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## INDONESIA’S MARITIME DOCTRINE AND SECURITY CONCERNS

Iis Gindarsah<sup>©</sup> and Adhi Priamarizki<sup>®</sup>  
Indonesia Programme

### Executive Summary

The implementation of President Joko Widodo’s Global Maritime Fulcrum doctrine requires the maintenance of national sovereignty, maritime safety and regional security. This report elaborates the impact of Indonesia’s maritime vision in foreign and defence policy. Additionally, it analyses the concept of “global maritime fulcrum” and examines strategic challenges facing the Widodo administration for the next five years. The report also discusses Indonesia’s probable defence outlook under the new maritime doctrine. It notes that the Global Maritime Fulcrum doctrine represents a national vision and development agenda to rebuild the country’s maritime culture and expand its economy. Although the Widodo administration puts Indonesia’s national interests above all, Indonesia is unlikely to change its commitment to regional peace and stability as doing so would eventually harm the country’s national security. The report concludes by highlighting potential areas for defence and security cooperation between Indonesia and its strategic partners.

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## Introduction

Indonesian President Joko Widodo recently announced an overarching concept of a “global maritime fulcrum” as the centrepiece of his administration. It fundamentally represents a national vision and development agenda to rebuild the country’s maritime culture and expand its economy. The concept also signifies a new strategic doctrine that projects Indonesia to become a maritime power with considerable diplomatic influence. Specifically, the Jokowi administration seeks to play a central role in two vast maritime regions — the Indian and Pacific oceans.

The realisation of President Widodo’s maritime doctrine entails the maintenance of national sovereignty, maritime safety and regional security. However, issues of illegal fishing, smuggling and piracy or robberies at sea are particularly salient in Southeast Asia. The persisting territorial disputes over the East and South China Seas have led to rising maritime tensions and intensified major power rivalries. Encouraged by social media and galvanised by on-going conflicts in the Middle East, radicalism and terrorism remain at the forefront of Indonesia’s domestic security concerns.

Against this backdrop, the report seeks to analyse the impact of Indonesia’s maritime vision in foreign and defence policy. Specifically, it will analyse the concept of “global maritime fulcrum” and examine the strategic challenges facing the Widodo administration for the next five years. In the final section, the report will ponder the prospect of defence and security cooperation with Indonesia’s strategic partners.

## Indonesia’s Maritime Doctrine

Under the leadership of President Widodo, the new administration in Jakarta appears determined to uphold the so-called “Three Principles” (*Trisakti*) — a normative guideline that envisions Indonesia to be a sovereign power with a resilient economy and multi-cultural society. In line with that, the new President seeks to transform the country’s diplomatic posture and enhance its economy so as to be a respectable maritime power. Hence, at the 9<sup>th</sup> East Asia Summit in November 2014, President Widodo outlined his concept of Indonesia as a Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF) focusing on five key areas — maritime culture, marine resources, archipelagic connectivity, maritime diplomacy and naval development.

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The central idea of GMF is to foster the country’s maritime identity. Reasserting the long-standing “archipelagic outlook”, President Widodo values the waters surrounding the Indonesian archipelago for its economic potential and national strength, rather than deem it as a natural disadvantage.<sup>1</sup> With a view to expand the Indonesian economy, the GMF concept would improve maritime connectivity and infrastructure — such as building “sea highways”, constructing deep seaports and logistical networks, as well as developing indigenous maritime tourism, fishing and shipping industries. It also seeks to maintain and manage marine resources to ensure the country’s “food sovereignty”.<sup>2</sup> The new maritime doctrine highlights a reconceptualization of Indonesia’s interests as the world’s largest archipelagic country, geo-strategically located at the crossroads of major power interests. In the document outlining his five-year policy agenda, President Widodo seeks to refocus Indonesian foreign policy and reposition the country in international affairs. Specifically, he would pursue an archipelagic-oriented foreign policy in five key areas: (i) “maritime diplomacy” to promote the resolution of the country’s border disputes; (ii) maintaining the country’s territorial integrity, maritime sovereignty, safety

<sup>1</sup> See Joko Widodo, “Di Bawah Kehendak Rakyat dan Konstitusi,” the presidential inaugural speech at the People’s Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia (MPR-RI), 20 October 2014.

<sup>2</sup> See “Presenting Maritime Doctrine,” *The Jakarta Post* (14 November 2014).

and social welfare in its outer islands; (iii) safeguarding the national resources and exclusive economic zones (EEZ); (iv) intensifying defence diplomacy; and (v) diminishing maritime rivalries among major powers and promoting peaceful resolution of territorial disputes in the region.<sup>3</sup>

Promoting the concept of GMF, the Widodo administration deliberately aims at projecting Indonesia as an “Indo-Pacific power”. It sees the increasingly inter-connected Pacific and Indian Oceans (PACINDO) as the primary theatre of Indonesian foreign policy engagement. In an effort to enhance its diplomatic presence in the region, the Indonesian government will undertake the following policy measures: (i) consolidating Indonesia’s leadership in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN); (ii) strengthening the centrality and cooperation within the regional grouping; (iii) building a cohesive regional security architecture to avoid the rise of a preponderant power; (iv) deepening and developing bilateral strategic partnerships; (v) managing the impact of regional economic integration and free trade on national economic interests; and (vi) promoting comprehensive maritime cooperation, particularly under the framework of the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA).<sup>4</sup>

On defence and military affairs, the new maritime doctrine envisages the development of a formidable regional naval power. For that purpose, the Widodo administration has indicated a need to modify the existing defence planning from the modest “minimum essential force” (MEF) strategy towards a more ambitious defence posture. Defence modernisation is not only critical to ensure Indonesia’s territorial sovereignty and safeguard its marine resources, but also to maintain free and safe navigation through the country’s sea-lanes of commerce. Moreover, in order to enhance Indonesia’s autonomy on defence materiel, President Widodo has made clear that he will maintain his predecessor’s commitment to rebuilding indigenous strategic industries and expanding defence industrial cooperation with potential partners.<sup>5</sup>

Overall, the GMF is an all-encompassing concept for political and economic development in Indonesia. Amid national and regional challenges, rebuilding Indonesia’s archipelagic culture and realising its maritime power ambition is a long-term investment. Developing capabilities for comprehensive maritime domain awareness certainly requires a strong political commitment that extends beyond a five-year timeframe. Higher defence spending is also a subject of positive economic outlook and competing priority areas of expenditure, such as social welfare and infrastructure development. While addressing cultural constraints to reform of the national security establishment, Indonesia is increasingly exposed to multiple strategic challenges and transnational security problems.

### **Indonesia’s Vulnerable Sea Borders**

Protecting territorial sovereignty is the top priority of Indonesian foreign policy. For that purpose, the Jokowi administration appears determined to uphold territorial sovereignty against any intrusions and intensify diplomacy to settle boundaries with neighbouring countries.<sup>6</sup> Despite a relatively stable environment in recent years, this report identifies at least three problems with significant impact to the security and stability of Indonesia’s maritime domain.

Unresolved border lines have been at the forefront of concern for Indonesian foreign and defence policy-makers. Based on a recent polling, 25 per cent of Indonesian respondents believe that border

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<sup>3</sup> See Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla, “Jalan Perubahan Untuk Indonesia Yang Berdaulat, Mandiri dan Berkepribadian: Visi, Misi, dan Program Aksi,” (May 2014), p. 12. Accessible at [kpu.go.id](http://kpu.go.id).

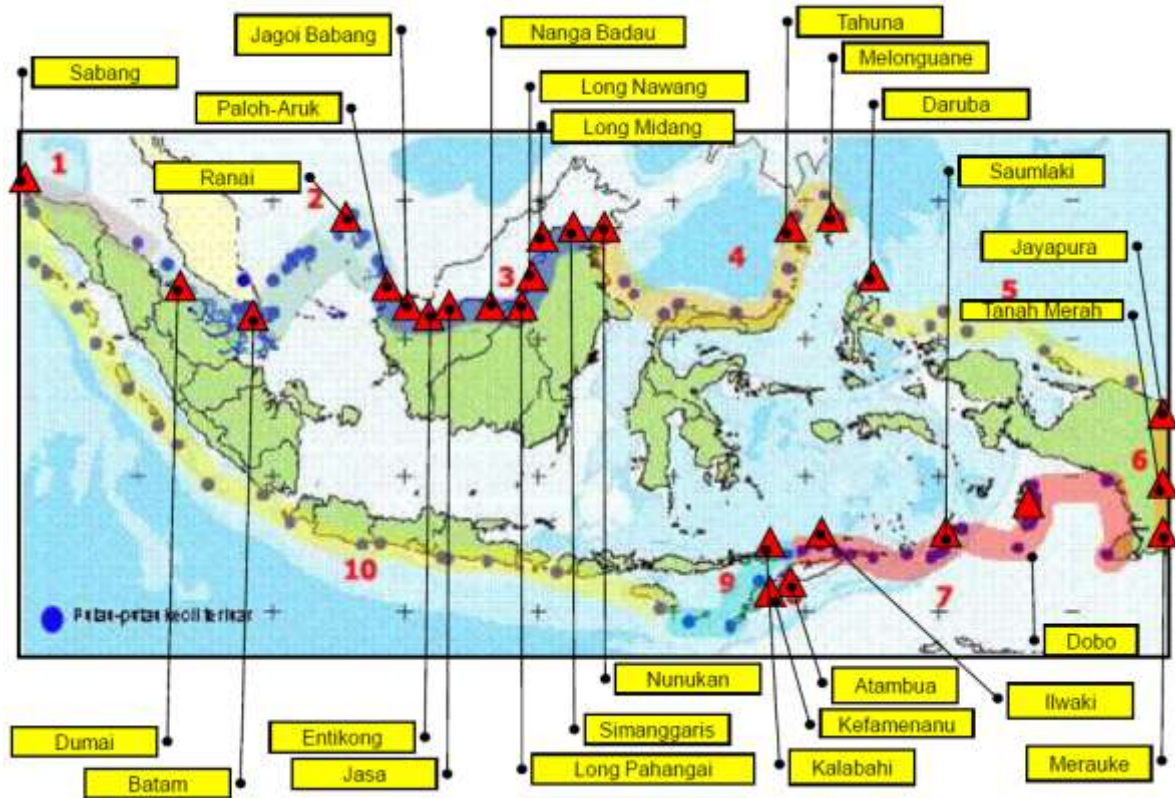
<sup>4</sup> See Ibid, p. 13-14.

<sup>5</sup> See Ibid, p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> See “Annual Press Statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Retno L.P. Marsudi,” (8 January 2015) Accessible at [www.kemlu.go.id](http://www.kemlu.go.id).

incursion and foreign military aggression are among the primary threats to national sovereignty.<sup>7</sup> Referring to an official document outlining its border management, the country is involved in territorial disputes over three land borders and seven maritime regions (see also Picture 1).<sup>8</sup> Hence, during the five-year term, the Jokowi administration will intensify “maritime diplomacy” to settle existing borderline problems with its neighbouring countries.

**Picture 1: Indonesia’s Unresolved Land and Maritime Borders**



Source: National Agency for Border Management (BNPP).

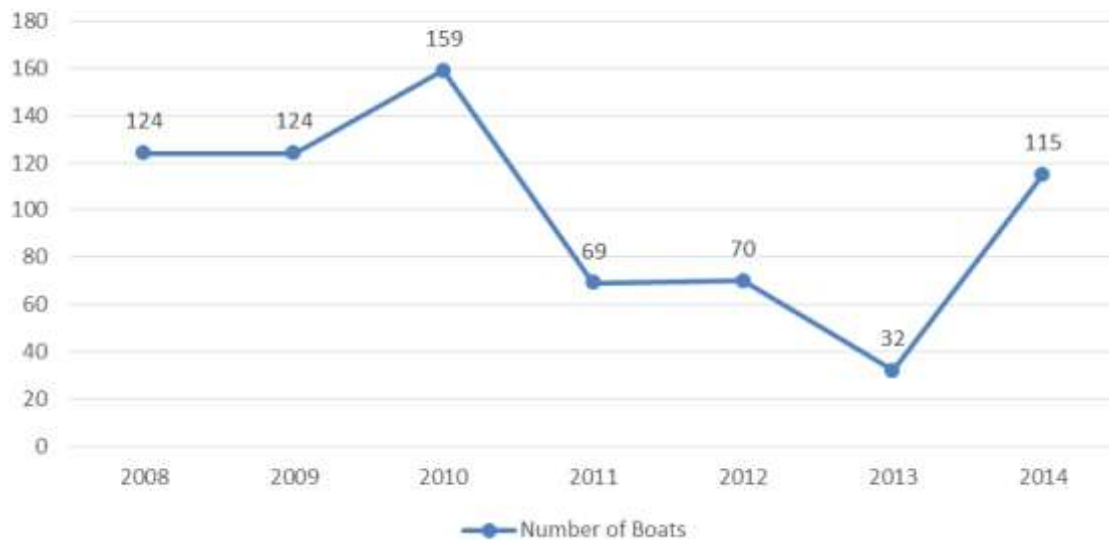
Another major problem is illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing. Depleted fish stock in Southeast Asia has led foreign fishing fleets to venture into the territory of other countries, creating tensions between Indonesia and its neighbours. In 2014, for instance, the marine law enforcement authorities have confiscated over a hundred foreign vessels for poaching fish in Indonesian seas (see Figure 1). Referring to an official estimate, Indonesia annually faces a loss of at least US\$24 billion due to rampant illegal fishing by China, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See Alexandra Retno Wulan, “Transformasi Militer,” in Shafiah Muhibat, *Untuk Indonesia 2014-019: Agenda Sosial, Politik dan Keamanan* (Jakarta: CSIS, 2014), p. 152.

<sup>8</sup> See National Authority for Border Management, *Rencana Induk: Pengelolaan Batas Wilayah Negara dan Kawasan Perbatasan di Indonesia* (Jakarta: BNPP, 2011), p. 1-2.

<sup>9</sup> See “Indonesia Declares War on Illegal Foreign Fishing Boats,” *The Jakarta Globe* (18 November 2014).

Figure 1  
Captured Illegal Fishing Boats, 2008-2014



Source: Ministry of Marine and Fishery.

Responding to this problem, President Widodo has ordered a hard-line measure of sinking foreign fishing boats that unlawfully enter Indonesian territorial waters.<sup>10</sup> In an attempt to downplay regional concerns, his administration has repeatedly stressed that the presidential directive is in compliance with existing national laws. The risk of targeting Thai and Vietnamese fishing boats is unlikely to be significant as their respective governments appear hesitant to interfere with the laws of a sovereign state. A number of Chinese vessels have also been confiscated but not destroyed, suggesting that the Indonesian government is aware of its serious implication.<sup>11</sup> Instead, it took softer measures by cancelling recent privileges of China's fishery companies to operate in Indonesian seas.

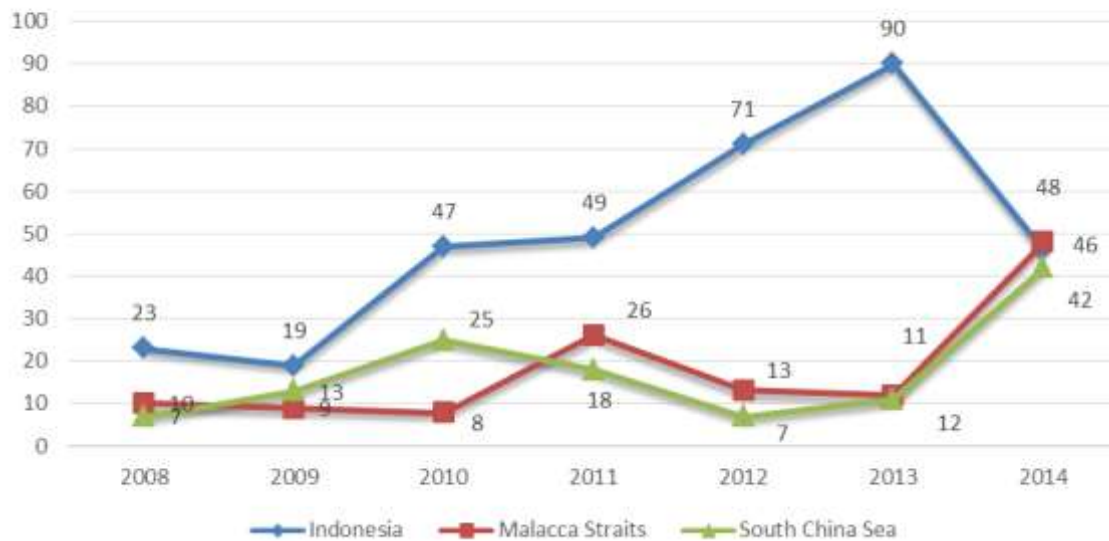
The third problem is maritime piracy or robberies. To date, attacks against commercial vessels remain frequent in Indonesian waters and sea-border areas — most notably the Malacca Straits and South China Sea (see Figure 2). For Indonesia, piracy is a domestic issue that can be tackled by internal measures without foreign interference. Apart from coordinated sea-patrols among the littoral states, it remains hesitant to take part in non-ASEAN multilateral efforts to combat piracy, such as the Japan-sponsored Regional Co-operation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships (ReCAAP) in Asia. However, with a view to safeguard the country's maritime territories, the Indonesian government has recently established a new Maritime Security Agency (Bakamla) to better coordinate joint sea patrols involving twelve marine law enforcement agencies.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See "Tenggelamkan Kapal Pencuri," *Kompas* (19 November 2014).

<sup>11</sup> See "22 Kapal Cina Tertangkap," *Koran Tempo* (9 December 2014).

<sup>12</sup> See "New Maritime Body Ready to Set Sail," *The Jakarta Post* (12 December 2014).

**Figure 2**  
**Piracy Attacks in Indonesian Waters and Sea Borders, 2008-2014**



Source: adopted from ReCAAP's Annual Reports, 2008-2014.

### Increased Dynamics of Indonesia's Strategic Stability

Major power rivalries have been a strategic concern for Indonesian policy-makers. The rise of China and India constitute the most salient aspects of the on-going strategic transformation in the region. Despite a significant volume of bilateral investments and regional trade, competition for geopolitical primacy has increasingly become a dominant feature of Sino-U.S. relations. Recent developments further suggest that China and India will potentially engage in maritime competition over the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asian sea-lanes.

President Widodo's maritime vision has provided a political momentum to reappraise Indonesia's evolving strategic realities. His administration appears very keen to foster a maritime partnership with China. Specifically, it seeks to benefit from Beijing's US\$40 billion "new silk road" plan (see Picture 2) by building two international seaports in Kuala Tanjung and Bitung.<sup>13</sup> From the perspective of Rizal Sukma, a prominent Indonesian scholar and foreign policy advisor to President Widodo, the maritime plans of both countries are mutually beneficial and overlapping in terms of connectivity, safety and diplomacy.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> See "China Calls for 'New Maritime Silk Road Partnership with RI,'" *The Jakarta Post* (3 November 2014).

<sup>14</sup> See "China and Indonesia's Maritime Agendas Closely aligned," *The Jakarta Globe* (3 December 2014).

**Picture 2: China's Land and Maritime Silk Roads**



Source: "China Presses on with New Silk Road Plan," *The Daily Star*, 9 November 2014.

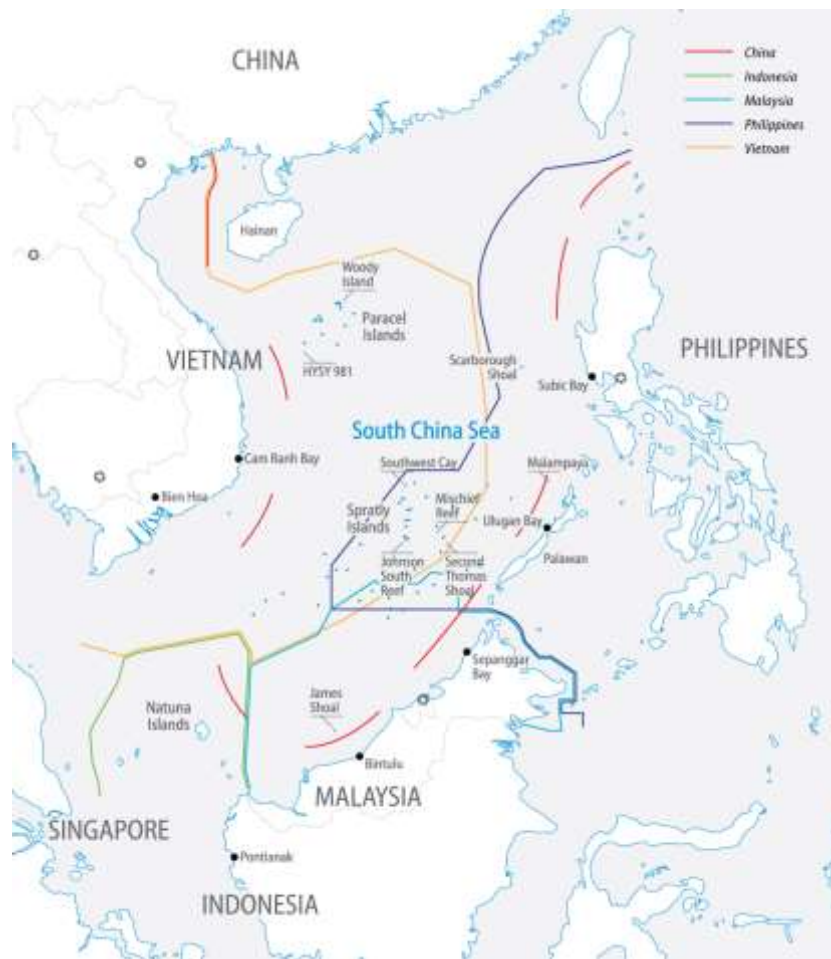
Nevertheless, the long-standing disputes over the South China Sea represent the most pressing foreign policy issue for the Jokowi administration. Beijing's brinkmanship in the disputed maritime area potentially affects Indonesia's strategic landscape in three key issue areas. First, China's belligerent moves, such as dispatching a giant oil rig in Vietnam's EEZ and land reclamations in the Spratly island chain, have made fraught Indonesia's aspiration for the stability of regional order. Despite Indonesian diplomatic efforts to get all claimants to sign a Code of Conduct on the South China Sea, Beijing remains unmoved and prefers bilateral rather than multilateral approaches to resolve the territorial disputes. The problem has increasingly affected cohesion within Southeast Asian countries, demonstrated in the unprecedented failure to issue a joint communique at the 2012 ASEAN Ministerial Meeting in Phnom Penh.<sup>15</sup>

Second, the historical nine-dashed line, which forms the basis of China's claim over the South China Sea, overlaps with Indonesia's EEZ on the northern approach to the Natuna Islands. Although Indonesia is officially a non-claimant state in the multilateral disputes, its defence officials have repeatedly expressed concerns on the vulnerability of the country's territorial sovereignty to China's creeping encroachment, particularly intrusions by Chinese fishing fleets. Over the past few years, China's paramilitary vessels have reportedly harassed Indonesian coast guards attempting to arrest illegal fishermen in the Natuna Sea. The latest incident took place in March 2013, which prompted the Air Force (TNI-AU) to conduct combat manoeuvres in that area.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> See "RI Finds Common ASEAN Ground in Sea Dispute," *The Jakarta Post* (23 July 2012).

<sup>16</sup> See "Kisah Gesekan di Laut Natuna," *Garuda Militer* (25 September 2013); available at <http://garudamiliter.blogspot.com>; "Exercise not Disrupting Commercial Flights," *The Jakarta Post* (31 October 2013).

**Picture 3: Contending Claims over the South China Sea**



Source: Felix K. Chang, “Comparative Southeast Asian Military Modernization — I,” *The ASAN Forum*, Vol. 3, No. 6, November-December 2014.

Third, Indonesian policy-makers are aware of the potential political repercussions of the South China Sea disputes at home. Given the highly competitive party politics scene in Indonesia, border incursion remains a sensitive issue and a potential for domestic politicisation to gain leverage over the administration. In light of Beijing’s recent incursions in Philippine and Vietnamese waters, Chinese diplomats were said to have been warned about a far serious risk if a similar situation occurs between Indonesia and China.<sup>17</sup> Escalation of incidents between Indonesian and Chinese sea-patrol vessels or perceived territorial infringement in the Natuna Sea could not only attract domestic ethnic sentiment but also inflame Indonesian nationalism, which will likely prompt the Indonesian government to make an assertive response.

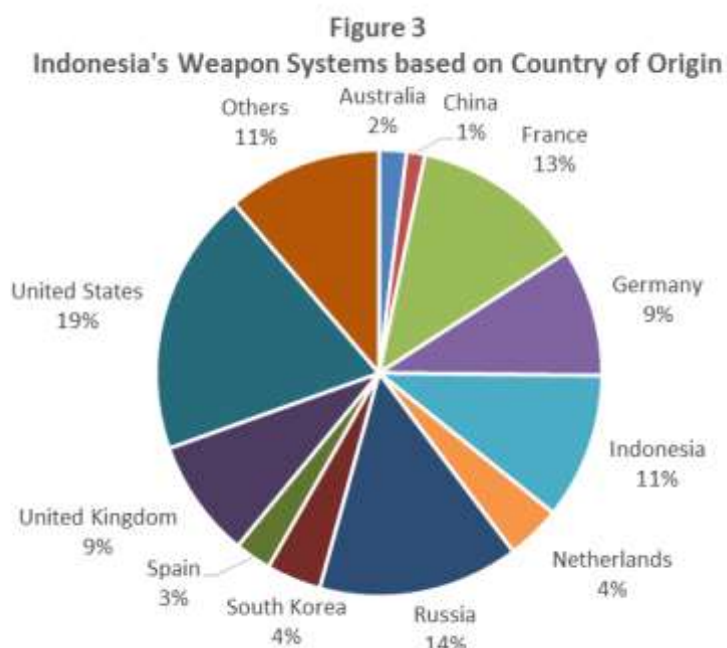
Given the persisting problems in the South China Sea, the Jokowi administration is unlikely to put aside Indonesia’s strategic relationship with other major powers. On defence and military affairs, the United States and its West European allies remain Indonesia’s principal partner, supplying majority of the military’s existing weapon systems (see Figure 3). Similarly, Russia and South Korea have been the biggest beneficiary of Indonesia’s expanded arms procurement strategy through the sales of jet-fighters, attack helicopters, armoured vehicles and submarines.<sup>18</sup> While tensions in the East China Sea have led to a relocation of Japanese investments to Southeast Asia, President Widodo has

<sup>17</sup> Interview, 10 November 2014.

<sup>18</sup> See Iis Gindarsah, “Politics, Security and Defence in Indonesia,” *NSC Issue Brief*, No. 4 (May 2014), p. 30.



recently secured a commitment from Tokyo to help fund Indonesia's infrastructure development programmes.<sup>19</sup>



Source: dataset compiled from various professional publications; as of 2013.

Indonesia has long focused on the Asia Pacific, but is relatively disengaged with countries in the Indian Ocean region — including India. Despite being part of Indonesia's foreign policy agenda for over a decade, Jakarta's bilateral ties with New Delhi remains underdeveloped. According to a regional analyst, the Indonesian government remains concerned over Indian involvement within its maritime domain and how closer relations would be perceived by other great powers.<sup>20</sup> While a warmer Indo-U.S. relationship could help downplay Jakarta's strategic concerns, developing a bilateral partnership with India could play its part in enabling Indonesia to balance China's increasing assertiveness in the South China Sea.

Maintaining the well-established "independent and active" principle remains Indonesia's foreign policy guideline to avoid furthering major power rivalries. In an attempt to shape the emerging Indo-Pacific regional order, the Jokowi administration aims at connecting Indonesia with the Indian Ocean region. Assuming the role of the IORA chair in late 2015, it will bring greater regional attention to the country's maritime doctrine and cooperation in key areas — such as maritime safety and security, investment and trade facilitation, academic cooperation, tourism and cultural exchanges. This way, the Indonesian government could foster closer relations with key regional countries — particularly India — as part of its broader diplomatic efforts to ensure a "dynamic equilibrium" among the major powers.

### **Evolving Extremist Threats to Homeland Security**

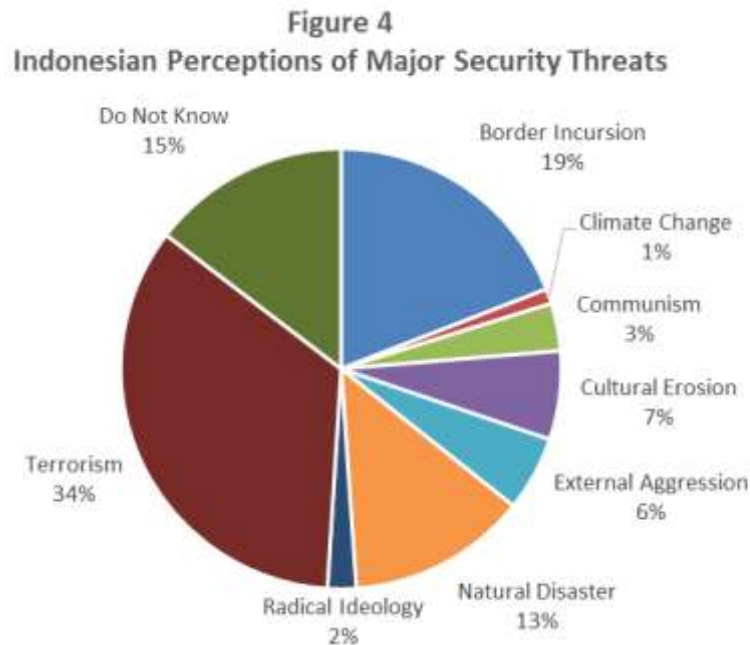
While recognising the disrupting impact of globalisation to Indonesian society, the Jokowi administration has shown concerns over the dangers of increased primordial sentiments to the country's pluralist ideology and social cohesion.<sup>21</sup> A 2013 opinion poll, conducted by the Jakarta-based Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), highlighted that 36 per cent of

<sup>19</sup> See "Japan Pledges to Assist RI Maritime Infrastructure Development," *The Jakarta Post* (12 August 2014).

<sup>20</sup> See Mervyn Piesse, "The Indonesian Maritime Doctrine: Realising the Potential of the Ocean," *Strategic Analysis Paper* (22 January 2015), p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> See Widodo and Kalla (2014), *op.cit.*, p. 2.

Indonesian respondents consider terrorism and radicalism as the most dangerous threats to national security (see Figure 4). Given Indonesia's social diversity, radical preachers often peddle messages of hate and violence within the Muslim population. While mob attacks against minority groups have taken place in various parts of the archipelago, terrorist groups could use these incidents to recruit new operators and enhance their influence within the Indonesian Muslim population.<sup>22</sup>



Source: CSIS National Survey, April-May 2013.

The on-going conflicts in the Middle East have also raised security concerns of Indonesian policy-makers. The emergence of the Islamic State (IS) has the potential to further radicalise Indonesia's militant groups through online broadcasts of its ferocious ideology and brutal campaign. According to a military intelligence officer, hundreds of Jakarta residents have expressed their support and even pledged allegiance to the notorious radical group.<sup>23</sup> Here, the IS' vicious teaching potentially heightens the risk of existing tensions between Indonesia's Sunni-majority Muslim population and minority Shia communities which have been discriminated and displaced from their homes in recent years.

Another evolving threat of extremism comes from foreign terrorist fighters. Much like Afghanistan during the 1980s, Iraq and Syria today has become a new melting pot for global jihadist movements, including from Indonesia. The actual number of Indonesian militants travelling to the war-torn countries remains unknown due to the lack of a comprehensive database.<sup>24</sup> With varying motives and roles, these individuals are suspected to have joined either the Islamic State or Al-Qaeda-affiliated al-Nusra Front. Meanwhile, the arrest of four Chinese Uighurs with suspected links to the IS group in September 2014 suggests that foreign terrorist fighters are also attempting to make contact with Indonesian radical-minded groups.<sup>25</sup>

Dealing with this transnational issue, the ultimate challenge for Indonesia's counter-terrorism community is to assess whether radicalism and violence inspired by the IS group poses a clear and present danger to homeland security. However, preventing radicalised individuals from travelling to the conflict zones is a complex effort. On one hand, extremists being drawn out of the country could

<sup>22</sup> See "Deadly Recruitment Drive," *Tempo* (30 March 2010).

<sup>23</sup> See "Islamic State Supporters Detected in Capital, Says TNI," *The Jakarta Post* (30 August 2014).

<sup>24</sup> See Sidney Jones, "Counter-Terrorism and the Rise of ISIS in 2014," *Tempo* (5 January 2015).

<sup>25</sup> See "Language Barrier Hampers Interrogation of Foreign Terror Suspects," *The Jakarta Globe* (15 September 2014)

diminish the risk of immediate terrorist attacks at home. On another level, a high-profile Indonesian participation in the U.S.-led international coalition against the Islamic State is likely to alienate some segments of the local Muslim population, potentially undermining domestic support for the incumbent administration.<sup>26</sup>

Converging with the impact of conflicts in Iraq and Syria is the problem of terrorist recidivism. In 2014, a large number of convicted Indonesian extremists were released from prisons.<sup>27</sup> The capture of ex-terrorist convicts, including Abdullah Sunata and Lutfi “Ubaid” Haedaroh in 2010, demonstrates the urgency of addressing the overall environment that breeds extremism and terrorist activities. Despite its improved counter-terrorism capabilities, Indonesia’s lack of de-radicalisation programmes suggest that its security architecture remains ill-prepared to anticipate the evolving threat of terrorism and further expansion of violent ideology.

## Defence Outlook

In light of these challenges, the Jokowi administration appears determined to project the Indonesian armed forces (TNI) as a regional military power. The first indicator of the intent to ensure sufficient resources for that purpose is the country’s latest Mid-Term Development Blueprint, which aims for a significant growth of defence spending from the current 0.9 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to 1.5 per cent by 2019.<sup>28</sup> This ambitious plan envisages a significant increase of Indonesian defence budget from nearly US\$7 billion in 2014 to approximately US\$20 billion by 2020. Assuming that the country achieves economic growth of over 5 per cent for the next five years, the new administration will have to increase its defence budget by an average of around 16 per cent annually in real terms to reach the expected level of spending.<sup>29</sup>

*Given Indonesia’s new strategic focus, the existing MEF plan appears inadequate to address emerging challenges. Indonesian defence experts and professionals have indicated the need for accelerated military modernisation, which is often termed as “optimum/responsive essential forces” that better reflects the country’s strategic vision*

Despite a global economic slowdown, the outlook for further expansion of Indonesia’s defence budget is likely to be positive in the foreseeable future. Huge fuel subsidies, which constituted 22 per cent of the 2014 government spending, had been the major challenge facing the Yudhoyono administration to similarly boost defence spending to 1.5 per cent of GDP. Understanding such constraints, the incumbent administration has made a decision to restructure the country’s annual spending,

including a drastic reduction in fuel subsidies from around US\$20 billion in 2014 to around US\$5 billion in 2015.<sup>30</sup> This year, the defence ministry acquires a budget of IDR102.3 trillion (approximately US\$8.2 billion) — a 16 per cent increase from the 2014 budget.<sup>31</sup>

Another indicator of President Widodo’s ambitious military build-up will be the new “defence policy guideline”, which is expected to be issued in mid-2015. While the 2008 defence documents emphasised a “total defence” strategy and outlined a defensive posture to address broad domestic threats, the Widodo administration is currently reassessing and refocusing the country’s defence planning in accordance with emerging strategic trends. The new defence white paper, for instance,

<sup>26</sup> See Iis Gindarsah, “Challenges and Options for Indonesian Counterterrorism,” *The Jakarta Post* (31 December 2014).

<sup>27</sup> See “Prison Problems: Planned and Unplanned Releases of Convicted Extremists in Indonesia,” *IPAC Report*, No. 2 (2 September 2013), p. 5-6.

<sup>28</sup> See *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional: Buku I* (Jakarta: Kementerian Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional, 2014), p. 77.

<sup>29</sup> See “Indonesian Defense Minister Reaffirms Spending Boost Pledge,” *Jane’s Defense Weekly* (12 November 2014).

<sup>30</sup> See *Nota Keuangan dan Rancangan Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara Perubahan: Tahun Anggaran 2015* (Jakarta: Ministry of Finance, 2015), p. 4-30.

<sup>31</sup> See *ibid*, p. 4-6.

will reflect a forward-looking maritime doctrine but is unlikely to regard a specific country as the main source of Indonesia's security concerns. Instead, it will provide a clear outline of its strategic challenges and how the military will respond to external threats.

Given Indonesia's new strategic focus, the existing MEF plan appears inadequate to address emerging challenges. Indonesian defence experts and professionals have indicated the need for accelerated military modernisation, which is often termed as "optimum/responsive essential forces" that better reflects the country's strategic vision.<sup>32</sup> As of 2014, the TNI headquarters have a blueprint to restructure its military forces for rapid deployment. The centrepiece of this plan is the formation of joint operational commands for three defence regions, locally known as "Kogabwilhan", and positioned at key flash points near land and sea borders.<sup>33</sup> For the foreseeable future, the military modernisation is likely to focus on the Navy and Air Force, which operate ageing platforms and require capability upgrades for better power projection and sustained maritime operation. In an effort to improve the military's interoperability, the procurement programmes would also aim to address the current weaknesses in key areas such as communication, surveillance and network-enabling technologies.

### Prospect of Defence and Security Cooperation

*President Widodo's maritime ambition has been a powerful political commitment for Indonesian naval development. Key procurement programmes include off-shore patrol vessels, naval aviation, air defence, maritime surveillance and anti-submarine capabilities.*

As the world's largest archipelagic country, Indonesia's maritime ambition is certainly a logical policy direction. While expanding the Indonesian economy, the Jokowi administration will focus on maritime diplomacy and naval development as the key themes of the country's foreign and defence policy planning. President Widodo has repeatedly underlined that he will put national interests, including territorial sovereignty, above all else. However,

this is unlikely to change Indonesia's commitment to regional peace and stability as the new administration in Jakarta is aware that doing otherwise would eventually harm the country's national security. It would continue to strengthen the central role of ASEAN in building a regional security order, thereby ensuring the autonomy of Southeast Asian countries.

Aside from a robust response to territorial intrusions, the new Indonesian government remains committed to peaceful means of resolving its border disputes. For the next five years, it will intensify bilateral dialogues to settle land and maritime boundaries with its neighbours. This way, it seeks to reinforce cohesion within ASEAN while further promoting a regional Code of Conduct for the South China Sea. Although the Jokowi administration maintains a resistance to anti-piracy multilateralism beyond the established maritime laws, it welcomes maritime safety and security cooperation through joint training, exercise and material transfer. In the face of evolving extremist threats, Indonesia is likely interested in counter-radicalism cooperation—such as an improving national database of vulnerable individuals, information sharing protocols and prison reform programmes.

President Widodo's maritime ambition has been a powerful political commitment for Indonesian naval development. Key procurement programmes include off-shore patrol vessels, naval aviation, air defence, maritime surveillance and anti-submarine capabilities. While building a formidable "green-water" navy, his administration seeks to nurture indigenous shipbuilding industries in order to reduce risky arms imports. Here, defence officials show a great interest in defence industrial partnership and offset programmes linked to Indonesia's major naval acquisitions.

<sup>32</sup> Interview, 1 December 2014.

<sup>33</sup> See "Military to Create Joint Force in Western Indonesia," *The Jakarta Post* (22 January 2014)

Increased strategic competition in East Asia also provides a regional background for closer defence ties with Indonesia. With a view to balance the U.S. pivot position and the growing power of China, the Jokowi administration seeks to engage Indian Ocean littoral countries under the framework of the IORA. The Indonesian government is likely to look forward to maritime safety and security cooperation, such as coordinated sea-patrols, and search and rescue training programmes. Academic exchanges are also instrumental to develop expertise on defence science and technology.

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