

EUROSEAS 2019 Panel Proposal

1. Panel Title

The Challenges Ahead and Future Trajectories of Indonesia's Defence and Security

2. Convener

Principal Chair/Discussant: **Associate Professor Leonard C. Sebastian**, Coordinator of the Indonesia Programme at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, iskeoni@ntu.edu.sg.

3. Panel Abstract

Indonesia's strategic environment, both domestically and externally, have changed significantly over the past decade and is likely to evolve in the future. Cognisant of the archipelago's dynamic security environment, President Widodo's administration espoused the Global Maritime Axis/Fulcrum doctrine that aims to propel Indonesia as a formidable regional maritime power. The doctrine is not unwarranted. In its immediate regional neighbourhood, Indonesia faces the prospect of a more assertive China that lay claim to the South China Sea, which gave rise to tension between several Southeast Asian countries with the regional hegemon. While not a direct party to the dispute, China's claims over the South China Sea is a great concern to Indonesia given that its EEZ and China's so-called Nine Dash Line overlap, not to mention the frequent skirmishes between the Indonesian Navy and Chinese Coast Guard.

Domestically, terrorism continues to be Indonesia's preoccupation. While the Islamic State is now a shell of what it used to be, its sympathisers in Indonesia – those who have went and returned or deported after attempting to cross into the Syrian border with the intention to further the caliphate's cause – is of a significant concern to Indonesia as security apparatuses feared that they intend to establish a caliphate in Indonesia and thus cause a spike in homegrown-terrorism and fuel radicalism. Counter-radicalisation effort, not only driven by government but also related stakeholders, therefore, would be an essential element in Indonesia's security sector. This panel aims to discuss and elaborate the security challenges that Indonesia is facing in the near future. More importantly, this panel seeks to discuss policies that Indonesia has adopted in tackling challenges and some aspects of the policy-making process.

4. Panel Category

Single session – 4 presenters

5. Presenters, Tentative Paper Title and Paper Abstract(s)

- **Chaula Rininta Anindya**, Research Analyst – Indonesia Programme, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.
Paper Title: *Assessing the Treats of Returnees and Deportees from Syria*

Abstract: This article seeks to assess the potential threats posed by returnees and deportees in Indonesia. National Police Chief Tito Karnavian claimed over 1100 Indonesians have emigrated to Syria. Of those, 500 people remain in Syria, 103 have been killed in Syria, and around 500 people have returned to Indonesia. Their return to Indonesia has raised concerns about the likelihood of terror plots by both returnees and deportees. However, will they pose an immediate threat to the country? This article will use the framework of Daniel Byman (2016) on the *potential* danger and *the actual* threat posed by returning foreign fighters. The assessment will be based on the number of attacks done by returnees and deportees since the beginning of the Syrian war, legal frameworks, and deradicalisation programmes. This article suggests that the *actual* threats posed by returnees and deportees remain low given the historical yardstick and newly ratified law on terrorism. Indonesia must enhance law enforcement, as well as addressing the problems of prison management and deradicalisation programmes to prevent greater *potential* threats.

- **Tiola**, Senior Analyst - Indonesia Programme, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

Paper Title: The Role of the Indonesian Military in Indonesia's Foreign Policy Formulation: The Case of the South China Sea

Abstract: As the largest state in ASEAN, Indonesia and its foreign policy in the South China Sea play a key role in shaping the region's dynamics. While numerous studies have been published on the issue, few have explored the role of the Indonesian Military (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia* —TNI) in the formulation of such policies. Indonesia's foreign policy itself is rarely a product of pure realism, but rather a result of internal dynamics and power struggles between various state institutions. However, beyond the bureaucratic infighting at the executive level, the TNI appears to have been influential in the issue — despite the law which bans them from participating in politics. In 2014, for instance, General Moeldoko, then-commander in chief of the TNI, stated that “Indonesia is dismayed ... that China has included parts of the Natuna Islands [an Indonesian regency located in the South China Sea] within the nine-dash line, thus apparently claiming a segment of Indonesia's Riau Islands province as its territory.” This stands in contrast with the government's official stance, which emphasises that Indonesia does not have any overlapping territorial claim with China. Moreover, the TNI is also frequently involved in the deliberation process related to the South China Sea. The paper will explore the extent to which the military is influential in the formulation of Indonesia's policies in the South China Sea. In so doing, I will identify key foreign policies related to the issue — such as accelerated military build-up in Natuna; as well as decisions related to joint military training with ASEAN and the United States — and examine the dynamic between the military and the executive bodies in producing these policies. The paper will then examine the implications and ‘lesson learned’ from the case for other ASEAN countries.

- **Keoni Marzuki**, Senior Analyst - Indonesia Programme, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

Paper Title: Reinforcing the Status Quo? Indonesia's Global Maritime Fulcrum and Its Implication to the Defence Sector

Abstract: This article investigates the defence aspect of the GMF, arguably one of the more understudied topic and least understood aspect of the concept. Specifically, this article seeks to examine whether the GMF concept effect changes to Indonesia's defence sector or otherwise and to what extent does it impact the defence sector if any. This article discusses several vital aspects within Indonesia's defence sector, namely strategic and defence outlook, defence procurement and spending priorities, defence doctrine and strategy, and deployment patterns of the military, and assess if any changes have taken place following the adoption of GMF. This article argues that while the concept instil greater awareness of the maritime domain in Indonesia's strategic thinking, its impact in the defence sector is limited due to a host of factors, such as the administration almost exclusive focus on the economic aspect of the GMF; the indirect involvement and shifting priorities of the concept's principal architects, particularly in policy implementation; the Widodo's administration business-as-usual approach in defence policy programmes that often conflict or irrelevant to the GMF; and some institutional impediments in the defence establishment.

- **Dr Syafiq Hasyim**, Visiting Fellow - Indonesia Programme, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

Paper Title: "Suara Nahdlatul Ulama" in The Fight Against Radicalism and Extremism: Case study of NU online

Abstract: This paper presents a case study of NU online in its role in providing online narrative and discourse about Islam and Nahdlatul Ulama's teaching for the members of this organisation in particular and Indonesian Muslims, in general, to fight against Islamic radicalism and extremism. At the beginning of its establishment, the NU online has no particular mission to fight against radicalism and extremism, but its main concern was rather to empower and protect the members of Nahdlatul Ulama from the prolific influence of other online media. This paper, therefore, considers the importance of elaborating the history of NU online-establishment, mission, daily operation and actors behind the NU online. As the largest Muslim organisation in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama has been left behind other Muslim organisations in benefitting online media for their *da'wa* activism. This paper explains that the onset of NU online is kind of a mimicry movement within Nahdlatul Ulama to the success of Islamist organisations in their *da'wa* activism through online media. This paper also tries to portray the expansion of NU online coverage from the providers of general issues on Islam and Nahdltul Ulama to the providers of alternative and particular online materials for combating radicalism and extremism. The transition of the NU online from internal media-online to public online-media is also given special attention in this paper. Last but not least, this paper examines the role of young people within the NU online to lift the leverage of this online media from an underdog to top online media position in readership among Islamic online media in Indonesia.

6. Discussant

- **Associate Professor Leonard C. Sebastian**, Coordinator of the Indonesia Programme at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore