

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Problem Background

Singapore is small country in term of space, lied on is 685.4 sq km with 4,553,009 populations led the country into one of the most populous countries in the world.¹ Yet, it has the best air-strike capability in Southeast Asia, and leads the region in tactical UAVs – Unmanned Aerial Vehicles.² Singapore now has seventeen squadrons of Air Force with four air bases and eight squadrons of Navy with two naval bases. Singapore was the first Southeast Asian country purchased attack helicopters. It also has F16C and F16D jet fighter, Apache Longbow attack helicopter, Chinook helicopter, Hawkeye the spy, and other advanced military equipments.

However, half of them stay in the country's military bases and the rest stay in France, Australia, and U.S.A with obviously huge cost spent.³ Moreover, it is very difficult for Singapore to conduct military exercise beyond its jurisdiction. For less than three minutes flying, the jet has already entered other country's airspace

¹ Singapore Department of Statistics Singapore, *Population - latest data* (Accessed February 7th, 2008): Available from <http://www.singstat.gov.sg/stats/latestdata.html>

² M. Farrer, "The Poison Shrimp Matures," *Asia-Pacific Defense Reporter*, December 1999, p. 16.

³ "Perjanjian RI – Singapura, Menimbang Tarik dengan Ulur," *TEMPO*, April 30th, 2007, p. 37.

(Malaysia and Indonesia). Therefore, it is a necessity for Singapore to use foreign training facilities.

Over the last few years Singapore has acquired new training facilities in France and South Africa and is seeking other opportunities.⁴ Singapore has four long term aerial training detachments in the United States (Chinook, aerial-refueling, F-16C/D). It also has additional long-term training detachments in Australia and France, and short term training deployments to Australia, Indonesia, Malaysia, New Zealand, and Bangladesh.

In 27 July 2007, the Singaporean Defense Minister *Teo Chee Hean* and the Indonesian Defense Minister *Prof. Juwono Sudarsono* signed Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) in Tampak Siring Palace, Bali.⁵ The signing ceremony was witnessed by the Prime Minister *Lee Hsien Loong* and President *Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono*. The Defense Chiefs of the Singapore Armed Forces (SAF) *MG Desmond Kuek* and the Indonesian National Defense Force (TNI) ACM *Djoko Suyanto* also signed an Implementing Arrangement relating to Military Training Areas at the ceremony.⁶ This followed the commitment made by President Yudhoyono and PM Lee in October 2005 to negotiate a DCA in parallel with an Extradition Treaty and to conclude both agreements together as one package.

⁴ Defence Addenda to President S. R. Nathan's Address to Parliament, cited in "Strong SAF the Best Deterrent," *Times of India*, October 10, 1999.

⁵ TEMPO, *Op.Cit*, p. 36

⁶ Ministry of Defense, *Defense Cooperation Agreement* (Accessed February 7, 2008): available from http://www.mindef.sing.gov/867987987_dca

The DCA is somewhat new for both parties though military cooperation between Singapore and Indonesia has been established for more than 25 years. This DCA will be valid for 25 years and can be reviewed after the 13th year; the rest years can be reviewed once every 6 years.⁷ The DCA is considerably the continuity of Military Training Area (MTA) that has been agreed by Indonesia and Singapore in 1995 to 2003. At that period, Indonesia gave MTA to Singapore which included two locations; MTA 1 in Tanjung Pinang and MTA 2 in South China Sea.

However, this agreement was called off by Indonesia in 2003⁸ as Singapore was suspected of exercising out of the agreed military training areas and illegally involved third party such as U.S.A and Australia. Another problem with previous military cooperation was related to the place for air force training in Pekanbaru and also the center for battle exercise, Batujajar, South-Sumatra. The cost to build the facilities was borne to Singapore; meanwhile the maintenance fees which cost more expensive were borne to Indonesian government.⁹ While at that time Singapore more often used the facilities rather than Indonesia.

Realizing the importance of having military cooperation with neighbor country, Singapore again proposed Indonesia the new form of military cooperation, what so called Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA). Through DCA, Singapore offers more benefit to Indonesia than the previous military cooperation. Some of

⁷ Departemen Pertahanan, *Defense Cooperation among Indonesia – Singapore, don't be politicized* (Accessed February 7th 2009). Available from <http://denhan.go.id/154976709ch1>

which that Indonesia will have privilege to access Singapore's information and military technology that allegedly of having 30 years ahead more advanced than Indonesia.¹⁰ Indonesia furthermore can take benefit over simulations and battle maneuvers from Singapore.

B. Research Question

By giving the illustration above, a question would be interesting to analyze is:
“Why did Singapore need to establish Defense Cooperation with Indonesia after the failure of the previous military cooperation (MTA) in 2003?”

C. Theoretical Framework

The above problem can be explained by using several concepts. Concept is an abstraction that represents an object, characters of an object, or a certain phenomenon.¹¹ One of its functions is to organize ideas, perception, and symbols in the form of classification and generalization.¹²

In order to answer the proposed research question, some concepts will be applied. The concept of National Interest is chosen by considering the relations of domestic condition and foreign policy pursued by one country. The Defense Cooperation Agreement is not merely coined with military matters, but also

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

economic sustainability and national security of Singapore although there is no such strong connection within the cooperation. While, the concepts of National Security is chosen due to the efforts of the government of Singapore in maintaining its security in order to support conducive environment for its country. Lastly, the concepts of Military Preparedness used to explain the efforts of the government in order to achieve its national security. These three concepts are closely related each other and help the writer to explain and prove the hypotheses.

1. National Interest

According to Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton, national interest is “*primary goal and the most important factor that guide the decision makers in formulating the foreign policy, national interest is a common conception but also a vital factor to a state which are include independence, sovereignty, military, and economic capabilities*”.¹³

Independence here related to the freedom from control by the government other country. Since revolution, the principal problem with respect to national independence has arisen in connection with the struggles of small states and colonial areas to be free from foreign political or economic control and to achieve full sovereignty.

¹³ Jack C Plano& Roy Olton, *The International Relation Dictionary*, (Western Michigan University. 3rd Edition, California ABC CLIA) - 8

Sovereignty is the power and right of a country to govern itself. In international relations, a sovereign state is equal to other states; it can govern its own territory, declare war, and so on. Contemporary international law, however, as well as the treaties that bind nations together, have modified the freewheeling absolute sovereignty conceived of four centuries ago. The United Nations is the main legal body today that acts as a check on sovereignty.¹⁴

In terms of the authority a nation exercises over its own citizens, sovereignty stands in direct opposition to political expression. A prime function of a state is to survive; in principle, one way to improve chances of survival is to eliminate internal dissension. Such dissension, however, is the normal result of the policies of governments that represent diverse political factions and viewpoints. In modern democracies, therefore, the exercise of sovereignty is restricted to times when survival is at stake, as in wartime.

Defense or military is the strategies, tactics, and actions for limiting the ability of an opponent to win in battle. Although the Cold War ended in the early 1990s, major military powers continue to employ some version of offensive deterrent and defensive warning capability. Shortly after World War II, political and military alliances were created to offer mutual defense. The United States, Britain, France, and several other countries formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), while the USSR and its satellite countries responded with the Warsaw Pact.

¹⁴ "Sovereignty," in *Microsoft® Student 2008 [DVD]: WA Redmond, Microsoft Corporation, 2007*

Economic capabilities of a country are related to the ability of a country to maintain its economic sustainability. The ability to manage the resources as well as to develop its national economic is also included. A country is not always provided sufficient natural resources in order to fulfill their needs. Singapore for example, with no resources, furthermore imported water and gas from its neighboring countries. Singapore heavily depends on international trade in order to survive.

These three measures included in national interest and are related to foreign policy of a country. As a basic analytical framework, national interest can be generally understood as determinant element of vital need of a country. The establishment of defense cooperation is an attempt to reach national interest of Singapore, especially dealing with military security.

Jack Plano and Roy Olton considered foreign policy as a strategy of planned course of action developed by the decision makers of state *vis a vis* other state or international entities aimed of achieving specific goals defined in terms of national interest.¹⁵ Every country which interacts with other country holds foreign policy as tools of interaction and communication and always based on each national interest. It means foreign policy as politic to obtain national interest by using any power and influence that the country has.¹⁶

National interest comes from entire system of values which generalized into whole condition facing by one country of another. National interest is the significant

¹⁵ Jack C Plano & Roy Olton, *Op. Cit*, p. 127.

¹⁶ Yusuf Sufi, *Hubungan Internasional dan Politik Luar Negeri (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan*

factor for nation in running its foreign policy, whereas the nation not only determines the option in making decision over strategy consideration to face the threats but furthermore on determining priority of foreign policy of a country.¹⁷ Basic measurement in making foreign policy is the apparent of national interest. It is a justification that every foreign policy making process should based on protection and development of national interest. However, the ability to develop does not show by its own. It needs decision, extension and further consideration.

Singapore was governed by the British for nearly 140 years, from January 1819 when it is founded by Stamford Raffles until its attainment of self government in June 1959. At the beginning of independent, Singapore was a third world country. Its economy was dependent on entrepot trade with GDP in 1960 was US\$443. The unemployment rate was 5 per cent at that time with 1.58 million total populations. Housing was serious problem, half of the population was living in the hut and only 9 percent were provided with public housing. Corruption was also rampant at that time, couple with the rising of criminal rate resulting Singapore in the dark corner of Asia. However, in the following decades, Singapore has been transformed into an advanced developing country.

Geographically, Singapore is small country surrounded by big countries such as Malaysia and Indonesia which are ethnically dominated by Malay. Chinese formed the majority ethnic in Singapore, estimated 75, 2 percent from its total population. This phenomenon leads Singapore to feel such in an unstable situation and eventually

¹⁷ (2002)

contribute in consideration of Singapore national security conception. Furthermore, national security of Singapore is attached to the consideration of decision makers dealing with territorial integrity, stability of domestic politics, and economic growth.¹⁸

Considering the origin and the history of the country independence, territorial integrity has been a major concern for Singaporean political elites which are dominated by People Action Party (PAP). Previously, Singapore belonged to the federation of Malaysia until 1963 and in 1965 Singapore separated from Malaysia. At that time Malaysia could not acknowledge the existence of Singapore and its sovereignty as completely. The relations of both countries strained for the next several years. In addition, the political confrontation led by Soekarno and the killing of two Indonesian mariners by Singapore resulted in unstable relations among neighbor countries which were dominated by Malay. Mentality of survival then grew in Singaporean elites as psychological condition in managing this city-state country among its neighbor Malay domination country. Eventually, this mentality has shaped the foundation of Singapore domestic as well as foreign policy.

Number of domestic policies had been applied to deal with domestic condition to keep its national integration, since Singapore is multi racial country. Housing and schools regulation had set up by the government in order to arrange the ethnic composition and harmonization among them. Beside to support Singapore Armed

¹⁸ Narayan Ganesan, "Singapore: Realist Cum Trading State," Muthiah Alagappa (ed), *Asian Security Review*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998, p. 19.

Forces, National service conception also aimed to keep harmonization among ethnic groups in Singapore.

The domestic politics in Singapore considered the most significant object by People Action Party regime toward the survival of Singapore. PM *Lee Kuan Yew* at the moment deliberately established one dominant party (PAP) in order to control domestic politics.¹⁹ The Chinese domination in Singapore turned into essential rather than democracy itself, taking into account of anti-Chinese sentiment by neighbor country such as Malaysia and Indonesia.²⁰ Singapore's government requires 'friendly' foreign policy toward its big neighbor countries. As testimonial, Singapore did not express any objection when East Timor integrated with Indonesia. The government of Singapore respect very much on other countries domestic issues.

The other essential element for Singapore is the economic development. With no natural resources in the country, Singapore imported water from Malaysia and Indonesia. In order to survive, Singapore focused on its economic to dominate international market, magnetizing foreign investment as many as possible and creating skilled labors to sustain its potential market. Considering its needs, Singapore requires maintaining its national interest toward territorial integrity and national economic development, therefore, Singapore established cobweb of security and defense relationship to any nations to guarantee its national security, especially in the Pacific Asia region.

¹⁹ *Bankaya Ginta, Mubawani, International Relations, Tangerang (Dutaoka, Bekasi, 2006), p. 122*

2. Military Preparedness

Morgenthau, in his book *Politics among Nations*, mentioned that, "*Military preparedness as the actual importance for a power of a nation*".²¹ Military preparedness requires a military establishment capable of supporting the foreign policies pursued. The factors that are significant included technological innovations, leadership, as well as the quantity and quality of armed forces."²²

Still according to Morgenthau, "*the fate of nations and civilizations has often been determined by a differential in the technology of warfare*".²³ The quality of military leadership furthermore has always resulted in a decisive influence upon national power. When military genius in command it employs new ideas in strategy and tactics. The power of a nation in military terms is also dependent upon the quantity of men and arms as well as their distribution among the different branches of the military establishment. A nation may have good technological innovation in warfare, its military leader excel in war strategy and tactics, but a nation that militarily and politically weak will not possess a military establishment that in its overall strength.

In the case of Singapore, it established its own defense industry to minimize reliance on foreign countries for resupply during wartime after gaining independence from the Great Britain in 1966. And in 1979, the government started to promote the sale of indigenous-designed weapons abroad. The government also created special

²¹ Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations*, 1978, p. 110.

incentives to encourage foreign countries to come to Singapore to produce military equipment, using this as a base for further expansion into Asia. This would also promote employment in Singapore's high technology industries, with accompanying reduction in weapons production costs.

The government also marketed Singapore's military equipment abroad via its own corporation, Unicorn International. Singapore's defense industry was set up to provide a sustainable in-country capability for supplying the Singaporean Armed Forces (SAF) during combat. The result is a strong armaments industry that is not only provides indigenous defense capability, but also as engine of technological growth.

Counter to many Asian-Pacific countries, Singapore, constrained by both population and resource base, has never required complete defense-industrial sovereignty. Indigenous capabilities are focused on the ability to assure supply and maintenance of essential items during wartime and the technical expertise to adapt foreign-purchased weaponry to Singapore's needs during peacetime.²⁴ Singapore also pursues technology to offset its declining birth rate and shortage of skilled manpower.²⁵ Singapore's armament strategy is thus a combination of indigenous production and outright purchase of weapons and systems and technologies.

²⁴ R. Matthews, "Singapore Buys Longbows and Grows Its Defence Industry," *Asia-Pacific Defence Reporter*, December 1999, p. 21.

²⁵ Dennis K. Saravate, "NSAF: Guardians of Singapore's Ships," *Asia-Pacific Defence Reporter*, 18/2/2000.

Singapore Armed Forces relies mostly on conscripts and reservists, creating a highly trained force with technically advanced weaponry. Technology is exploited to provide the necessary advanced training. There is a deterrent quality associated with having the best-trained and equipped force in Southeast Asia, which is enhanced by Singapore's efforts to create friendly defense relationships in the region.

3. National Security

Realist focused national security on the military security, however, feminism introduced the concept of common security to define national security. Common security defined as *“a type security that is global and multidimensional with political, economic and ecological facets which are important as its military dimension”*.²⁶

International woman congress in Den Hague concluded that to achieve peace keeping through military way was not compatible anymore, since the massive modern war. According to them, the military disarmament is the better way to achieve security.²⁷ The 1985 woman's International Peace Conference held in Halifax, Canada which attended by delegations from all over the world defined varieties meaning of security. Security defined in many ways as depend on the critical threats they were facing. Security can be defined as a secure condition which free from war as well as from economic pressure as the outcome of foreign debt.²⁸

²⁶Nur Azizah, *Feminisme dalam Hubungan Internasional*, Yogyakarta, p. 10

In case of Singapore, it is located in very strategic location and plays as an economic link between the industrial and developing countries of East Asia, Europe, and the Middle East. Singapore is heavily dependent on trade; its national security is not threatened as much from a single country, but from the disruption of commerce. The external trade of Singapore poses more than triple of its GDP. The possibility of a war spread into Singapore's territory should be taken into account, as well as the paramilitary operations of transnational or sub national groupings.

Singapore views the Asian-Pacific region as a dynamic one with many uncertainties. The relationships between the United States, China, and Japan are the key factor to determine regional stability climate. There are many unresolved disputes in Korea (the peninsula), the Spratly Island which involve six countries, and disputes in South Asia. Russia and India also influence the security environment.

However Singapore's security concerns stem from the potential for ethnic and cultural conflict in the neighboring countries, extreme nationalism, and dependence on Malaysia for water and gas. There is also increased piracy and illegal immigration in the adjacent waters, turmoil in Malaysia, and the distinct possibility that internal conflict in Indonesia could eventually affect the ASEAN security balance.

In respond to, Singapore promotes its security concerns as active members of the Association of South- East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Five Power Defense Arrangement (FPDA). The FPDA nations included Australia, Malaysia, New Zealand, Singapore, and the UK which are aim to strive for high interoperability of

forces, tested via frequent exercises. Singapore furthermore established and is seeking for other opportunities of bilateral military cooperation.

D. Hypothesis

Singapore decided to establish Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) with Indonesia due to maintaining its national interest: (1) Gaining overseas military training areas and (2) Dealing with its security problem in the region such as transnational crimes, terrorism, drug smuggling, and human trafficking.

E. Range of Research

In order to focus the research, this will be limited from the year 1993 to 2007. The previous military cooperation was made in 1993 named Military Training Area – MTA and was ended in 2003. 2007 was the year when Singapore and Indonesia signed up new Military cooperation known as Defense Cooperation Agreement – DCA which comes along with Extradition Treaty that has long been negotiated by Indonesia since 1998.

F. Purposes of Research

This research is aiming to achieve some purposes as followed:

1. To get through on bilateral cooperation among Indonesia and Singapore in establishing Defense Cooperation.

2. To analyze Singapore's decision to establish Defense Cooperation Agreement.
3. To apply theories and concepts in International Relations studies into real political life of the nation.

G. Data Collecting Methods

Library research is the main method to write this paper. The sources of information will be by collecting references in the forms of books, encyclopedia, magazines, newspapers, and journals. Internet source will also be used since some updated information and data related to the topic forwarded are only available through the internet.

H. System of Writing

The outline of this thesis is as described as followed:

CHAPTER I discusses the problem background, research question, purpose and benefit of research, theoretical framework, hypothesis, method of research, range of research and system of writing.

CHAPTER II discusses Singapore military preparedness and security environment. This will explore about the Singapore Armed Forces (SAF) and the Singapore's Total Defense Concept. It will also describe about the Singaporean national service, military technologies, and defense security measures.

CHAPTER III discusses about the dynamic of Singapore – Indonesia Relations. The detailed data will be elaborated, from the military agreements, negotiation for Extradition Treaty, as well as the Singapore's land reclamation project and the Indonesian sand export exclusion.

CHAPTER IV discusses about the reasons why Singapore needs to establish Defense Cooperation Agreement with Indonesia after the failure of the previous military cooperation in 2003. Here the writer will show the significance of Defense Cooperation Agreement for Singapore which covers the Singapore needs of space, strategy to diminish the threats, strategy over Singapore's national security, and the prospect of choosing Indonesia as a partner in this military cooperation.

CHAPTER V

CHAPTER II SINGAPORE AND ITS MILITARY PREPAREDNESS

A. COUNTRY PROFILE

A.1. *The Strategic Geography, Land, and Resources*

Singapore, a city-state country where nearly its entire mainland is part of metropolis, laid down only on 685sq km.¹ Malaysia is on the north, separate by narrow strait (Johore) and to the south of Singapore is Indonesia which separated by Singapore straits. This strait plays important role as a shipping channel, which is linking the Indian Ocean and South China Sea.

Singapore is the smallest country in Southeast Asia, more than 85 percent of its built up for residential, commercial, and industrial use. Singapore comprises of 1 mainland and surrounded by 58 small islands and islets. Since the early 1960s, Singapore started its land reclamation project and now it has been added 17 percent of national total land or similar to 117, 5 sq km, and may grow by another 100 km² (38.6 sq mi) by 2030.² As consequence, only small number of forest and swamp remained. Singapore's expansive coastal mangrove forests also sacrificed for reclamation project and changed into developed area. Jurong is the example, an

¹ "Republic of Singapore." In Microsoft® Student 2008 [DVD]. Redmond, WA:

² "Water Resources of Singapore, Towards Environmental
Sustainability 2005 Report." (accessed on January 15th, 2008) : available

at <http://www.water.gov.sg/recover.asp>