countries



Source: CNBC Indonesia, (2023). Processed by Penullis.

Based on the picture above, Indonesia is categorized as the 4th strongest Navy in the world. WDMMW gives a TvR value to RI of 137.7. The Indonesian navy has a total of 243 fleets as of July 2023, namely four submarines, seven frigates, 25 corvettes, nine mining warships, 168 offshore patrol vessels, and 30 amphibious combat ships. (CNBC Indonesia, 2023). Here we can see a table of the 5 countries with the strongest TvR values according to DMMW.

Table 1. TvR Value According to WDMMW in 2023

| No | Country | TvR |
|----|--------------------------|-------|
| 1 | United States of America | 329.9 |
| 2 | China | 319.8 |
| 3 | Russia | 242.3 |
| 4 | Indonesia | 137.3 |
| 5 | South Korea | 122.9 |

Source: WMDDW, 2023. Processed by the author.

According to the table above, Indonesia is ranked fourth and beats South Korea, but the WDMMW organization notes that Indonesia does not have aircraft carriers, cruisers, and destroyers. Even so, there is a balance of assets owned by the Indonesian navy at the "medium" level (CNBC Indonesia, 2023). This is a very good achievement for the Indonesian Navy or Indonesia considering that we are an archipelago. This ranking is only a number that will change in time if the Indonesian Navy does not anticipate this praise into a new challenge so

that Indonesian sea power is even better in the era of the presence of *great power* countries in the ASEAN region.

Methods

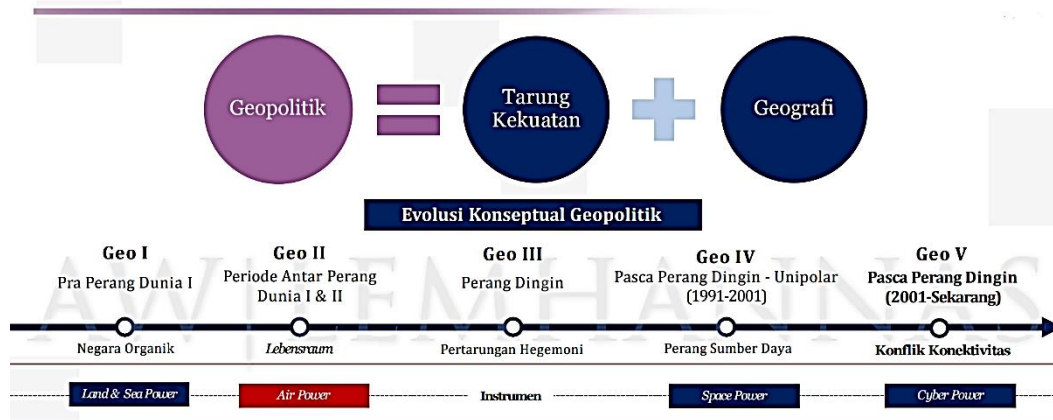
Qualitative research is a research method based on the philosophy of postpositivism, used to research natural object conditions where the researcher is the critical instrument. (Sugiyono, 2020). Data analysis is descriptive, describing or describing research results in words or language. (Anggito & Setiawan, 2018). Regarding the Implementation of the Archipelago Sea Defense Strategy Policy in Facing Military Threats to Support Sea Power. Using the theory of policy implementation according to Edward III, namely Communication, Resources, Disposition and Bureaucratic Structure. To obtain data using the Library Research method, which includes the use of books, scientific journals, trade publications, magazines, newspapers, the internet, and artifacts. (Bungin, 2020).

Result and Discussion

Military Power Presence of Great Power Countries

The significant things that make sea defense strategies evolve today are geo-political and geo-economic issues. Speaking of geopolitics involves power and geography. Geopolitics is a science with physical geography as a priority. In determining defense strategy, geopolitics is one that needs to be understood in determining future policies. (Santoso, 2021). In this case, we can see the development of geopolitics in the world as shown in the figure below.

Picture 2 Geopolitics V



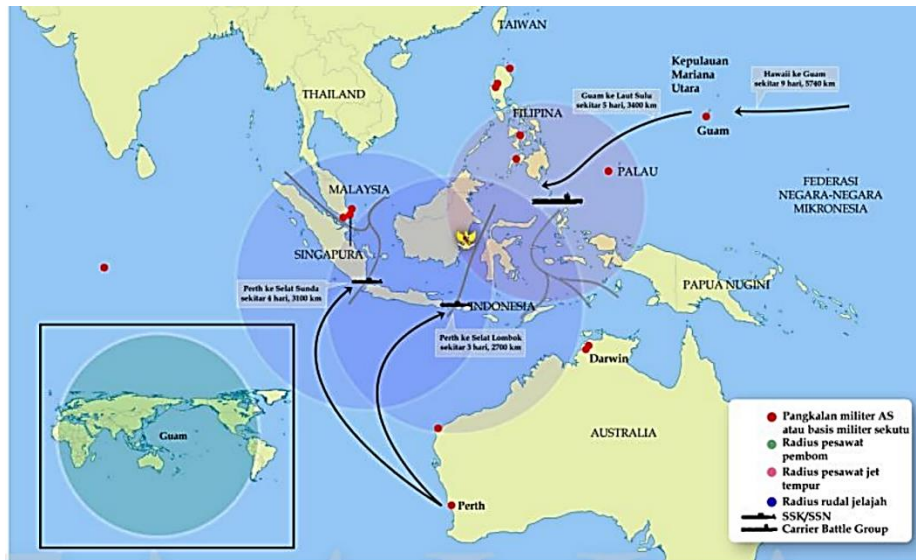
Source: Lemhannas RI (2022)

Picture 2 explains that in Geopolitics V or Post-Cold War, the thing that will be of concern to all countries is connectivity. Connectivity itself will involve actors who will try to build their existence in the world. Then we know that there is a superpower title to gain existence in geostrategic and geo-economic areas such as the South China Sea and the Indo-Pacific.

China massively deployed its military forces in the South China Sea region such as forming military bases in the Spratly Islands, Paracel Islands, Scarborough Shoal, Pratas Island, and Macclesfield Bank. This happened in order to roll out China's "Nine Dase Line" policy in the Southeast Asian region where historically they believe that it is their trade route and also the South China Sea is China's territorial waters. Stating that since a long time ago fishermen have sailed into the waters of the South China Sea to enter the territorial limits of the Exclusive

Economic Zones (EEZ) of several countries in ASEAN. Of course, this is very contrary to the provisions of the 1982 *United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea* (UNCLOS). Furthermore, this has received criticism from several countries whose sea territory is included in the "Nine Dash Line" claim. It also invites the presence of the United States, which is a *Great Power* country.

Picture 3 United States power degree



Source: Lemhannas RI (2022)

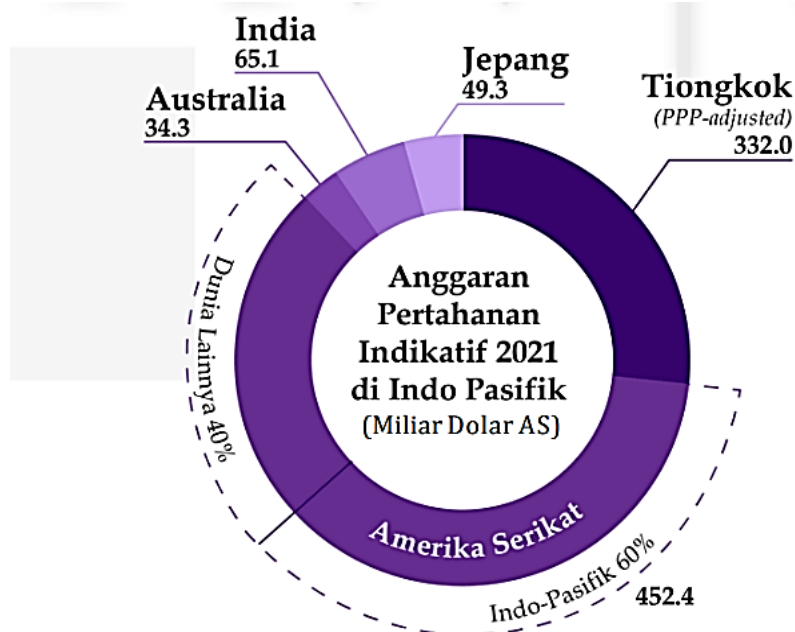
Based on picture 3 above that currently the United States has placed its military forces at several points such as in the Philippines, Malaysia and Australia proves that the geopolitical turmoil in the ASEAN region requires America to present massive Indo-Pacific power.

Furthermore, talking about geoeconomics, state policies are very influential on economic development in the country. Where countries in the world are beginning to realize the enormous potential of the sea and are able to support the economic life of their country. Of course, the area that becomes the *center of gravity* will become the center of attention both economically and politically. When it comes to the sea, the abundant potential of the sea will be the concern of humans to explore it in the context of economic development. In addition, the sustainability of the country lies in the policies of authorized *stake holders*. When it comes to the sea, all elements of institutions related to or responsible for marine security and defense will *include* responsibility. In this case, every law issued by the state for the institution, the institution will make another policy as a work procedure or norm in carrying out its duties and functions.

Speaking of Indonesia, which is an archipelago with abundant natural resources including its marine resources. It has trade routes that are very influential on the wheels of the world economy, of course.

With a strategic geographical situation as an archipelago, it certainly provides great benefits for Indonesia. But besides that, Indonesia also gets threats from both outside and inside. For example, the disputes that occur in the South China Sea are not merely wanting to control the sea as a trade route but countries realize the potential wealth of abundant marine resources and if it can be controlled it will support the country's economy.

Picture 4 QUAD-China Defense Budget in the Indo Pacific



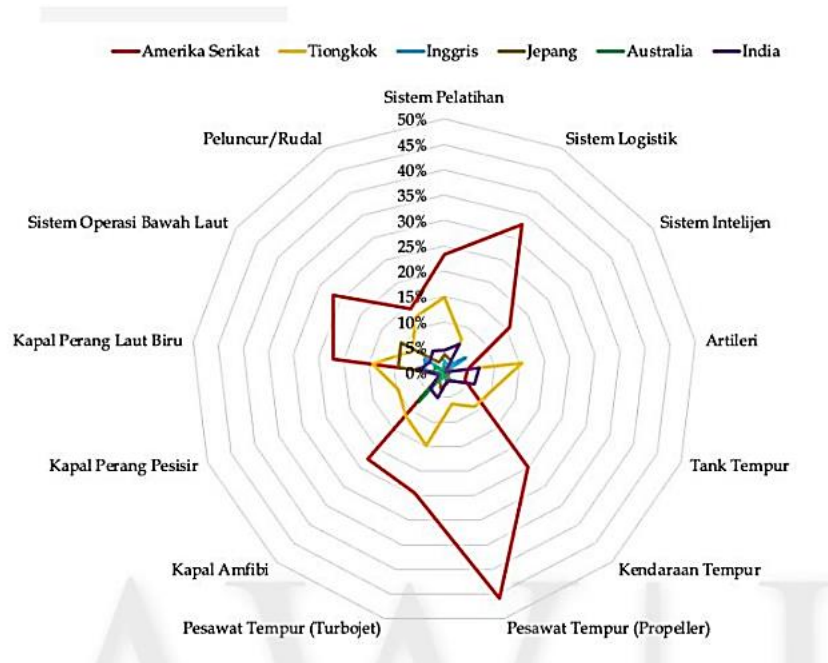
Source: Lemhannas RI (2022)

The territorial claims made by China are indeed very seriously responded to by the United States and allies. Based on Figure 3 in 2021 the Indo-Pacific has budgeted 452.4 billion US Dollars for the defense budget if it is percented about 60% of the world power present in the ASEAN regional area in facing China. In addition, China, which is the root of this problem, has also spent a defense budget of 332 billion US dollars, which is the second largest budget after the United States. This proves how serious the response of developed countries in the world is.

The presence of AUKUS and QUAD which is a real revalidity that is present in the midst of the heated upheaval of the region in the South China Sea carried out by China. This is an aspect that must be considered as a potential threat to Indonesia. In Mr. Andi Wijayanto's presentation, Indonesia is included in the radius of strategic bombers, fighter jets and cruise missiles of the United States. In addition, Indonesia is also within the radius of China's ballistic missiles, fighter jets and bombers. The US bases scattered in the region also pose a threat if the US uses them as forward bases for force projection against the enemy. (Wijayanto, 2022).

By 2023, economic and territorial expansion through China's "nine dase line" policy to dominate in the region has prompted the three AUKUS partners to strengthen the alliance by providing 8 to 12 nuclear-powered submarines to the Royal Australian Navy (RAN) over the next three decades. Concerns over the trilateral reaction of the United States, United Kingdom and Australia present nuclear-powered technology to power the latest generation of submarines. Hence, China has reacted strongly to the AUKUS, while the reactions of ASEAN countries vary widely, with some tacitly supporting to others fearing the threat of weapons proliferation and power projection of the AUKUS that could trigger security dynamics in the ASEAN region.

Picture 5 Comparison of AUKUS, QUAD and Chinese Weapons



Source: Lemhannas RI (2022)

The huge budget that has been spent is certainly to launch their operations if one day the conflict in the South China Sea region enters at its peak then a ceasefire may not be avoided. Picture 5 is a comparison of AUKUS, QUAD and Chinese weaponry. Where the United States is ranked first as much as 50% they have presented defense forces around the conflict area. And of course China is ranked second at around 45%. This defense budget includes training systems, logistics systems, intelligence systems, artillery, battle tanks, combat vehicles, combat aircraft (Propeller), launchers / missiles, underwater operating systems, blue sea warships, coastal warships, amphibious ships and fighter aircraft (Turbo jet). Of course, it has become a special concern for the *Great Power* countries to present combat equipment in this conflict. If you look back at this, it is like they are showing off their strength in the ASEAN region. This certainly has a significant impact on the mentality of ASEAN countries including Indonesia.

In the opinion of Dr. Chiew-Ping Hoo who is a Senior Lecturer in Strategic Studies and International Relations Program of National University of Malaysia said,

"Certainly the most significant implication for regional security is the political and strategic competition involving both the United States and China, as well as possible war scenarios that could spill over from the East China Sea into the South China Sea. Everyone is paying attention to China's increasing military buildup, including nuclear," (Expert Session 2 Jakarta Geopolitical Forum VII/2023 "ASEAN's Future: Addressing the Region's Geo-Maritime Rifts" on Thursday (15/6/23)).

The concerns expressed by ASEAN countries, including Indonesia, are divided into three categories, including the emergence of an arms race, the intervention of external forces and aggressive actions of major countries, and the emergence of the use of the Indonesian archipelago sea route in the event of a future conflict. These three things are feared to have implications for the SEANFWZ (*Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone*). The presence of eight nuclear-powered submarines in Australia will have a negative impact on ASEAN security stability, which will violate the SEANWFZ treaty agreed by ASEAN countries on December 15, 1995 (Yudanto, 2021). The SEANWFZ was agreed as an effort to preserve Southeast Asia

as a nuclear-free region and other weapons of mass destruction in order to realize international peace and security.

In the geopolitical context of the Indo-Pacific Region, although AUKUS officially states that it will be committed to maintaining security stability and peace in the Indo-Pacific Region, the development of nuclear-powered submarine technology carried out by AUKUS is an ancient method in the cold war that was commonly used by the United States and the Soviet Union and *their* proxy countries, namely by presenting forces in areas that could have implications for the emergence of conflict with the opinion that its presence is a *balance of power in the* Indo-Pacific region.

The above explanation proves that military threats in peacetime are already present in the ASEAN region. The concerns that have been felt by ASEAN countries are also specifically the concerns of Indonesia, which is geographically directly confronted with China and Australia. This military threat is estimated to still have the potential to emerge and endanger state sovereignty, state territorial integrity and the safety of the entire nation. Military threats can take the form of threats from foreign military forces, or domestic armed forces such as open conflict, conventional warfare, violations of land sea and air borders, separatism, and others.

The threat of nuclear-powered submarines owned by AUKUS is also a major threat to the southern waters of Java Island. Java is the most strategic island in terms of geography, geoeconomics and geopolitics. Directly bordering the Indian Ocean and the Australian Continent, so it has the greatest military threat, namely nuclear problems. Whereas the current TNI-AL military force is still focused in the northern region.

This military threat is already very real, namely the discovery of an *unmanned underwater vehicle (UUV)* or seaglider in Indonesian territory according to military observers is a form of interference with Indonesia's territorial sovereignty. The occurrence of intrusion (trespassing) due to the absence of the main weaponry (alutsista) owned by the Navy in anticipating and detecting these tools.

The discovery of this underwater drone in the last two years has occurred three times. At the end of 2020, a fisherman in the waters of Majapahit Village, Selayar Islands at 07.00 WITA found a seaglider floating on the sea surface. Still in the same year, fishermen found a similar object in the waters of Masalembu, Sumenep, Madura, and in 2019 on Tenggel Island, Riau Islands. (BBC News Indonesia, 2021).

Military and defense researcher from *Research and Operations on Technology & Society (ROOTS)*, Riefqi Muna, considers the previous discovery of seagliders and other foreign vehicles in Indonesian waters a form of intrusion into Indonesian sovereignty. Based on the location of the discovery and the type of technology used, Muna speculates that the seaglider, which is suspected to belong to China, aims to map underwater conditions for submarine movements to avoid detection. (BBC News Indonesia, 2021).

Implementation of SPLN Policy

In the face of military threats that have been present in the middle of the region, the Indonesian government must prepare itself to face the possibilities that exist. Although the military threat of this Great Power country is still categorized as a potential threat and not a factual threat, in fact there have been several cases of seaglider discovery in Indonesian waters. This proves that countries that already have sophisticated technology easily enter Indonesia's

defense area without the knowledge or permission of the Indonesian government. therefore it is necessary to implement a good sea defense strategy policy that is able to face threats in the current 4.0 era.

The Archipelago Sea Defense Strategy is an effort to achieve national goals and interests and as a follow-up to the mandate of national defense legislation and the TNI. (Aprianto, 2018). Eka Sasana Jaya which is the doctrine of the Navy as an effort to build the competence and capability of the Navy. SPLN is a defense strategy implemented at sea which is dynamically influenced by the development of the strategic environment, and the availability of national resources which are carried out through joint operations, matra operations, and assistance operations supported by national forces.

The government's vision that establishes Indonesia as the world's maritime axis is a necessary thought in building strength based on Indonesia's geographical condition as an archipelago. The existence of this vision has implications for national defense strategies including the SPLN. SPLN itself already exists through the Decree of the Head of the Navy in 2004. Where at this time the target of SPLN is to prevent parties who will disrupt the state's defense and the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia through the sea. SPLN is an integral part of the Archipelago Defense Strategy which is organized on three main interrelated pillars, namely the universal people's defense and security system, *defense in depth* and deterrence. (Navy Headquarters, 2004).

The three strategic goals of the IWS are to prevent disruptive intentions, to counter threats, and to create a controlled sea jurisdiction. These three goals will be achieved by the SPLN, which contains three main strategies, namely *deterrence strategy*, *layer defense strategy*, and *sea control strategy*. (Aprianto, 2018).

SPLN is inseparable from Indonesian Sea Power where in order for us to return to glory at sea, Indonesia must be able to answer three basic things, namely what goals / objectives to be realized (*ends*), with what infrastructure to realize the goals (*means*) and how to realize these goals (*ways*). To realize glory at sea, according to Marsetio, there are at least three main goals that must be achieved, namely the realization of the character of a maritime nation, the creation of excellence in maritime human resources (HR) and the development of a maritime economy. (Marsetio, 2014).

Implementation of the SPLN Strategy Policy by the Indonesian Navy

Policy Implementation of the SPLN by the Indonesian Navy according to Edward III, namely

a. *Deterrence Strategy*

Deterrence strategies are carried out in times of peace and crisis or war. This SPLN will have a deterrence effect and create a controlled condition of national jurisdictional waters. (Aprianto, 2018). This aims to achieve the structuring of sea operation titles related to the strategy of deterrence and sea control both in the Navy's diplomacy, presence at sea, combat alert operations, and daily sea operations. According to Edward III, this deterrence strategy requires both human resources and infrastructure. The fulfillment of resources that must be deployed in the deterrence strategy is the Republic of Indonesia Warship (KRI), Navy Ship (KAL), Navy aircraft, mariner, and Navy base. When talking about communication, in this deterrence strategy the Navy can conduct

diplomacy with the Navy of other countries that have clearly entered sovereign territory. If diplomacy has been taken but there is no change, armistice or war will be carried out. Of course, in making policies, it will involve the President, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defense as well as the Navy itself. This is a form of disposition that needs to be taken in diplomacy with related countries. For example, at this time the Indonesian Navy / Indonesia is advised to be as defensive as possible in the hope that nothing detrimental to the Indonesian Navy / Indonesia will arise. at the same time, the Indonesian Navy must also have an alternative strategy, namely *balance of power* through *colletive* security in the ASEAN Region. (Wicaksono, 2022).

b. *Layer defense strategy*

Layered defense strategies are carried out in crisis or war conditions. The layered strategy will involve areas that will be used as a buffer field, the main defense field, and involve weapons systems that are different from one another. (Aprianto, 2018). The purpose of this layered defense is to destroy opposing forces that can threaten the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia. Layered defense is also carried out by China in carrying out its expansion in the waters of the South China Sea. Layered defense requires the formation of three defense zones, namely buffer zones that require preliminary attack capabilities, defense zones that require *counter offensive* capabilities, and resistance zones as areas of protracted or guerrilla warfare. (Wijayanto, 2022).

c. *Sea Control Strategy*

The sea control strategy will involve all sea power systems that rely on the Navy's combat capability. This is where the role of the TNI Angkatan Laut in maintaining the sovereignty of the sea area (Aprianto, 2018). If the Navy wants to control the sea, it must have the power to master sea communication. According to Edward III, communication is very important in organizations. In this case, the Navy's communication must be good to get important information about opponents, sea conditions, and so on in order to determine what strategies should be used in preventing threats or disturbances in the territorial waters of the Republic of Indonesia. *Sea control* itself can be interpreted as a force that has freedom of action in the use of the sea for certain purposes at all times and if necessary counteracts its use for the purposes of the opponent (British Maritime Doctrine, 2017 in Sutanto et al., 20). (Sutanto et al., 2022)).

Conclusion

Indonesia's actions as a Non-Aligned country also have a free and active foreign policy that allows Indonesia to play an active role as a mediator in the ASEAN Regional region. In addition, Indonesia must position itself as a country that provides peace in the midst of the China conflict and the presence of AUKUS where Indonesia's position is geopolitically and geostrategically strategic. In addition, strengthening sea defense requires good cooperation between the Navy and Non-Navy Institutions tasked with maintaining sea security. Synergy is needed to achieve a more resilient SPLN strategy. When viewed based on Edward III's first

policy implementation theory of communication that good communication will bring Indonesia into defense diplomatically with the country concerned without having to go to war, disposition requires Indonesia to take an active role in *collective security* efforts in the ASEAN Regional region so as to create decisions that can be mutually agreed upon in cases of territorial waters or state borders in the ASEAN Regional region, resources require Indonesia to understand the current threat spectrum that the glass of power of *great power* countries has occurred in the region so that the government must take the right steps in fulfilling both human resources and defense equipment, and finally the bureaucratic structure where all elements responsible for marine security must take part in maintaining marine security and defense and minimizing the egocentricity of each institution in order to achieve national goals.

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