

# Interest Analysis of Indonesian Defense Diplomacy in ASEAN Defense Industry Collaboration (ADIC)

**Agung Wicaksono**

Universitas Indonesia

[agung.wicaksono01@ui.ac.id](mailto:agung.wicaksono01@ui.ac.id)

## Abstract

*The concept of an anarchic international system dam will certainly force each country to always increase its power capacity. One of the efforts is to realize the independence of the defense industry. Indonesia is a country that has been a victim of an arms embargo because it is dependent on global producing countries. In line with this, ASEAN has a vision to advance its defense industry through the ASEAN Defense Industry Collaboration (ADIC) program. Although ADIC has many obstacles, this is due to the many differences in the supporting characteristics in the defense sector from each ASEAN member country and the principle of the defense cooperation mechanism which cannot be mutually binding. This paper intends to review the interests and what drives as well as the motives for Indonesia to be involved in this defense industry collaboration. Through qualitative research methods and defense diplomacy analysis framework from Inkirawang. This study will analyze the motives for Indonesia's decision to participate in developing defense independence through ADIC cooperation. Indonesia's interests in terms of defense diplomacy are the reason why Indonesia wants to be involved in the ASEAN defense industry collaboration which has many different supporting characteristics in the defense sector.*

## Keywords

ASEAN; ADIC;  
defense diplomacy;  
defense industry



## I. Introduction

In the concept of an anarchic international system order, there is an assumption that in the international system order, each country is required to have more power over other countries in order to survive (Mearsheimer, 2001). The definition of power is the ability of a country to be able to influence other countries so that it can behave in accordance with the interests and goals of a hegemonic state or in other words a country that has great power (Neuman, 2010). It also explains that the power of a hegemonic state can be seen from two things, namely the ability of defense independence and the number of defense weapons ownership (Bitzinger, 2003).

A country develops its defense industry because it includes strategic reasons regarding the security linkage of the supply of domestically produced weaponry (Bitzinger, 2013). Although there are efforts by each country to increase its power by acquiring weapons, in reality these efforts will only endanger the security of the country's independence. Global weapons producing countries often use their influence in the defense industry sector as a diplomatic tool to achieve their interests. This is because countries that are dependent on imports of weapons systems produced by other countries will of course have the potential to influence the weapons-producing countries (Bitzinger, 2015).

Global arms producing countries often use threats in the form of sanctions embargoes and prohibitions on the use of weapons under certain conditions as part of their diplomatic media (Krause, 1991; Rosh, 1990). The superiority of a country in the defense industry will certainly be able to easily influence other countries in making policies. A vulnerable position for arms importing countries, because they are always under the influence of depending on the power of weapons producing countries (Bitzinger, 2015; Krause, 1991; Neuman, 2010).

Based on the above theoretical concept where producing countries tend to take advantage of their status to pressure other countries through human rights issues (Bitzinger, 2013; Neuman, 2010). Indonesia is also one of the countries that has been a victim in the implementation of this embargo sanction. The embargo sanction causes Indonesia to be reluctant to depend on imports of defense equipment from a weapons-producing country. The sanctions received came from the United States' coercive diplomatic policy (Inkiriwang, 2020b). The impact of this, one of which resulted in the defense equipment of several Hercules Transport aircraft and F-16 fighter aircraft being unable to be operationalized during the conflict in Timor-Timor because of the prohibition on the sale of spare parts to Indonesia (Anggi & Rasty, 2016).

Refers to the broader terms of ASEAN regional cooperation, where this cooperation has been established since 1967. The main purpose of the establishment of ASEAN is to encourage the creation of regional integration that actively cooperates in matters of common interest in the fields of politics, security, economy and socio-culture. (Muthiah, 1991). The same connection with reference to the theoretical argument above can be explained that ASEAN can also be categorized as countries that always get great influence from global weapons producing countries (Neuman, 2010).

The idea of defense industry cooperation has encouraged many ASEAN member countries to carry out joint production (Shoji, 2006). The concept to collaborate in the production of weapons was first initiated by Malaysia in the form of a Concept Paper on ASEAN Defense Industry Collaboration. This idea was first conceptualized in 2010 at the 4th ADMM meeting in Hanoi (ADMM, 2010; Shoji, 2006). Then the results of the 5th ADMM which was held on May 19, 2011 in Jakarta were inaugurated as a framework platform for the ASEAN Defense Industry Collaboration (ADIC). Although the ADIC program cooperation does not involve all ASEAN member countries. In practice, the only ASEAN countries involved in ADIC are Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand (DMC, 2012). The concept of defense collaboration is a concept that has been widely applied in various other regional cooperations. As an explanation, the Eurofighter Typhon is an effort by a European Union consortium consisting of England, Germany, Italy and Spain to carry out a joint production planned in 1980 to fill the needs of European Union countries for the latest generation of aircraft that are economical in operation but have maximum performance (Obermeier, 2003). 1997).

Although the ADIC cooperation framework already exists, ASEAN countries still tend to rely on modernizing their military by buying from developed weapons producing countries outside the region. ADIC cooperation certainly has great potential to be able to develop the defense industry and defense technology of ASEAN countries. At the same time, this program can also be a solution and at the same time reduce the level of import dependence of ASEAN countries on the need for defense equipment. The purpose of establishing ADIC is expected to reduce imports by USD 25 billion to USD 12.5 billion (Ben-Ari, 2011).

The obstacles faced in the defense industry, although Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand are considered to have advanced defense industrial capabilities compared to several other countries in ASEAN, but they are still hampered because there are many differences in the phasing of the development of the defense industry and the technology base among ADIC members. Hamidi, 2015). Of course, obstacles will influence in determining what kind of defense equipment platform is suitable for the needs of mutual defense (Shoji, 2006).

The many obstacles in the concept of ADIC cooperation affect the stagnant progress and it seems that it is not running effectively so far. Although ADIC discussions are always discussed intensively every year at the ADMM forum and have produced a concept document (Balakrishnan & Bitzinger, 2012). Furthermore, Indonesia is also considered to have provided a lot of input so that ADIC makes a kind of work plan and blueprint to implement ADIC programs which in the future will be discussed through discussion groups or Consultative Groups (Ningsih, 2019). This situation is certainly very interesting to study because of the motive for Indonesia's defense diplomacy to get involved in ADIC while there are many obstacles that must be faced in realizing this arms production cooperation. The anomaly of Indonesia's decision to participate in developing defense independence through ADIC cooperation. Therefore, it can be said that there is a discrepancy between the perception of the spirit of defense independence and the characteristics of the supporting factors for defense industry cooperation in ASEAN. This anomaly in foreign policy decision making will of course be related to the construction process of policy makers and the motivation for defense diplomacy as expected. This research tries to limit it to the question "Why did Indonesia decide to be involved in the ADIC defense industry cooperation framework?"

This study tries to explain what the motive for Indonesia's defense diplomacy is and how the construction mechanism of defense diplomacy policy makers through ADMM towards Indonesia's participation in the interests of the development of the Indonesian defense industry and ASEAN. Despite the fact that ADIC is considered a new stage for ASEAN because so far there has never been a defense cooperation mechanism in the industrial sector. Therefore, the author will present previous research that discusses this issue. Previous research can be categorized into three categories, namely: (1) Domestic Politics, (2) Political-Economy and (3) Defense.

The third category is related to defense which is relevant to the spirit of independence that is being intensively carried out by Indonesia. Some of these studies discuss the reasons for Indonesia to develop the defense industry through cooperation with other countries which is an ideal diplomatic strategy. This is because the strategy in defense industry cooperation gets several opportunities at once. The development of Indonesia's defense industry with several countries is an instrument of hedging strategy. This strategy was implemented so that Indonesia would not be disturbed in the modernization process due to being trapped in the vortex of competition between the two big countries between the United States and China in the Southeast Asia region (Ambarwati et al., 2012; Gindarsah, 2016). Another opinion in this categorization says that the Transfer of Technology (ToT) program is an effective technology acquisition method for now for the development of the Indonesian defense industry (Dzikri, 2016). In addition, the goal orientation in the arms purchase agreement includes the ToT requirements for the development of the Indonesian defense industry which is directed at ensuring the sustainability of independence, not only oriented towards purchasing weapons (Al-fadhat et al, 2019).

## II. Review of Literature

In conducting this research, of course we need an analytical framework that serves to limit the problem so that it can focus more on the problem of a topic. In describing the problems found and to answer the formulation of the problem, the researcher uses a defense diplomacy approach to find the motives for defense diplomacy that make Indonesia interested in this multinational defense industry cooperation. Defense diplomacy is often used as a tool to achieve the interests of a country's foreign policy. According to Pedrason (2017) the concept of defense diplomacy is a combination of all strategies from various aspects of cooperation such as defense, politics, economy, culture as well as diplomacy so as to be able to work together so as to increase trust.

Initially defense diplomacy was part of international real politics as a component in the balance of power in securing national interests. Conventionally, the role of the military was initially only intended for the role of state defense, namely in the form of a deterrent function, defense from military intervention of other countries. So that in this context a country involved in defense diplomacy will provide military assistance facilities to certain countries. Of course, these interests aim to counterbalance the enemy, provide broad influence and even support a regime that is considered equal to its national interest in order to put pressure on political opponents as well as commercial interests (Morgenthau, 1948).

## III. Research Method

This study uses a descriptive analytical research type, namely the use of research methods that reveal a problem found and then process the data, analyze, research and interpret and make conclusions the discussion is arranged systematically so that the writing made can be understood (Sugiyono, 2009). Then the technique used in this research is a literature study technique. Which is where the researcher collects a number of data and then analyzes the data and classifies it in a specific section of this research. Furthermore, the researcher will analyze the data based on the findings obtained to answer the problem formulation through a framework of thought and writing conclusions.

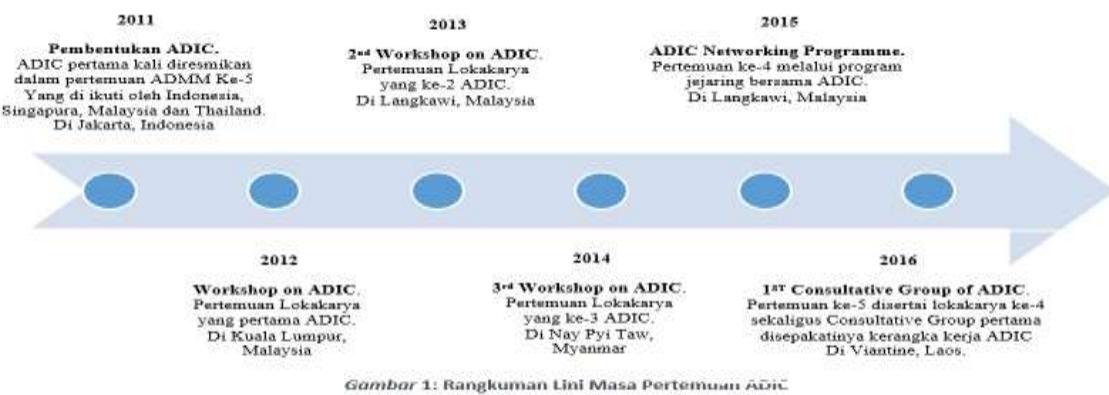
## IV. Results and Discussion

### 4.1 Failure of Defense Industry Cooperation through ADIC

Initially, the implementation of the ADMM forum was an effort to accelerate the achievement of the ASEAN Community in 2015 where one of the pillars was the formation of the ASEAN Political Security Community (APSC). APSC then issued the Blue Cetek concept based on the agreement of the 14th ASEAN Summit which was ratified in Thailand in 2009 which consisted of 3 characteristics, 11 elements and 137 actions (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018). Then ASEAN started a new form of cooperation through the acceleration of the framework program through the ADMM forum, where one of the important discussions related to the concept of forming a defense industry collaboration (ADMM, 2010).

In 2011 ASEAN through the ADMM forum ASEAN defense leaders agreed on a commitment that was approved by four countries namely Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand to enter a new stage in defense cooperation with the establishment of the ASEAN defense industry collaboration or ADIC. The agreed concept document contains four working groups, including: First, joint training and education in the defense industry sector. Second,

form a defense industry model program through partnerships, joint-ventures and co-production (Performance Report of the ASEAN Cooperation Directorate, 2015). Third, joint development of R&D in the defense industry. Fourth, joint promotion of joint production results in the defense industry development program. This discussion on ADIC has been carried out several times in six official ADMM meetings. Details of ADIC implementation can be seen in the table below.



*Gambar 1: Rangkuman Lini Masa Pertemuan ADIC  
Sumber : ADMM Calender of events*

However, during the six meetings, the ADIC discussion did not have the expected progress where there were no significant changes to the program that had been agreed upon in this ADIC concept document. A cooperative institution will certainly not run effectively if there is no integrity and cohesion of the efforts of the countries involved. However, ADIC cooperation does not mean that it does not have many challenges and obstacles in realizing this collaboration. Obstacles related to the priority of threats faced among ADIC member countries. Of course, the priority of threats will affect the defense equipment needed even though Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand are in the same complex location area. However, each country has obstacles from the internal factors of each ADIC country which include different historical background characteristics, demographic and geographical conditions (Ningsih, 2019). Furthermore, it will affect the difference in threat comparison. it will affect the difference in defense needs, including the needs of different organizations, different doctrines developed and the weapons technology needed will also be different (Hamidi, 2015).

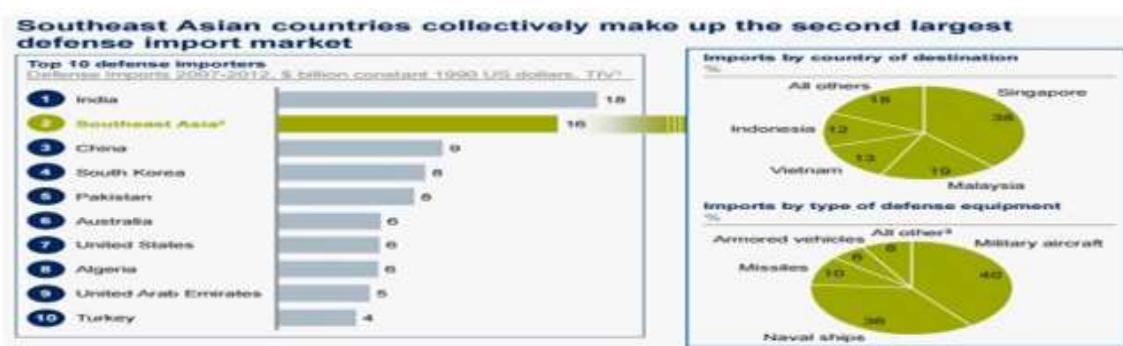
## **4.2 ADIC Cooperation Mechanism in the Construction of Indonesian Policy Makers Through ADMM.**

In this section, the methods and mechanisms of the ASEAN community are explained in achieving interests in Southeast Asian defense industry cooperation through the full ADMM mechanism. ADMM is not a defense pact like NATO, but a consultative cooperation mechanism between defense ministers. ADMM has an open, flexible and outward-looking concept by involving ASEAN external partners. This forum is held regularly on an annual basis which is attended by officials from the ministry of defense and military officials in the Southeast Asian region (Mahmud, 2017).

ASEAN in its efforts to maintain peace and security stability in the Southeast Asia region. This framework further expands cooperation in the security and defense sector through the ASEAN Defense Ministerial Meeting (ADMM) mechanism. ADMM was established in 2006 in Jakarta as well as an important forum for ASEAN member countries in

building trust and transparency in the defense sector through dialogue and practical cooperation (Pitakdumrongkit & Klaisringoen, 2019).

Initially, the ADMM concept was only focused on efforts to maintain security and defense stability in the region through the political aspect, so that fellow ASEAN members could work together to equalize threat perceptions in the region and avoid armrace threats that occurred in Southeast Asia (Aminuddin, 2015). It is undeniable that ASEAN is a region with a very high level of arms race, although Indonesia itself is a peaceful country, many weapons products are imported into the Southeast Asian region.



Gambar 2 Tren Impor Alat-Alat Pertahanan.

Sumber : Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), McKinsey Analysis

Furthermore, in 2010 this forum developed with the idea of forming the ASEAN Defense Minister's Meeting Plus (ADMM Plus). ADMM Plus is an intra-regional cooperation forum to facilitate ASEAN countries with eight countries outside the Southeast Asian region, in this case the eight countries, namely: the United States, Australia, China, Russia, New Zealand, India, South Korea and Japan. ADMM Plus is conceptualized as a routine meeting every two years (Tang, 2016). This forum is important for ASEAN because it has an institutionalized framework as a means to diversify and expand the scope of military cooperation at the multilateral and regional levels. The purpose of this platform is to make Indonesia and ASEAN countries benefit from building joint security capacity even though there are still differences in the capacities of ASEAN member countries (Tang, 2016).

After the ADIC concept is finalized and decided by the co-chairman at the EWG on ADIC, the ADMM Plus participating countries will negotiate the concept offered by the co-chairman. If the decision is for each participating country, the agreement will be further narrowed and will be brought to the ADMM forum or ADMM Plus EWG on ADIC at the highest political level. The meeting scheme in each of these multi-level officials continues to be narrow and based on mutual agreement on the interests of determining which are still at the same time and quite close together. So that the structure of the decision-making mechanism will be connected to form a triangular pattern which can be seen below.



Gambar 3 Mekanisme ADMM pada decision making suatu kebijakan

Sumber : diolah penulis dan berbagai sumber

When examined based on Indonesia's interests based on Indonesia's foreign policy in ADIC cooperation. Motivation of Indonesia's interest in involvement in defense industry cooperation in ASEAN Apart not only from the economy but also because of the interest in creating stability in the region so that it also has an impact on stability for Indonesia (Suryadinata, 1998). Of course, Indonesia's foreign policy has gone through a long process and careful planning. Indonesia, through ASEAN cooperation, has greatly increased its defense diplomacy activities. As a democratic country, Indonesia uses a lot of its military and defense instruments as part of its overall diplomacy (Inkiriwang, 2020a).

The motivation for defense diplomacy through ADMM in ADIC will certainly be interesting to analyze because Indonesia's defense diplomacy, which is often implemented, tends to be very minimal. This is because studies in defense diplomacy are still often carried out in a bilateral and technical nature (Rusfiana, 2018).

#### 4.3 Motivation of Indonesian Interest In ADIC: Strategic Engagement

In recent years, geopolitical dynamics in the Southeast Asian region have re-emerged along with the emergence of China as a new challenger to the dominance of the United States in Asia and then directing its policies in the South China Sea. China's nine dash line claim to the SCS territory of course makes several Southeast Asian countries feel threatened by their territorial boundaries in the SCS. Indonesia is a country that does not escape China's unilateral claim to the northern Natuna islands. Of course, this condition must be managed properly, because otherwise the consequences of threats related to security and armed conflict will also have the potential to occur both with external parties between the US and China as well as several Southeast Asian countries that have overlapping claims to the South China Sea.

When observed for Indonesia, this situation is a challenge in creating security stability both domestically and in a regional context. Of course, the correlation between national security is the key to regional security which can also be the basis for reflecting President Soeharto's thinking to participate in world peace (Samego, 2003). Therefore, Indonesia strives to always maintain security in the Southeast Asian region in various ways, especially through constructive dialogue with fellow countries in Southeast Asia and also with other countries outside the Southeast Asian region.

Defense diplomacy is an interesting concept in carrying out diplomacy through military instruments without the need for war but instead as an instrument of persuasion (Rusfiana,

2018). Referring to (Cottee & Forster, 2004) the meaning of defense diplomacy as an effort to improve relations and prevent war with potential enemies and communicate it as a lesson from other parties related to defense issues. This of course cannot be separated from Indonesia's efforts to change the attitude of other countries so as not to show hostility in defense policies related to Indonesia and to countries located in the region which of course have the potential to create conditions of instability.

#### **4.4 Capacity Building**

One of the important reasons for ASEAN in establishing ADIC cooperation is the difficulty for several countries including Indonesia in developing their defense industry independently. This is based on the fact that in building the defense industry it has a high complexity structure and has a long-term development nature, which of course requires a very large amount of budget to build a defense industry. This challenge, of course, also occurs in several cases of developed countries in Europe, such as England, France, Germany and Spain. Developments in the defense industry business are also facing difficult times because the need for defense equipment after the Cold War has made many countries pressure to buy defense equipment needs because there are no major threats that require many countries to prepare for the possibility of war in the future (Bitzinger, 2009).

When a country decides to develop its defense industry independently (capacity building), it will not be separated from the country's need to increase its power capacity. Not apart from the motivation of Indonesia's ambition, which is incessantly increasing the capacity of its domestic industry in innovating the procurement of TNI defense equipment to meet the needs of the Minimum Essential Forces (MEF). Indonesia's desire and ambition to become a great power in the region is influenced by the collective memory of the nation itself. The state's distrust memory of great power will be more likely to make a country more ambitious to be independent (Bitzinger, R. A., & Kim, 2005). The distrust arises because of a history that has made the country a victim or party that has been harmed by the interests of a great power country. Indonesia has also had the bitter experience of being a victim of coercive diplomacy from the United States, Britain (Inkiriwang, 2020b).

Based on US history, it has implemented coercive diplomacy through arms embargo efforts as well as ending subsidies on education and training programs for the TNI through International Military Education and Training (IMET) (Inkiriwang, 2020b; Rachmat, 2004). The sanctions for the arms embargo and the termination of the IMET program were due to allegations of human rights violations by using the M-16 weapons purchased from the US in Timor-Timor, known as the Santa Cruz incident. Similar to the sanctions imposed by the United States, Britain has also carried out an arms embargo through the European Union. The impact of this is that the European Union prohibits all forms of arms sales to Indonesia on the pretext of suspected suspicion of the potential to be misused in further human rights violations.

#### **4.5 Confident Building Measure**

The process of establishing ADIC cooperation certainly has a positive influence which will require conditions for mutual trust among ADIC member countries to be able to trigger strategic cooperation. The establishment of ADIC is expected to be the most important element in the Confidential Building Measure (CBM) as well as a catalyst to maintain peace and stability in the Southeast Asian region.

When viewed again, based on the points of the concept paper's objectives in establishing ADIC cooperation, among others: (1) collaborating in the manufacture of the

same product through joint venture, partnership and co-production schemes as well as to encourage the creation of economies of scale. (2) Encouraging and improving technology at the level of the defense industry and dual-use industry. (3) Providing policy assistance in the form of intensive aims to create a climate for the growth of the defense industry in ASEAN. (4) Facilitating the promotion of ASEAN intra-trade in terms of defense products and services produced by the defense industry sector. (5) Supporting ASEAN member countries in defense industry exhibitions and performances (ADMM, 2010).

Indeed, it has been mentioned that the establishment of this cooperation is to reduce dependence on weapons imports for ADIC countries. So that Indonesia's motive in the involvement of ADIC cooperation is considered as one of the efforts to reduce dependence on imported defense equipment from outside the region. Then the correlation of the need for import dependence from the point of the concept paper document, namely reducing the possibility of friction caused by the potential for a security dilemma due to the large number of weapons needed by ASEAN countries which are often assumed to be an arms race in the region (Hardiansyah, 2018). This is based on the tendency of countries in Southeast Asia which are modernizing defense equipment through efforts to procure weapons by importing weapons to developed countries (Wahyudi, 2020).

The role through the face of the military is considered to have an essence to be able to change the military mindset of partner countries in Southeast Asia. The role of defense diplomacy can implicitly change the perception of the military in highlighting the common challenges faced. The motive in CBM to establish military cooperation is used by Indonesia as a tool to build trust and promote broader political relations with partner countries. In many cases, the Indonesian military cooperation that has been established has the potential to generate reciprocity and at the same time overcome mistrust based on historical problems in previous conflicts as well as substantive.

## V. Conclusion

Based on the explanation above, the following conclusions can be drawn. Although ADIC cooperation is very difficult to realize until now because ADIC faces many obstacles and differences in the characteristics of defense supporters from each member. However, Indonesia's reasons are considered strong enough to take an important part in this defense industry cooperation collaboration.

Indonesia is considered to have an interest in carrying out defense diplomacy efforts through the ADMM related to the ADIC cooperation. There are four findings of motives which are the reasons why Indonesia is interested in defense industry cooperation in the Southeast Asia region despite facing many obstacles and defense characteristics of member countries. The analysis of the motives of Indonesia's defense diplomacy within the framework of ADIC cooperation are: First, the Strategic Engagement motif carried out by Indonesia as a means to build and improve relations as well as efforts to prevent conflict and can still be carried out against potential enemies with ADIC member countries in the future.

Second, the motive for Capacity Building is Indonesia's desire and ambition to become a great power country in the region. The motive for increasing capacity building is expected to be able to eliminate import dependence on world weapons producing countries and be able to increase the capacity building of military forces that are based on the independence of Indonesia's own defense industry. Third, the motif of Confident Building Measure Indonesia through ADIC as a means of cooperation in the security sector by building mutual trust so that it is possible to establish greater cooperation. CBM has great potential in carrying out the

role of defense diplomacy both at the regional and global levels. Lastly, fourth, is the International Reputation motive as Indonesia's motivation to develop a defense industry that influences its status globally while pursuing the interests of superior state authority status. The ambition to get a good international reputation will certainly lead to an attraction in the form of a positive response from other international countries.

Furthermore, theoretical recommendations related to further research are still very much needed from various other perspective analyzes. It has been discussed previously that the threat approach model, doctrine, organization and technology cannot be used effectively to build defense industry collaboration. This is the basis for further researchers to discuss the effect of ADIC's failure when viewed from the technological approach and technological capacity and economic aspects of each ADIC member. Then the empirical recommendation is to stage the co-development scheme specifically related to the ADIC cooperation phasing when assessed in terms of its effectiveness as well as a simulation by determining the platform for the type of weapon that has been determined in this ADIC cooperation.

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