



SOUNDINGS



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About the Author

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Under the Defence Cooperation Program, over the period 13 April to 10 July 2015, Commander Salim was the Indonesian visiting naval fellow at the Sea Power Centre - Australia. This *Soundings Paper* is an abbreviated version of a longer book being written with the working title of *A Pathway to Indonesia's maritime future: the role of maritime policy, doctrine and strategy* [Dzikir Daud untuk meruwat kepemimpinan nasional, Kodrat Maritim Nusantara].

A pathway to Indonesia's maritime future: the role of maritime policy, doctrine and strategy

Salim

Indonesia realises that a substantial, strategic transformation is taking place in the 21st century. The centre-of-gravity of the geo-economic and geo-political world is shifting towards Asia. In this dynamic, seaborne trading has become ever more vital to support economic development. Indonesia, as a maritime country with a strategic location, has an unrivalled opportunity to contribute to the global economy while enhancing its own economic growth and development. This paper will describe how Indonesia might achieve its desired maritime future. It is divided into five parts. The paper will look specifically at maritime power and strategy from an Indonesian perspective, before describing the content of a comprehensive Indonesian maritime doctrine and the concept for a wide-ranging Indonesian maritime strategy.

Maritime Policy, Doctrine and Strategy

The policy, doctrine, and strategy of maritime affairs provide the necessary guidance that Indonesia needs to pursue its national interests and exploit the benefits of its maritime domain. These three maritime factors are inter-related, but have been deliberately placed in a hierarchical sequence: policy, doctrine, and then strategy.

Maritime Policy

The re-emergence of Indonesia's maritime awareness was highlighted in November 2014 when the newly elected President of the Republic of Indonesia, Ir Joko Widodo (nicknamed Jokowi), declared his vision of Indonesia as a world maritime axis. To achieve this policy, he outlined five missions that would act as the pillars supporting the maritime-axis doctrine:

- 1) **Rebuild Indonesia's maritime culture.** As a country of 17,000 islands, Indonesia should be aware of and see the oceans as part of its identity and prosperity. Ocean management therefore determines Indonesia's future.
- 2) **Maintain and manage marine resources,** with a focus on building marine food sovereignty through the development of a sustainable fishing industry.
- 3) **Provide priority to the development of maritime infrastructure and connectivity,** by constructing sea highways along the coast of Java, establishing deep seaports and logistical networks as well as developing the shipping industry and maritime tourism industry.
- 4) **Through maritime diplomacy, invite other nations to cooperate on maritime and marine issues,** thereby eliminating the source of conflicts at sea, such as illegal fishing, violations of sovereignty, territorial disputes, piracy and marine pollution.
- 5) **Develop Indonesia's maritime defence forces,** not only to maintain maritime sovereignty and wealth, but also as a form of responsibility to maintain the safety of shipping and maritime security.¹

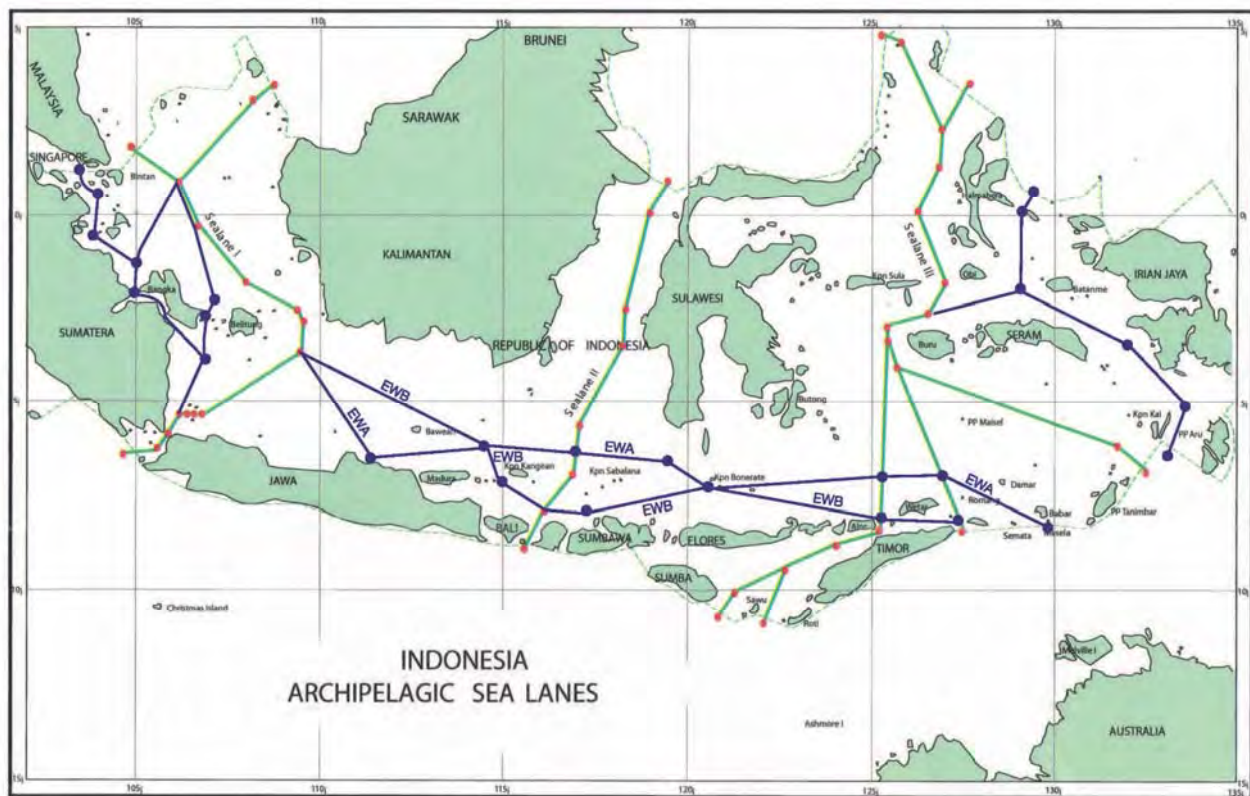


Figure 1: Indonesia's designated archipelagic sea lanes and shipping routes (SPC-A)

The outward-looking element of this maritime policy has been taken as a means to re-orient Indonesia's role in the world. Indonesia has long focused upon ASEAN and the Pacific Ocean region, while generally attaching less significance to the Indian Ocean to its west. By declaring Indonesia to be the world's 'maritime axis', Jokowi has positioned the nation as an Indo-Pacific power, with a geo-political situation that is influenced by events in both regions. At the same time, he will retain the well-established foreign policy position of being free and active [*bebas dan aktif*], in which Indonesia does not officially lean towards any foreign power. In terms of balancing between the major Indo-Pacific powers, existing foreign policy goals will remain and Indonesia will continue to maintain and benefit from its relationship with the United States, China, Australia and Japan.

Domestically, Jokowi also intends to boost trade within the Indonesian archipelago, re-assert sovereignty over marine resources, develop a shipbuilding industry, and strengthen Indonesian naval capabilities.²

Boosting inter-island connectivity

According to the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, transportation makes up over 15 per cent of the cost of doing domestic business, compared to less than 7 per cent in other regional economies. In Indonesia, less than 5 per cent of total freight is delivered via the sea. Crucially, insufficient port infrastructure has made the shipping of goods between the thousands of archipelagic islands prohibitively expensive.

To encourage businesses to use sea rather than land transport, the government intends to offer incentives to ship operators, including fuel subsidies. Given the urgent desire to reduce fuel subsidies for motor vehicles, this may seem contradictory, but such measures will further the development of the so-called 'sea highway'. In addition, the government has proposed importing up to 2500 boats, to connect the major islands, reduce transportation costs and increase the flow of goods.

The efficiency of Indonesian ports also lags behind that of other Asian nations. Dwell time measures the time from the moment a shipping container is unloaded, until it leaves the container terminal. The main port of Tanjung Priok, in Jakarta, has an average dwell time of 6.4 days, but Singapore's is 1.5 days and Malaysia's is 3 days. Jokowi plans to upgrade or construct 24 ports within the next five years to provide greater domestic connectivity, improve efficiency and increase access to Indonesian harbours by international shipping.

Protecting and modernising the fishing industry

Illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing is a major regional problem that has significant repercussions for Indonesia. As Southeast Asian fish stocks become depleted, foreign fishing vessels venture further afield into the sovereign waters of neighbouring states. It is not uncommon for Thai, Vietnamese and Chinese fishing vessels, among others, to stray into Indonesian waters in search of more abundant fishing grounds.

Jokowi's hard-line response is to destroy foreign fishing vessels that have entered Indonesian territorial waters. Vessels from Vietnam and Papua New Guinea have already been sunk as part of this initiative. Chinese boats, however, have been confiscated but not destroyed, suggesting that Indonesia may be hesitant to draw the ire of the larger regional power.

As an archipelagic state, with vast seas to exploit, one would expect Indonesia to have a flourishing seafood industry but that, however, is not the case. The industry accounts for almost one quarter of the total agricultural economy, but still lacks sufficient cold storage facilities and transport vessels. In a bid to expand and modernise the sector, there are plans to construct 100 fishery centres, with auctioning, storage and processing facilities. Modernising fishing practices will help better utilise existing fisheries resources but, by simultaneously developing the small aquaculture industry, Indonesia will both further strengthen maritime food security while also taking pressure off its marine resources.

Developing a shipbuilding industry

Despite growing demand, domestic shipbuilders have struggled to meet production targets. In a bid to assist the industry, the government is considering reducing or removing import duties and the value-added tax on foreign ship components. Such barriers increase the costs associated with domestic ship production by up to 25 per cent. Consequently, many shipping companies prefer to import ships rather than purchase them from local manufacturers, as fully-built imports do not attract these charges.

Jokowi's vision focuses upon growing the domestic economy by tapping into the country's vast maritime potential. The goals are ambitious and, since the timeframe for achieving them is very tight, it is unlikely that all will be met in the time allocated. Nevertheless, as the world's largest archipelagic country, it makes sense for Indonesia to turn to the seas in search of economic growth. The maritime policy is certainly a step in the right direction, and Indonesia is shaping up to play an important role in the emerging Indo-Pacific regional order.

Maritime Doctrine

The word 'doctrine' originates from the Latin *doctrina*, which implies a code of beliefs or body of teaching. It is also a framework of principles, practices and procedures, the understanding of which provide a basis for action. Maritime doctrine fulfils this function for the use of military power, at and from the sea, to achieve policy objectives. Concerned with the principles that govern the translation of defence policy into maritime strategy, campaigns and operations, doctrine establishes a core understanding of the nature of maritime power.

In addition to producing a way of thinking about the utility of maritime power, doctrine also has a motivational function by providing maritime forces with clear statements about their professional roles and objectives.

Doctrine comes at various levels, and tends to be least prescriptive at the higher levels and most prescriptive when it takes the form of ‘fighting instructions’ and tactical procedures and where the emphasis is much more on how to think and do things rather than on what to do and what to think about. At the military-strategic level, doctrine also informs the wider defence community (including politicians, industry, academic, etc) as well as interested members of the general public, about the roles and political utility of maritime forces.

Maritime doctrine is logically based on past experience, established in the present and its primary focus is on the future.

Maritime Strategy

A clear linkage exists between maritime doctrine, maritime strategy and maritime power. Maritime power is the ability of the nation to use the seas to safeguard and promote its national interests.³ As such, it is a pillar of national security policy and is a key enabler in the formulation and implementation of viable national and military strategies. Maritime strategy is the plan by which the maritime power of the state is developed and is used for attaining national objectives within the framework of a national strategy.

Maritime strategy did not evolve in a vacuum, but as a subset of general strategic thinking. In many ways, it seeks to apply general strategic principles to maritime operations. Accordingly, most maritime strategists have attempted to explore what is distinctive about maritime operations and what particular benefits success in the maritime sphere can convey. These differences partly derive from the maritime environment itself. Specifically, the sea is:

- global - because the sea is all connected, maritime forces may be moved quickly across much of the world’s surface
- largely un-owned and un-ownable - neutrals may well be present in operational areas and possession of the sea is not generally an object of operations
- three dimensional - the sub-surface, surface and air dimensions of a maritime operation may interface at anytime, presenting multi-dimensional threats and challenges
- large, opaque, in constant motion and often hostile - finding the enemy is often the main problem.

The Relationship between Policy, Doctrine and Strategy

Defence policy is the directive statement of what is to be achieved.⁴ It is flexible and generally enduring, but must be capable of rapid review should the strategic environment change. How these directives will be achieved, now and into the future, is the function of doctrine and strategy.

Doctrine is a body of thought and the knowledge-base that underpins the development of strategy. Strategy on the other hand is an overall plan to move from the present situation to the desired goal in a given scenario. Without doctrine, strategists would have to make decisions without reference points or guidance.

Because maritime doctrine provides the foundation for formulating a maritime strategy the strategies pursued by a nation through its maritime forces need to reflect its doctrinal priorities. Yet, because the strategic environment is always changing, doctrine also needs to be versatile and adaptive. If strategy brings success, it reinforces the doctrine. If, on the other hand, it leads to failure, the doctrine must be modified. The process by which this takes place is often described as a kind of endless circle: formulating doctrine, educating personnel, testing it operationally and amending it in the light of experience. The relationship between policy, doctrine and strategy is shown in Figure 2.

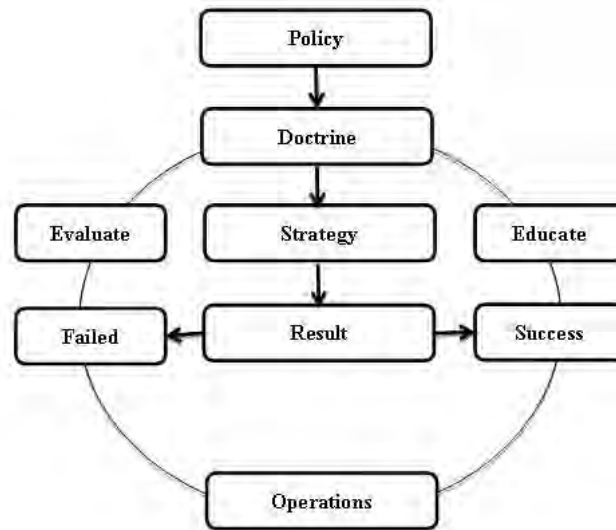


Figure 2: the relationship between policy, doctrine and strategy (Salim)

Globalisation, Sea Power and Becoming a World-Class Navy

Globalisation

The International Monetary Fund defines ‘globalisation’ as the process through which an increasingly free flow of ideas, people, goods, services, and capital leads to the integration of economies and societies.⁵ Major factors in the spread of globalisation have been increased trade liberalisation and advances in communications technology. Globalisation as we know it today has been noted since the 1970s, although some of its characteristics were observed far earlier.

Globalisation has not radically changed trade, security and economies. It has only altered the means and methods by which they are powered. In Southeast Asia, more than 30 years of globalisation has brought widespread economic growth. Both The Philippines and Vietnam, for example, have taken great strides to reduce poverty and enhance their foreign trade. Today, the Malacca Strait facilitates the flow of about 40 per cent of world products each year. Yet these favourable trends have also been accompanied by a darker side, which threatens to undercut these remarkable gains. Piracy, human slavery, the growth of counterfeit products, the illicit trafficking in drugs and small arms, and even the proliferation of technologies of mass destruction not only threaten the most vulnerable. Together, they also conspire to threaten international economic stability by weakening legitimate state structures, suborning democratic governments, and disrupting the legitimate flow of goods upon which these economies have come to depend.

Indonesia, for example, faces an immediate maritime security challenge. Poaching, smuggling, trafficking, and terrorism are all critical threats to its security and long-term economic prospects. Malicious activities associated with these challenges, include hostage taking, extortion, maritime collisions, groundings, oil spills, and the potential closing of crucial shipping routes, thereby disrupting the supply of goods worldwide. In 2008, Indonesia ranked third in the list of piracy hotspots, with 23 reported incidents. The capture of the Indonesian cargo ship MV *Sinar Kudus* in April 2011 further demonstrated the continued need to build capacity in order to manage piracy and other maritime crises. It is widely understood that the piracy problem stems from Indonesia’s economic underdevelopment, domestic instability and a growing number of organised criminal entities.

As Southeast Asian countries attempt to ease the negative effects of globalisation in their own communities and between neighbouring states, resources that can comprehensively cover all of these concerns become more limited. Thus, there is a critical need for international, regional, national, and private sector actors to recognise the relationship between security challenges and development needs, and subsequently adopt innovative programs addressing both areas in the most

cost-effective way. By exploiting the synergies between security threats and development needs, all players have the capacity to do well by doing good, directly promoting international security while reinforcing the global system upon which the economic benefits of globalisation are derived.

Seapower and Globalisation

The classical maritime strategist Alfred Thayer Mahan identified six characteristics as principal conditions affecting the sea power of nations: geographic position, physical conformation (including natural resources and climate), extent of territory, population, character of the people, and character of the government. Modern naval historians have updated the list, and a recent depiction includes economic strength, technological prowess, socio-political culture (as 'first order' conditions), and geographic position, dependence on maritime trade and sea resources, and government policy and perception (as 'second order' conditions). All of these characteristics contribute to a vibrant, powerful economy and thereby play a role in the beneficial aspects of globalisation. In short, sea power and the ability to participate in and benefit from globalisation can be seen to share common characteristics.

Modern sea power can be defined as the combination of a country's capacity for international maritime commerce and the exploitation of oceanic resources, with its ability to project military power *at sea*, for the purposes of sea control over commerce and conflict, and *from the sea*, in order to influence events on land. This broad concept may be challenged by a narrower view of sea power as a purely military concept, but in either case there are at least three points that need to be kept in mind:

1. Sea power, although potentially decisive in conflict, is not an independent form of military power. Sea power is unlikely to be effective unless it is viewed as integral to a nation's overall combat power; owing to its reliance on, and contribution to, air and land combat power.
2. Sea power is not maritime power. Maritime power is the sum of a state's ability to employ the sea in order to fulfil its national objectives. Sea power contributes to maritime power.
3. Sea, land and air power all form part of the military strategic equation. They remain substantially different in what they can achieve and in the course that conflict takes them.

The Indonesian Navy as a World-Class Navy

A world-class navy must have outstanding characteristics and aim to be a centre of professional excellence. These characteristics should be exerted and displayed consistently and include:

- personnel with a high-level of capacity and the ability to offer a concrete contribution to achieving the organisation's vision
- in the future, science and technology will be even more influential upon how navies formulate their tactics, therefore emerging doctrines and strategies must provide the basis of force development and operations
- the navy's organisation must be flexible enough to readily adapt, remaining in tune with both internal and external dynamics
- operational capability as the output of the navy's performance undertaken by its operational units and naval bases to support sustainability.⁶

What are the benefits of having a world-class navy, especially for the Indonesian people?

- It increases the country's deterrent effect, forcing other countries to think twice prior to confronting Indonesia openly and directly. As part of the state's defence system, a world-class navy will prevent any threats at, from and through the sea, either domestic or abroad; thereby ensuring the country's sovereignty, territorial integrity and survivability. Integrating the navy's

force, capability and commitment generates an increased psychological impact on the potential enemy.

- It allows Indonesia to develop and gain more trust and respect from the international community. This comes from the active role the Indonesian Navy (TNI-AL) plays in various regional and global activities; including peacekeeping operations, maritime security operations and other confidence building measures.
- It elevates Indonesia's bargaining power in settling numerous regional and international issues. This is an integral part of the government's diplomacy and a direct implementation of national foreign policy. Possessing a world-class navy will also increase Indonesia's position in the global defence capability index. A navy is one of the strategic components taken into consideration in the formulation of a foreign policy against a particular state.
- It secures national interests within and beyond the region. A world-class navy is capable of projecting its force at any given time to uphold national interests at sea, from routine operations through to complex multinational operations.

Border issues, trade activities and international transportation passing along Southeast Asia's sea lanes are destined to rapidly increase. The growing importance of regional waters is reflected in the expanding merchant fleet, the increasing global dependence upon seaborne trade, and the greater exploitation of biological and non-biological resources. Already, the global community is pressuring Indonesia to improve the security of the international sea lanes passing through its sovereign waters.

Indonesia's Maritime Strategy and the Elements of Maritime Power

Grand strategy directs all the elements of national power and is the responsibility of national leaders. A grand strategy is important for Indonesia as a nation, because it states a clear goal for achievement, and aligns resources to achieve that goal. To not have a grand strategy is to 'bumble along' hoping that the many seemingly minor decisions interspersed with major decisions that a government makes will ultimately achieve long-term gains. For grand strategy to be successful in Indonesia's democratic society, it must have the support of the population for the 'ends' sought, the burden of sustaining the 'means' and the acceptability of the 'ways'.

Maritime Strategy

Indonesian maritime strategy can be defined as the nation's overall approach to the surrounding ocean, with the aim of synergising all aspects related to maritime activities to maximise national gains. A maritime strategy would thus have economic, commercial, political, military, scientific and technological facets and will be directly influenced by Indonesia's grand strategy. Being the largest archipelagic state in the world, Indonesia's maritime strategy defines the country's role in its maritime area of interest, and outlines the national maritime objectives for clarity in execution of this role.

Maritime strategy is not purely a naval domain, but naturally the TNI-AL has an important role in the military element. The prime task of the TNI-AL is to ensure that foreign armed forces cannot be successfully used against Indonesia, but a maritime strategy prescribes many other considerations for navies in operations short of war. Theorists have tended to place these under three general categories: the military, diplomatic and constabulary roles.⁷ They synergise and complement one another to ensure maritime security stability. The recommended relationship between Indonesia's maritime strategy and military strategy is depicted in Figure 3.

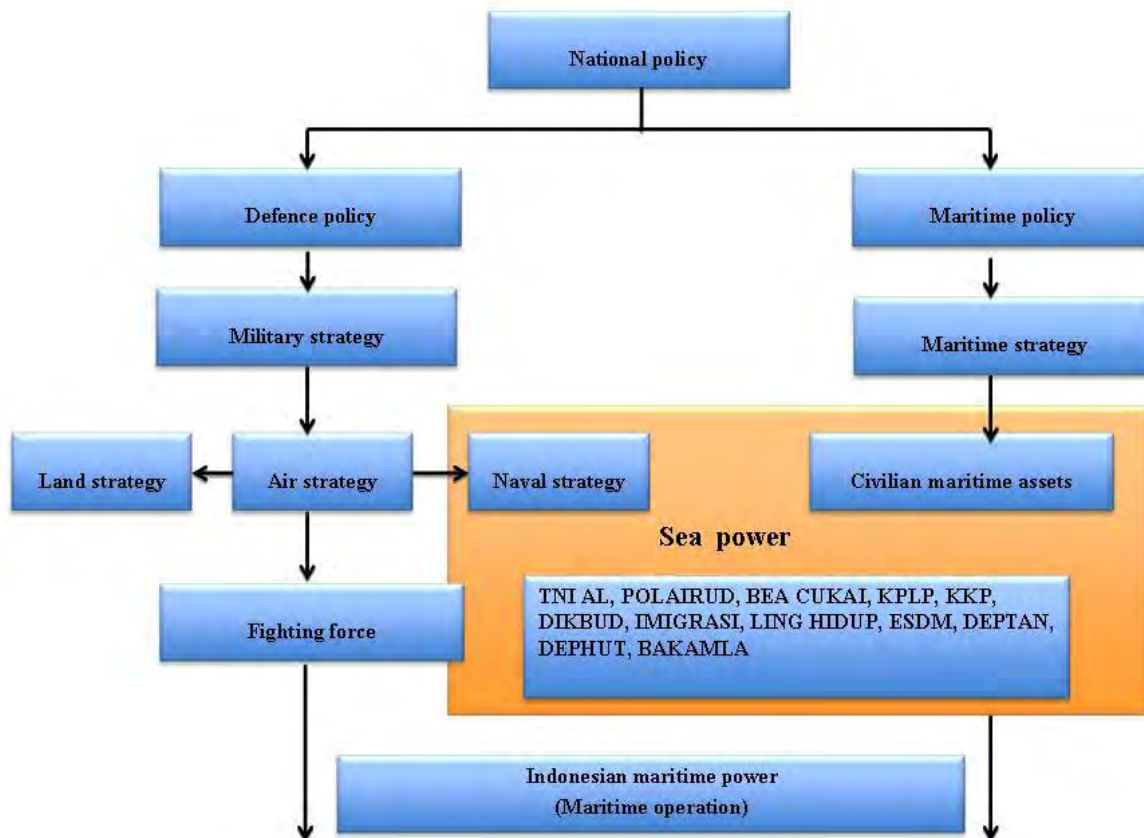


Figure 3: Indonesia's maritime strategy model (Salim)

At the military level of strategy, the TNI-AL is currently developing the Nusantara sea defence strategy [*Strategi Pertahanan Laut Nusantara*], and the Indonesian maritime defence strategy [*Strategi Pertahanan Maritim Indonesia*], which outlines power projection arrangements and the use of naval assets in war. However, these documents only regulate the military components. Non-military components are excluded, since the government has yet to legislate for their use. Yet, in an archipelagic country such as Indonesia, the TNI-AL, as the main component of sea defence, will need the involvement of other maritime components to conduct a comprehensive maritime defence.

Simultaneously, national defence policy, in the form of a defence grand strategy, would oversee the military strategy. The military strategy would consist of land, air, and naval elements, and the naval strategy would in turn intersect with the other elements of sea power as part of the national maritime strategy. In this way, the TNI-AL, along with the civilian maritime components, would be seen to compose the sum of Indonesian sea power and be able to act together to conduct maritime operations.

Indonesian Maritime Power

A holistic view of Indonesian maritime power encompasses two main aspects. First, maritime resources consisting of: human resources, economic resources, geographical advantages, political will and behaviour, and science and technological capability. Second, maritime elements, incorporating all maritime stakeholders, bases and facilities and the fighting instruments embodied in Indonesian sea power.

In an advanced maritime nation like the United States, the decision-making hierarchy within the national security and defence framework is arranged in the following order: national interest-national security strategy-national defence strategy-national military strategy-national strategy for maritime security-maritime strategy-naval operations-naval tactics.⁸ At every level of decision-making, an organisation is assigned to formulate clearly the objectives and division of function and authority.

However, in Indonesia the deriving of national interest, national strategy, national security strategy, national security policy, defence policy, military strategy, doctrine (Indonesia maritime strategy) as contained within TNI-AL doctrine [*Eka Sasana Jaya*], shows a gap between concepts and policy, including details about the international role of the TNI-AL. There is no maritime strategy, but instead a jump directly into doctrine. An examination of the above hierarchy also shows that Indonesia is currently lacking a national strategy for maritime security.

Indonesian Sea Coast Guard

Indonesia's key priorities include securing its sovereign maritime resources by curbing illegal fishing, building up the nation's maritime defences and preserving its territorial integrity. On 13 December 2014, Jokowi took an important step towards achieving these goals by setting up a new maritime security agency BAKAMLA [*Badan Keamanan Laut*] under the Coordinating Ministry of Political, Security and Legal Affairs, replacing the former maritime security coordinating board BAKORKAMLA [*Badan Koordinasi Keamanan Laut*].

Beyond the name change, the idea was to grant BAKAMLA greater command authority to coordinate and deploy government agency assets, rather than just share information like its weaker predecessor. BAKAMLA will also be equipped with a much larger staff, and a fleet under its own control, to create the equivalent of a coastguard. The government has since tasked BAKAMLA to curb illegal fishing, using this issue as a benchmark to see how the agency fares before it undertakes greater tasks further down the line.

The mission of BAKLAMA is threefold:

1. Realisation of national and international maritime security which able to guard the security and safety in the sea territorial and jurisdiction of Indonesia and represent the character of Indonesia as an island nation.
2. Realisation of a sovereign Indonesia, independent, and strengthen the character as a maritime nation through BAKAMLA as the guardian of world maritime axis.
3. Realisation of Indonesia to be an independent maritime nation, strongly advanced, and based on national interests.

There are a number of advantages if BAKAMLA can successfully take on this mission, but there are also challenges. Some of these issues are detailed below.

Enhanced cooperation

Indonesia and neighbouring countries, such as Australia, view maritime security threats as common problems, but often use different approaches to deal with them. Despite recent tensions at higher levels of government, what is needed is a common perception that cooperation is important even when the bilateral relationship is under stress. Cooperation can be both a way to build and maintain trust and an end in itself.

Policymaker relationships

In Indonesia nothing is more important than personal ties. These links need to be consistently maintained, not only between political and military leaders but also between lower-level government officials to build trust through a bottom-up approach. This requires a close and constant interaction between strategic and operational level policymakers. Therefore, personal ties should underpin the formal consultative and dialogue processes to provide ballast in the relationship with neighbouring countries.

Capacity building

Capacity building is often understood simply as material and financial assistance provided to Indonesia by neighbouring countries. That form of capacity building has tended to dominate cooperation because it is relatively easy. Although Indonesia still needs hardware, handing over

material assets is now less relevant. The focus should be gradually shifted towards improving the quality of Indonesia's maritime security policymaking, enhancing the professional development of its maritime security officials, and helping it to become a more responsible stakeholder in regional maritime security.

Regional capacity building could also be an avenue for closer defence industry cooperation. For example, Indonesia's naval shipyards and shipbuilders have manufactured small patrol boats suitable for operations in territorial seas. Australia, could therefore invite Indonesian defence and shipbuilding companies to join competitive bids to supply boats for the follow-up to the Pacific Patrol Boat Program to be provided to third countries, such as Timor-Leste and Papua New Guinea.⁹

Collective maritime domain awareness

Maritime domain awareness is essentially a comprehensive understanding about what is happening over, on and under the sea. Achieving it along regional maritime boundaries should be the ultimate goal of maritime security cooperation. Financial, technological and manpower constraints mean that no nation can do it alone. Regional cooperation to support it has included the ReCAAP Information Sharing Centre, the Information Fusion Centre and the Indonesia-Singapore SURPIC II project, but those efforts are focused on the western part of maritime Southeast Asia. Filling the gaps would require Australia and Indonesia to work together to establish similar systems in the tri-border area and in eastern Indonesian waters, such as the Banda and Arafura seas, as well as along the Australia-Indonesia maritime boundary. A joint maritime information sharing centre, including supporting nodes and network systems, could be established to monitor activities along the boundary. The centre could be jointly funded and staffed.

Expanding the area and scope of operations

Although combined exercises are mostly conducted on a single-service basis, a joint regional armed forces exercise (armies, navies and air forces) would be worthwhile. It would not only contribute to increased interoperability, but would also familiarise the two armed forces with work in a joint and combined environment. In maritime security, there could be a combined exercise between BAKAMLA and another nation's maritime agency along with their subordinate agencies. It could include the security of offshore oil and gas infrastructure, maritime counter-terrorism, or counter-piracy operations.

A constrained budget

The government should ensure that BAKAMLA is adequately resourced in order to fulfil its responsibilities, which include conducting exercises and patrols. This means increasing its funding as well as equipping it with vessels and personnel. BAKAMLA began with only three patrol boats and an annual budget of Rp520 billion (about US\$40 million), which is rather paltry considering its responsibilities. On 13 February 2015 the Indonesian House of Representatives approved an additional Rp726.3 billion (US\$56 million) in funding.¹⁰

Overlaps

The mission and associated assets of BAKAMLA should allow it to assume command authority rather than merely coordinate activities. But there will still be overlaps and duplication with at least another 11 agencies. For example, under *National Law No. 32/2014 on Marine Affairs*, BAKAMLA is authorised to conduct patrols, perform search and rescue, and enforce laws in Indonesian territorial seas, archipelagic waters and the exclusive economic zone. This authority is similar to that of the marine police [*Polisi Perairan*] and the Ministry of Transport Sea and Coast Guard Unit [*Kesatuan Penjaga Laut dan Pantai*], as well as other agencies with more specialised tasks, such as the Ministry of Finance Customs Unit [*Bea dan Cukai*] and the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries patrol unit. Each agency operates its own patrol assets under an authority more or less legitimised by national laws, so major legal and institutional reforms are needed.

The strategic level of command

The decree signed by President Jokowi on 8 December 2014 stated that BAKLAMA is managed by the Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law, and Security, and must also coordinate with the Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs for the management and use of marine resources. There will undoubtedly be some difficulties caused by the need to coordinate between the Defense Minister and two coordinating ministers. The aim must be to work towards incremental targets for enhanced coordination, with the eventual goal that BAKAMLA not only carries out operations, but also becomes the hub for integrating command information and communication systems as well as maritime investigation processes. Furthermore, this new era of synergistic maritime power needs to be supported by an early warning system as well as an integrated law enforcement unit. In reality this 'new era' remains very much a work in progress. The synergising efforts with other maritime stakeholders has been a struggle, and it will take time to get past the prevailing 'silo mentality' of other maritime elements

A Comprehensive Indonesian Maritime Doctrine

Indonesia needs a comprehensive maritime doctrine to provide an explanation and description of how the nation should prepare itself in peacetime and crisis, particularly in the development of maritime power. The maritime doctrine will express the TNI-AL position as an element of maritime power in the context of the government's oceans policy, in addition to outlining the role and contribution of other maritime agencies in protecting Indonesia's national maritime interests. Furthermore the maritime doctrine should also describe how the active participation of all maritime agencies will contribute to building up Indonesia to become a great maritime nation. The following paragraphs describe in more detail the chapters that Indonesian maritime doctrine should include when it is developed.

Understanding Maritime Doctrine

This chapter will describe the history of Indonesia's maritime affairs, noting that some of the most important works on the subject of maritime doctrine are analyses of history, people and the importance of maritime geography. Learning from the national experience of others and Indonesia's own history can help better define national security policy, interests, objectives, power, maritime policy and defence policymaking. It should also describe the doctrine's purpose, influence on national policy, and how it will become the key point for the understanding of the sources, elements and the holistic understanding of maritime power.

Maritime Environment

Historically, people have depended on the sea for their economic and social well-being, and this chapter will describe the geographic, economic and social factors that define Indonesia's relationship with its maritime environment. Strictly speaking, the maritime environment consists of the combination of land and sea, and the airspace and outer space above them. As Indonesia is the largest archipelago in the world and the scope of its strategic interests are very broad, this chapter will include the seven dimensions of military-strategic relevance, namely: economics, politics, legal, military, science and technology, physical and socio-cultural. It will also describe the spectrum of conflict (from peace through to war), the principles of war and how these relate to Indonesia's use of maritime power.

Strategic Policy

The strategic policy underlining Indonesia's security policy consists of Indonesia's strategic environment, strategic interests, strategic character, historical influences on the national outlook, and the maritime capabilities needed to achieve national objectives. The emphasis in this chapter should be on the importance of building strength, standards and capability in the maritime elements required to fulfil Indonesia's maritime strategy. The Indonesian Armed Forces are a major component in protecting national interests.

Maritime Strategic Analysis

This chapter should include discussion of the background to historical maritime strategic thought and its relationship to current and future concepts of maritime power. Particular attention will be paid to understanding the concept of sea control and its role in effective power projection in the maritime environment, especially when the sea is being used as a means of transportation and support for ground forces.

Maritime Operations

This chapter should describe the relationship and cooperation between land, sea and air forces. It will include establishing the fundamental characteristics that a maritime force possesses, namely mobility and flexibility; and the basic functions of warships, including access, reach, and the capacity to transport and use combat power at a distance. As such, warships can provide many options to policymakers in making political and strategic decisions regarding a developing contingency or crisis. At the same time, this chapter will explain the limitations inherent in the use of maritime power and the advantages it may bring to air and ground forces, and hence the effectiveness of a combined strength approach.

The reasons for selecting maritime forces as the instrument of choice for crisis management and the deterrence of conflicts, though well known, bear repetition:

- Forward-deployed posture and rapid mobility make maritime forces readily available at crisis locations worldwide, providing significant deterrent value and reducing the likelihood of ambiguous or short warning.
- Maritime forces bring a range of capabilities required for credible deterrence, including: maintaining presence, conducting surveillance, threatening the use of force, conducting maritime gunfire or air strikes, landing troops, evacuating civilians, establishing a blockade or quarantine, and preventing intervention by other forces.
- With logistics support, maritime forces can be sustained indefinitely at distant locations and relatively independent of foreign basing or overflight rights.
- Maritime forces have unique escalation control characteristics that contribute to effective crisis management. They can be intrusive or out of sight, threatening or non-threatening, away from media glare or right in its middle, and easily dispatched but just as easily withdrawn. The flexibility available in employing naval forces provides escalation control in any crisis.
- Maritime forces can maintain consistently high states of readiness because of forward deployments, ensuring operational expertise and day-to-day preparedness.
- Maritime forces increasingly operate within a friendly maritime community and other sister services and are thereby easily adaptable to joint/combined operations.
- The deployment of maritime forces outside another littoral state's territorial waters does not require the consent of that state.

Areas of Maritime Operations

Maritime power is a valuable instrument in the determination of national and foreign policies. Maritime forces play a significant role in national and international law enforcement, and can provide strong support to peace operations. This chapter will describe the uses of maritime power, in which the role of the maritime force depends essentially on its combat capability and its ability to support national interests. Because they contribute to both economic and diplomatic efforts, maritime forces become a special symbol of national sovereignty and national interests.

The specific applications of Indonesian maritime power in both wartime and peacetime are generally identified under four operational roles; namely military, diplomatic, constabulary and benign. These are illustrated in Figure 4.



Figure 4: Indonesian application of maritime power (Salim)

The following paragraph illustrates how the involvement of TNI-AL in diplomacy might be illustrated by using a practical example.

The Indonesian Navy is actively engaged in peacekeeping operations in many corners of the world under the United Nations' mission as military observers and as members of the Garuda Contingents. In 2009, for the first time in its history, the Indonesian Navy deployed one of its warships to take part in the Maritime Task Force United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon. To the present, the Navy has routinely deployed its Diponegoro class corvettes to operate in Lebanese waters. Today, the Indonesian Navy is ready to deploy its warships for peacekeeping operations in Africa and South Asia whenever there is a formal United Nations' request. The Indonesian Navy is currently proposing the establishment of the ASEAN Maritime Task Force under the ASEAN framework.

Maritime Power Support

The TNI-AL is organised and arranged to produce combat power, but needs a very effective relationship with the maritime industry services to generate this capability. This chapter should first describe how the structure and organisation of the various maritime elements nurtures and supports their ability to train and remain an effective force. In addition, it will describe the need for knowledge related to the functioning of hydrographic, oceanographic and meteorologic science in supporting maritime operations.

Success in a major operation will also usually require the integration of sea, land and air forces to ensure the application of the right tool at the right time and place. Individual military units need to cooperate and complement each other to achieve the common aim. Commanders of joint forces have to be able to recognise the distinctive attributes of each component, in order to use their strengths, especially in the conduct of a manoeuvrist campaign.

Finally, Indonesia's maritime forces routinely operate with the maritime forces of other nations, providing a flexibility of force packaging that transcends the limits of national capabilities and strengthens trust and diplomacy. There is of course, a corollary to versatility in support of diplomacy. Those states being signalled may misunderstand the level of threat being posed, and concurrent diplomatic activity may be required to resolve unintended ambiguity. The elements of versatility can be summarised as: flexibility in response, adaptability in roles, joint and multinational attributes, sustained reach, resilience, lift capacity, poise and leverage.

The Main Instruments of Maritime Combat Power

The combat capability of individual units is maximised in combination with other elements, and this chapter should explain how the organisation and deployment of all maritime components in a task force is intended to achieve the best results and the greatest effect. It will be pointed out that this includes the contribution of sea, land and air power and of both military and non-military forces.

Maritime Campaigning

This chapter is intended to describe the main factors in planning and implementing a maritime campaign. Effective campaign planning requires a broad understanding of the relationship between strategic objectives, operational ways and tactical means. All elements of military force may contribute to the maritime campaign, just as maritime power can contribute to ground and air campaigns. Some special stages in implementing a maritime campaign include: identification of the crisis, force generation, deployment, sea control operations, power projection, support to operations ashore, force rotation and withdrawal.

Anatomy of Indonesia's Maritime Power

This chapter should further describe the anatomy of Indonesia's maritime power. As already noted, a holistic view of this power identifies two major parts:

- maritime resources: the human maritime community, economic resources, geography, political will, character and behaviour, scientific and technological capability
- maritime elements: maritime agencies, the commercial fleet, bases and the facilities, and fighting instruments.

These are depicted in more detail in Figure 5.

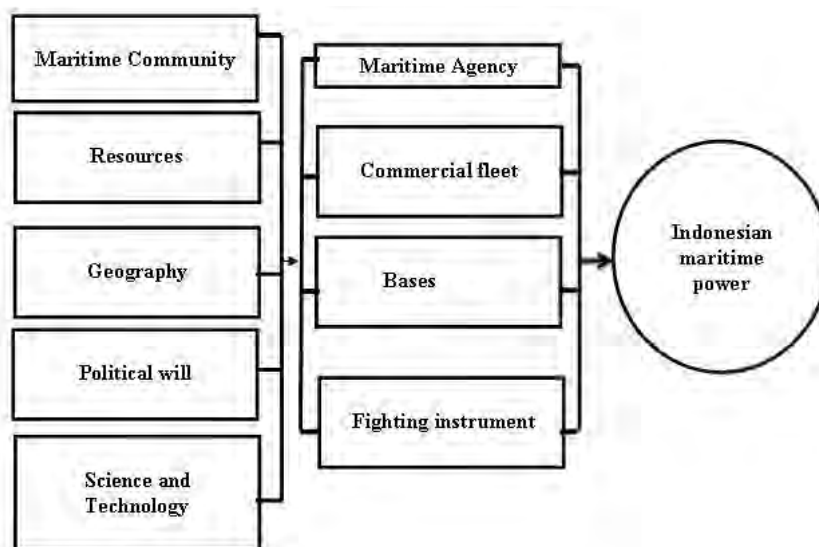


Figure 5: the anatomy of Indonesia's maritime power¹¹

Clearly, fighting instruments form a vital aspect of maritime power, and the components that make up this fighting power are shown at Figure 6. During conflict, belligerents seek to diminish or

undermine the fighting power of their opponent while safeguarding and ideally expanding their own. The achievement of relative superiority is an important aspect of successful maritime operations and fighting power should always be considered in context. This context includes the character of the situation, the environment, the opponent, partner and other agencies, and culture and history.

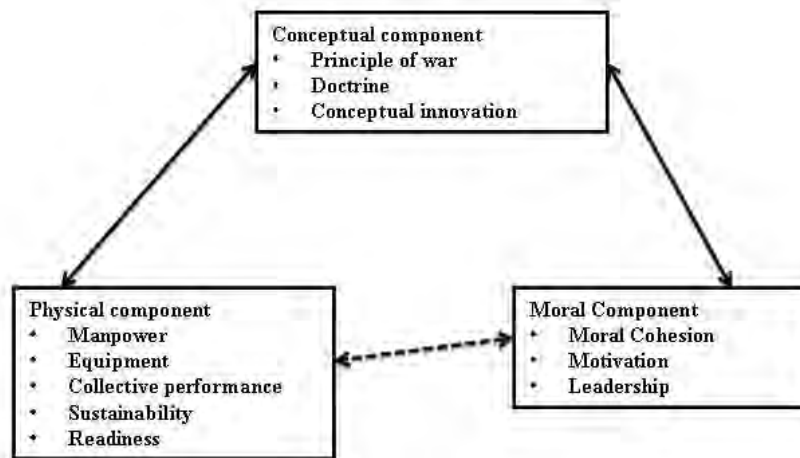


Figure 6: components of fighting power¹²

Maritime Command and Control

Command is the authority granted to an individual to direct, coordinate and control military forces. Control is the actual process through which the commander organised, directed and coordinated the activities of the allocated forces. This chapter should describe the Indonesian maritime command and control system, which enables the maritime force commander to apply military force effectively.

The maritime command and control system encompasses all personnel, systems and resources throughout the maritime force, that support the flow and processing of information. It includes intelligence, surveillance, target acquisition and reconnaissance, information processing, decision making and display, communications, electronic warfare, cryptology and information operations.

Figure 7 shows the relationship between Indonesian maritime levels of command. The Defense Minister and the Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs are appointed after nomination by the President and are accountable as representatives of the people. The Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces leads the three Chiefs of Staff (Army, Navy and Air Force), and coordinates with each single service and civilian maritime assets.

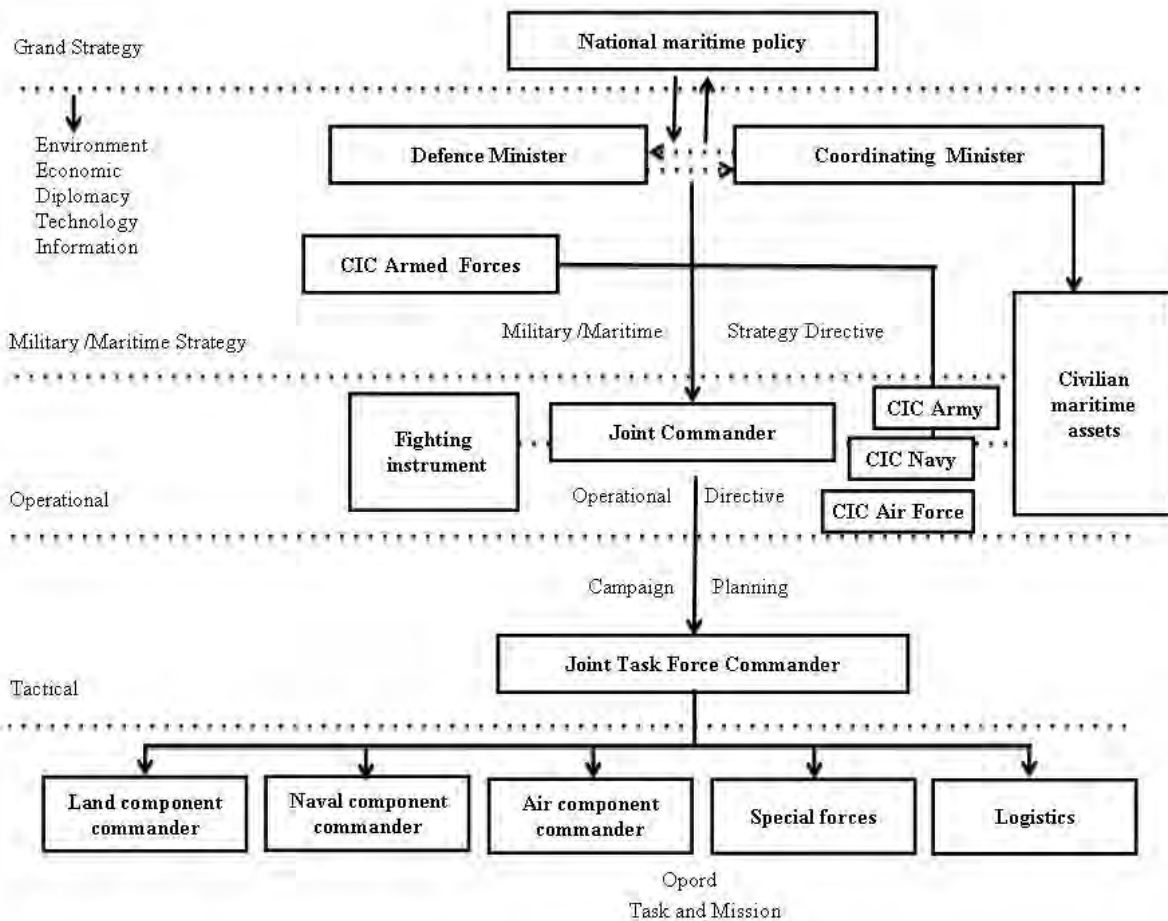


Figure 7: Indonesian maritime levels of command (Salim)

For operations mounted by Indonesia alone, overall command is exercised by the Defense Minister. Campaigns and operations will most likely be joint and the defence and coordinating maritime ministers will appoint a Joint Commander as recommended by the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, who will exercise the operational level of command.

In theatre, a Joint Task Force Commander will be nominated, and he will exercise operational control through individual component commanders. Component commanders straddle the dividing line between the operational and tactical levels.

Some of the factors that need to be considered regarding command and control include: communications, mission command, rules of engagement, information operations, space operations and multinational cooperation.

Future Maritime Power

This chapter should examine Indonesian maritime power in the context of the challenges, opportunities and constraints that it faces in the future. Indonesia's maritime operations and concepts require a unique combination of military and civilian agencies merged into a single, adaptable and dynamic maritime force. As Indonesia moves towards the future it needs to build on this flexibility to create ever more versatile maritime forces, shaped toward projecting power wherever the nation requires it. Informed by higher-level policy and a thorough understanding of the contribution made by the maritime component in joint operations, concepts must be continually developed to ensure that Indonesia's maritime forces can meet the wide ranging demands of the evolving strategic environment: global, regional and national.

Future joint operations will invariably involve operations directed against or upon the land. By reducing the footprint ashore, maritime power allows the projection of force to be carried out at a

minimum of political and military risk, while easing the force protection problem. For example, it allows for the exercise of joint task force command from offshore, unless and until it becomes more sensible to move it ashore; an attribute that the digitisation of the battlespace will further enhance. Maritime power also makes a major, if not essential, contribution to the logistic sustainment of the joint force. Moreover, it allows considerable in-theatre tactical manoeuvrability at any stage in the campaign.

In this author's opinion, Indonesia's future maritime power needs:

- A robust policy framework within the context of the future strategic situation. Indonesia is already heading in the right direction but, to build upon the national maritime vision, needs to refocus on the maritime aspects of capability in a complex, dynamic and challenging environment.
- A thorough understanding of the nature of future operations. Indonesia's maritime forces will need to be employed not only for defence of the homeland against asymmetric threats, but also for overseas operations and securing national interests at sea.
- An independent Indonesian joint vision, based on unique operating concepts and close cooperation between the military and civilian maritime agencies.
- A wide appreciation of effects based operations and network enabled capability.¹³ Future operations by maritime power will place increased emphasis on influencing an adversary's mind, and effects based operations seeks to achieve this goal by coordinating the activities of all national players. Once grand strategic objectives have been identified (the ends) the various ways of achieving them are assessed and following this are allocated to the relevant instruments of national power (economic, military, diplomatic - the means). However, effects based operations will not reach full potential without network enabled capability. At the operational level networking allows a powerful new combination of combat power, principally through shared situation awareness. Further to this, network enabled capability will enable enhanced joint and integrated planning and should aid agility by avoiding unnecessarily early commitment to a particular course of action.
- A seamless connection between the future TNI-AL and civilian maritime agencies, enabling strategic management to extend across development lines, including the areas of personnel, collective and individual training, equipment, sustainability, structure, concepts and doctrine.
- The development of detailed maritime operational concepts, describing a maritime capability that will contribute significantly to the future joint force and that can be applied across the expected tasks of Indonesian maritime power.

This chapter will also illustrate the potential implications of technological, social and economic developments. These will be key to forming the shape and role of maritime power, especially the manner in which it will improve its ability to directly influence events on the ground. The development of maritime power embraces a series of events that continuously occur. Technological, scientific and social changes pose challenges and potential opportunities, but combat capability must remain thoroughly integrated with all other instruments of maritime power.

Indonesian Maritime Strategy Concept

Grand strategy, the national policy system prevailing in Indonesia, may be reduced to a combination of military strategy and maritime strategy. Military strategy may be further divided into three derivatives, among them naval strategy. In other words, the position of maritime strategy in the Indonesian security system is very clear, so that the roles, missions and tasks of naval operations, likewise have a very clear foundation. Maritime doctrine is derived from government policies, and strategies are a concrete form of the content of the doctrine. Thus, if an Indonesian maritime

doctrine already exists, then the maritime strategy will reflect its derivation from the adopted doctrine.

In view of the changing strategic environment and the growing importance of maritime security issues, then Indonesia must transform its status to that of a fully developed country. The preparation and implementation of a maritime strategy is a necessity if Indonesia intends to secure its national interests and aspirations. It must also be remembered that in 20 to 30 years time, Indonesia's aspirations will far exceed those currently envisaged, and that these expected changes must be reflected in both its national security strategy and maritime strategy.

The development of a maritime strategy is encouraged by its key determinants, including the regional strategic environment, Indonesia's growing sea dependence and its unique maritime geography. A maritime strategy must also support foreign policy, demonstrate how it will influence operations ashore, and describe the importance of joint operations, maritime domain awareness, the role of Indonesia's air power, capability prioritisation and national maritime infrastructure. The following paragraphs describe the author's vision of what should be included in an Indonesian maritime strategy.

Maritime Strategy in Perspective

This chapter would describe how national interests flow from a set of national values and national purpose. In Indonesia's case these are contained in the constitution and the directions given by the political leadership. From these national interests, Indonesia's national security objectives can be derived. These objectives, when exposed to the components of national power, the prevailing and predicted domestic and global environment, lead to the formulation of national security policy. This policy would synergise all the components of national power to achieve the objectives through a grand strategy. Figure 8 depicts the key elements supporting an Indonesian maritime strategy, including both the national and military aspects.

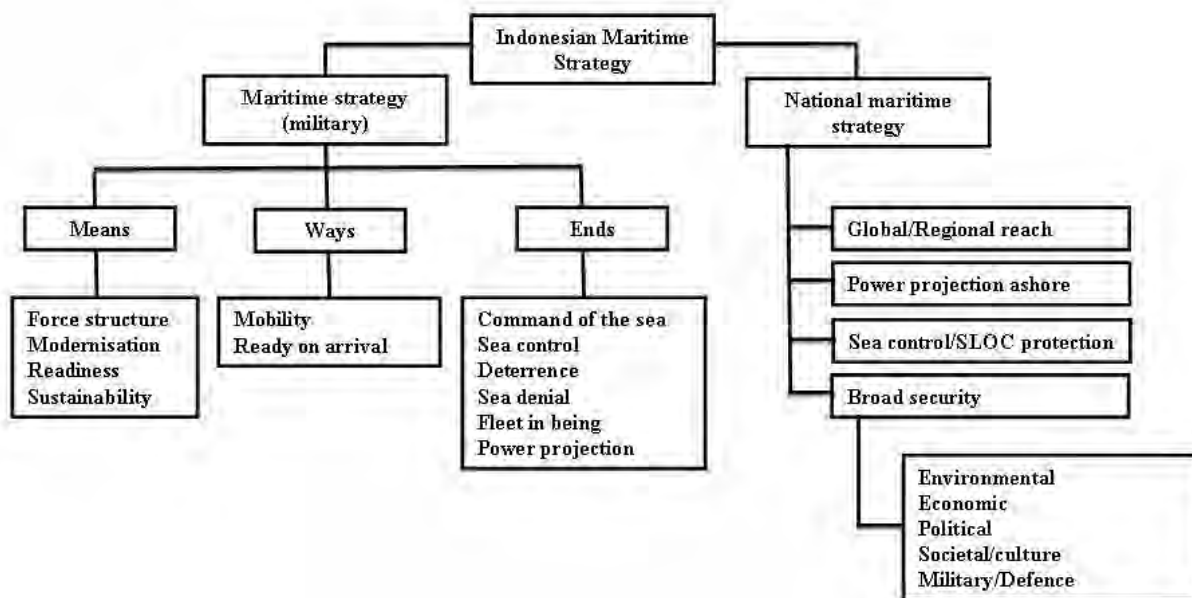


Figure 8: the key elements of an Indonesian maritime strategy (Salim)

Maritime History

This chapter should illustrate the affects of maritime power on Indonesia's history, starting from the Dutch colonial period and extending through to recent TNI-AL operations. It would include the evolution of regional maritime affairs before and after Indonesia's independence, as well as the Djuanda Declaration/Archipelagic Outlook [Wawasan Nusantara]. This overview would clarify and

compare the lessons learned during the accomplishment of various historical operations and use these to inform the future development of Indonesian maritime power.

The Geopolitics and Constellation of the Indonesian Region

This chapter would describe the geopolitics and constellation of Indonesia's region noting, for example, the four Indonesian chokepoints which already have a direct influence on national and international security and have the potential to encourage tensions.

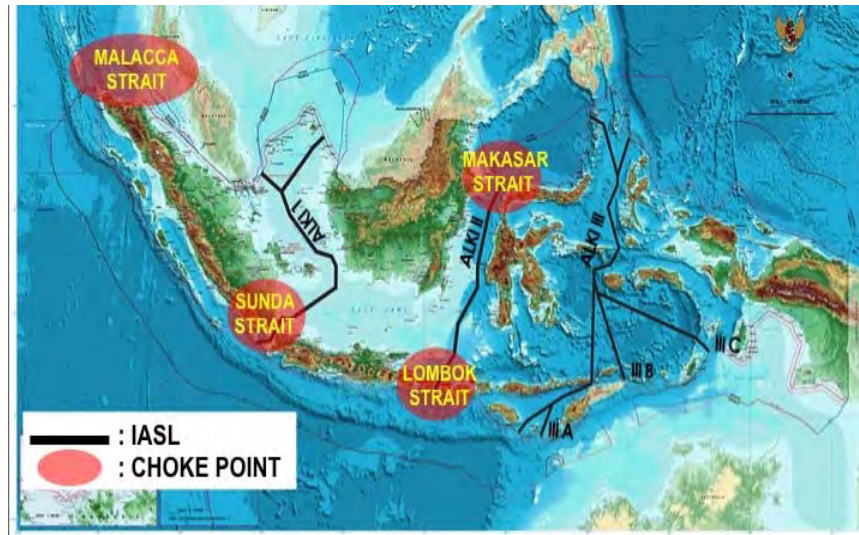


Figure 9: Indonesia's four chokepoints (Salim)

Similarly, Indonesia officially recognises ten neighbours with which it must settle maritime boundaries: India, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, The Philippines, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Australia and Timor-Leste. Put simply, Indonesia considers a country as its neighbour for maritime delimitation purposes if there are overlapping maritime entitlements between them pursuant to the *United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea 1982*.



Figure 10: Indonesia's maritime boundaries (Salim)

As a response to the developing strategic environment, and to avoid contributing to maritime and territorial disputes, Indonesia should consider initiating political measures to more effectively manage regional maritime issues. In Indonesian waters, these issues may include population movements, natural resource exploitation, economics, terrorism, transnational crimes, and natural disasters. The Indonesian region, for example, is a locus of more than 75 per cent of the world's natural disasters, and a focus on this issue may encourage a broader policy of cooperation with regional countries, which is ultimately the best way to handle maritime threats.

In addition, this section will need to deal with other areas of geopolitics, including an evaluation of other regional maritime issues and the plans of extra-regional navies. The build-up of the Chinese navy, for example, may have significant implications for increasing tensions and potentially conflict in the South China Sea.

Indonesian Maritime Trade and Energy Security

This chapter should deal with Indonesia's maritime trade and energy security, particularly in the Malacca Strait region which is also the energy route between west and east Asia.

Waging war on an enemy's economy by denying their free use of the seas during hostilities has been an age-old strategy. Indeed, navies as the main component of maritime power have often treated enemy commerce as a worthwhile and lucrative target. Such action could be particularly effective if the target nation is an island or group of islands, but may also play a role in a continental war when attempting to disrupt the adversary's economy and war effort. Maritime activities that can be taken to deny strategic commodities and commerce include: the imposition of blockade, disruption of shipping lanes, attacks on oil installations and strategic infrastructure in the littoral, and preventing a nation from exploiting its maritime wealth.

Energy security

Hitherto, the concept of energy security has implied only the assured availability of energy supplies in the event of a conflict. Today, energy security implies safeguarding the availability of the requisite quantities and types of energy from any kind of disruption - physical or economic. There is thus, a distinction to be made between the terms 'energy security' and 'security of energy', with the latter being used as a subset of the former.

Energy security is a function of various interactive factors, which include but are not limited to: the sources of supply, both domestic and imported; the present and future availability of these resources at competitive prices; the projection of energy requirements based on present consumption levels and expected economic growth; and the ratio between traditional and commercial energy. Security of energy encompasses the military and quasi-military means adopted to address the vulnerabilities of energy supply. This concentrates more on the safety and security of the energy assets from imported and indigenous sources, together with energy storage and distribution networks.

Strategy for energy security

The Indonesian maritime strategy needs to include a strategy for the 'security of energy', which will encompass the safety and security of energy assets in the Indonesian littoral, the transport of energy as part of the protection of sea lines of communication, and the onshore energy storage and distribution networks. This multi-faceted approach clearly has both domestic and international components.

Domestic Issues

An ongoing and institutionalised dialogue between the ministries of Defense, Foreign Affairs, Transport, and Energy and Mineral Resources on the subject of security of energy would address the emerging challenges associated with the maritime domain. The various elements include:

- **Investment in assets.** Focused investments in maritime capabilities (assets and infrastructure) for the protection of oil infrastructure in the littoral areas of the country to prevent disruption by non-state and state actors.
- **Protection of shipping.** Enhanced protection to Indonesian mercantile marine and hulls under foreign flags carrying essential or critical national commodities during a conflict. This may require altered routing or convoying based on the ports that are planned to be kept open, and would necessarily involve assigning naval assets with adequate reach and endurance for undertaking tasks.

- **Information sharing.** Institutionalised information-sharing mechanisms with multifarious agencies to enhance the security of merchant shipping. Suitable structures to promote this data sharing are also needed.
- **Networking.** Within the ambit of the ongoing effort to establish a navy-wide network for enhancing maritime domain awareness, energy assets will also be networked.
- **Security of overseas assets.** Institutionalised procedures for the provision of security for overseas assets would be dovetailed within the ambit of maritime security.

International Issues

Security of energy being a common concern of the international community, the issue is best tackled through a multilateral approach. Being the major maritime power in the region, a large part of the responsibility for ensuring the safety of international sea lanes devolves upon the TNI-AL. Hence, the international component of an Indonesian strategy for the security of energy should be based upon the following:

- **Cooperation for maritime domain awareness.** The aim should be to facilitate regional and bilateral alliances with the objective of enhancing maritime domain awareness and the availability of information. Data-sharing linkages with trans-regional data centres, particularly in the Asia-Pacific and Black Sea-Mediterranean regions would also be beneficial.
- **Multinational response capability development.** By engaging in multinational/bilateral maritime exercises, interoperability in communications and equipment operating procedures will improve, enhancing response capabilities in case of a crisis.
- **Leverage peacekeeping efforts.** Where possible, the presence of Indonesian peacekeepers to provide security and improve stability should be leveraged.

Maritime Domain Awareness

In the context of international cooperation, there are some steps that may be taken to increase maritime domain awareness with other countries. This would include the development of a multinational response capability through bilateral and multilateral exercises.

The use of maritime domain awareness to increase maritime security has already been introduced to the international stage by the United States and has received a positive response from many regional countries. It is therefore, unsurprising that the issue should also be written into Indonesia's maritime strategy. Within the maritime domain awareness framework there are several areas of potential cooperation including: information and intelligence exchange; joint exercises; and assistance with the updating of navigation equipment, the development of maritime security capability, the management of maritime resources, and the prevention and elimination of environmental contamination and pollutants.

Maritime Strategy in Peacetime

This chapter would describe the use of maritime strategy in peacetime, particularly in the context of the four operational roles already identified, namely: military, diplomatic, constabulary and benign.

The military role is traditional for navies and encompasses all situations that require the use of military force. Although, principally a war-time task, it remains true that the first element of using power in peacetime is for deterrence. The diplomatic role involves the use of maritime forces to support national political objectives and foreign policy, and assumes the availability of force to back up and support diplomatic efforts at various levels. Maintaining good order at sea is the primary objective of the constabulary role. Humanitarian assistance and disaster relief operations are undertaken under the benign role.

The following headings highlight the issues which need to be addressed.

Deterrence

Every activity undertaken by maritime forces during peacetime (with the possible exception of humanitarian assistance and disaster relief) should rightly contribute in some measure to preparedness for a possible future conflict. During times of peace, therefore, the most important task of Indonesia maritime power is to prepare for combat, thereby enhancing conventional deterrence against potential threats.

Ensuring forward presence

Forward presence is the enabling element of conventional deterrence. Presence is a product of reach multiplied by sustainability and enables the ready availability of maritime forces, to prevent or control crises. The term forward presence is used to express a resolve to deploy forces for presence into or close to areas of interest or concern. In the Indonesian naval context, forward presence is intended to: demonstrate Indonesia's commitment to regional stability, gain familiarity with overseas operational environments, keep the area of interest under surveillance, and promote interoperability among the forces of friendly nations.

Information capability

The ongoing revolution in military affairs has enhanced the ability of maritime forces to achieve disproportionate effect, by exploiting the information domain. Information capability consists of three aspects: intelligence, surveillance and networking. These key elements require focused attention during peace to enhance the combat potential of maritime forces.

Building partnerships

Building partnerships is a mechanism available to Indonesia for enhancing the credibility of the nation's deterrence and dissuasion. Enhancing interoperability with regional and extra-regional maritime forces will also reduce the risk of mutual interference. Beneficial relationships with partners will allow Indonesia to favourably shape the maritime environment both prior to and during a conflict.

Maritime diplomacy

The main business of maritime power in the 21st century is to use warships to support foreign policy. During peacetime, Indonesia needs to project maritime power and show presence; catalyse partnerships; build trust; and, create interoperability through combined operations, and international maritime cooperation.

Maritime cooperation

Maritime cooperation comprises those actions undertaken after mutual consent. This cooperation could be further sub-divided into strategic defence security cooperation, defence industry and technology cooperation and navy-to-navy cooperation. Realising the importance of maritime cooperation, the TNI-AL has already reorganised the structures dealing with these aspects.

Indonesian naval diplomacy

In each and every interaction with fellow navies, the TNI-AL employs smart power, a combination of its hard and soft powers. Diplomacy efforts will show tangible results when they significantly contribute to national interests while together receive acceptance and acknowledgement from countries in the region.

Naval diplomacy relies on presence, which may be coercive in nature and able to deliver a deterrent effect or compellence. Past and current operations and activities will likely remain the core duties of the TNI-AL in the future, while operating with other navies under bilateral and multilateral frameworks. The TNI-AL plays its diplomatic role to develop confidence building through involvement in Track I and II activities.

Constabulary operations

The graded application of maritime power against state-sponsored or non-state actors undertaking illegal activities is an important role, and one that consumes considerable time and effort by maritime forces in peacetime. Long considered as a brown water task by the TNI-AL, more attention is being accorded to the constabulary role due to its growing importance and frequency of occurrence.

In order to perform its constabulary role at sea, the TNI-AL conducts routine maritime security operations all year round. The presence of naval assets in Indonesian waters provides an increased deterrence effect not only for possible enemies, but also for criminal perpetrators. These routine operations are supported by border patrol cooperation with neighbouring littoral states to tackle smuggling, illegal fishing, armed robbery against ships, and other criminal acts at sea.

A Strategy for Benign Operations

Benign tasks such as humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, hydrography etc will continue to occupy the attention of Indonesia's maritime forces for the foreseeable future.

Humanitarian assistance and disaster relief operations

Indonesia's strategic and unique geographical position goes further than geopolitical, economic and political understanding. Four of the world's tectonic plates converge in Indonesia: the Eurasian and Australian continental plates and the Philippine Sea and Pacific oceanic plates. Thus, Indonesia is prone to natural disasters, ranging from earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, to flooding, landslides and tsunamis. Past experiences in managing disaster relief operations on land and at sea have taught the TNI-AL that the readiness and preparedness of warships are crucial during the first 24-48 hours of the emergency response, post-disaster and rehabilitation phases.

Search and rescue operations

Under the coordination of the national search and rescue (SAR) agency BASARNAS [*Badan SAR Nasional*], the TNI-AL conducts SAR operations to search for missing people, ships and aircraft or when the safety of navigation of a ship and/or flight is at risk. It coordinates rescue coordination offices I to IV and often acts as the SAR mission coordinator or the on-scene commander during missions. In the past decade SAR operations have become more complex due to emerging humanitarian issues, such as those posed by illegal immigration, asylum seekers, refugees and boat people, along with transnational organised crime. The TNI-AL is obligated to manage and handle these issues accordingly to international law and regulations.

Assisting local governments

The unique capabilities of the TNI-AL and its assets may be used to assist local governments in managing their marine resources: exploitation of renewable energy such as sea currents, wind, geothermal and solar power; exploitation of marine life; the protection of coral reefs; prevention of contamination and pollution at sea; and marine tourism. Preservation of the marine ecosystem is intended to ensure that Indonesian waters remain the world's main source of marine life and fish.

A Maritime Strategy in Conflict

This final chapter should elaborate on the ways in which Indonesia's maritime power can influence the outcome of conflict, through both indirect and direct methods. It will also demonstrate how Indonesia's current maritime power needs the capability to influence conflicts on land.

The spectrum of war

The maritime conflict scenarios that Indonesia may face include:

- maritime operations in less-than-war situations, which may include operations to provide assistance and support to friendly governments which are classified as out of area contingencies

- operations in limited conflict
- operations in general conventional conflict below the nuclear threshold
- nuclear conflict.

Planning for warfighting

In view of these scenarios, Indonesia's maritime warfighting plans should include, but not be limited to, the following activities:

- force protection in peace and the preparatory stage
- rapid transition from peace to war deployment, including a focused plan of manoeuvring forces into battle to achieve surprise and dislocation
- information dominance of the entire battlespace, implying transparency of the battlespace and electronic spectrum awareness, with the concurrent destruction or degradation of the enemy's surveillance and intelligence assets
- designing offensive operations that have a high probability of achieving a devastating effect in a short time, while ensuring that graduated response and controlled escalation mechanisms are built in
- ensuring readiness for counterattacks by an adversary through defensive operations, particularly during periods of relative calm in the midst of hostilities.

Defence in depth

The strategic culture in Indonesia can be considered defensive in nature. This thinking has evolved slightly over time to a concept of layered defence, where the first layer is the deterrent zone located outside the exclusive economic zone; the second layer is the offensive zone designed as the air and maritime combat compartment, located within territorial waters; the third layer is the defensive zone, devised as a land compartment to launch a people's war.¹⁴ However this concept has never been implemented and the author's recommendations for a maritime strategy in conflict are described below:

- The first layer comprises a defence zone of more than 200nm, a buffer zone that is unreachable by ground-controlled interceptor aircraft, and maritime forces being ready with or without supporting forces.
- The second layer comprises a defence area layer out to 200nm, a main defence zone with ground controlled interceptor aircraft and air cover of all elements of maritime power, and a primary area and role for the main maritime force and supporting forces.
- The third layer covers all inland territorial waters, with ground controlled interceptor aircraft, air cover of all elements of maritime power and supporting coastal defence.

Denying the northern approaches

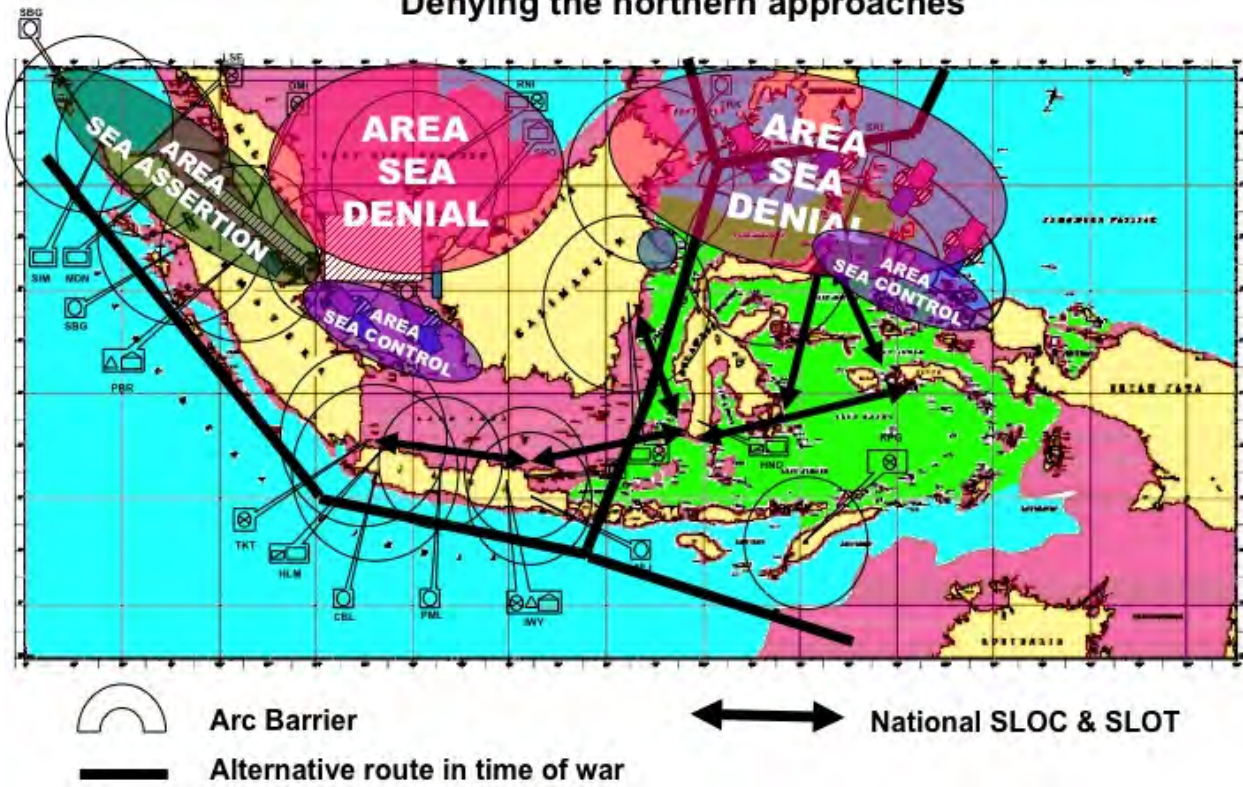


Figure 11: countering threats coming from the north (Salim)

Denying the southern approaches

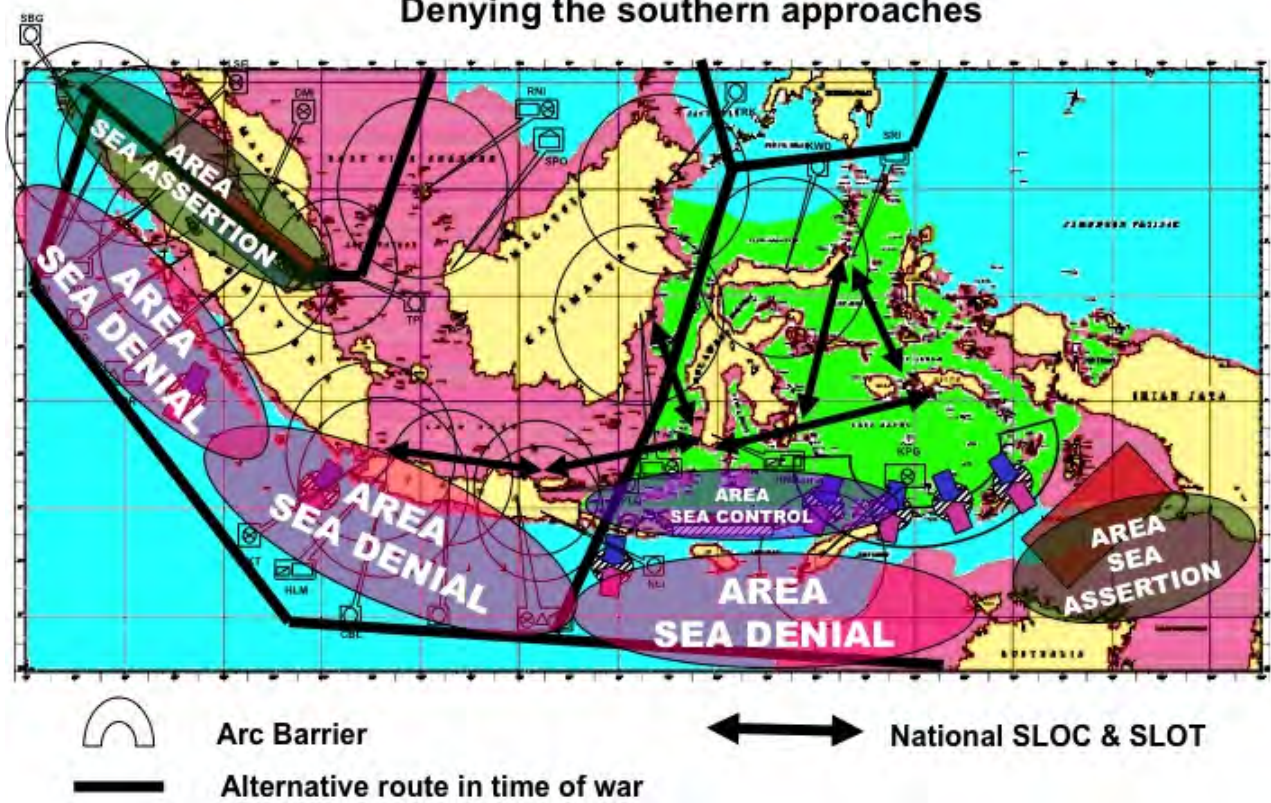


Figure 12: countering threats coming from the south (Salim)

The Mobilisation of Indonesia's Maritime Power

The following paragraphs describe how the key elements of Indonesian maritime power may be effectively mobilised for action in both peacetime and wartime.

Peacetime

- TNI-AL
 - Conduct at sea operations such as sea denial and sea control.
 - Conduct improved capabilities of the sea power components in terms of exercises.
- Civilian maritime agencies
 - Elements of the civil marine-merchant fleet along with the military should regularly conduct joint exercises to test the capability and administration of landing operations.
 - Elements of the civil marine-merchant fleet should be used to support the military in the main tasks considered likely to be required in defence of national interests at sea. These activities can increase Indonesia's ability to accumulate maritime data and information and, in addition, assist with the integration of the civil marine-merchant fleet into the development of Indonesia's maritime power.
 - The Ministry of Defense along with related external institutions should cooperate in creating technology which assists in the protection and development of Indonesia's maritime interests. This should not be limited to the development of ships and harbour facilities, but also include improved capabilities to detect activity in the maritime domain.
 - Maritime industry should be encouraged to use its commercial role to support the national economy, and work closer with the military to maintain its capability.
 - Skilled elements in local maritime populations should be trained and prepared by the TNI-AL to provide facilities in the naval bases which will be used in the future to mobilise maritime power.

Wartime

- Indonesian maritime forces should conduct seaward defence through a campaign of layered defence and sea control and denial operations in the main defence area. Other components of maritime power should provide support based on their roles in the defence area as referred to in the standard operating procedures.
- Commercial ships should be used to transfer personnel and logistic supplies in support of landing operations.
- Diverse existing harbours should be used as base facilities for Indonesian maritime forces. The Ministry of Defense must cooperate with the Ministry of Transportation in determining the standards and specifications of facilities that can be used to meet both commercial and operational interests. Requirements will include facilities for personnel and material embarkation, clean water and fuel, as well shore power supplies.
- The fisheries fleet should be used to confuse the enemy's maritime picture and, in addition, to assist with the distribution of logistic supplies within the provinces and local harbours.
- The entire maritime community should be required to not only conduct their normal roles, but also to collect maritime data as well as provide support for harbour logistics.

The strategy of sea power development

This final section should elaborate the three basic principles needed for the future development of Indonesia's sea power, namely: operational independence, achieving greater combat readiness, and

implementing a giant technology leap to correct the imbalance with the maritime forces of developed countries.

In terms of sea power development, Indonesia should identify the TNI-AL as the main component of national maritime power, and provide appropriate long-term planning guidance, realistic financial allocation, and open competition between commercial and state-owned dockyards and industry. To achieve the effective development of Indonesian maritime power, a large investment in future technologies will also be vital. Indonesia's maritime strategy should describe the types of the technology investment required and support the investment in knowledge, technology, infrastructure and experimentation in partnership with Indonesian universities.

¹ 'Jokowi launches maritime doctrine to the world', *The Jakarta Post*, 13 November 2014.

² See for example, Mervyn Piesse, 'The Indonesian Maritime Doctrine: Realising the Potential of the Ocean', *Headmark*, June 1915, pp. 10-15. Jokowi's maritime doctrine is set to become the defining feature of his five-year presidency. In the document outlining his policy platform, he promised to focus upon maritime security, diplomacy and naval development. Later, in an interview with Western media, he stated that his maritime vision is about more than just basic statecraft; it also encompasses trade, tourism, fishing and transportation.

³ Indian Navy, *Indian Maritime Doctrine*, INBR 8, Integrated Headquarters, Ministry of Defence (Navy), New Delhi, 2009, p. 11

⁴ Department of Defence, *Foundations of Australian Military Doctrine*, ADDP-D, Defence Publishing Service, 2012, Chapter 3.

⁵ International Monetary Fund, 'Globalization: A brief Overview', www.imf.org/external/np/exr/ib/2008/053008.htm.

⁶ Admiral Marsetio, *The Indonesian Navy's New Paradigm: A World Class Navy* [Paradigma Baru TNI AL Kelas Dunia], 2015.

⁷ As Ken Booth (*Navies and Foreign Policy*, Croom Helm, London, 1977) has explained, the military role is inherent within the navy as part of an armed force. Through its diplomatic role, the navy extends the state's political goals. The constabulary role authorises the service to uphold national and ratified international laws as well as provide protection to the state's sovereignty and natural resources at sea.

⁸ A listing of relevant US strategic policy documents can be found at www.navy.mil/StrategicDocs.asp.

⁹ Ristian Atriandi Suprianto, 'Waves of opportunity, Enhancing Australia-Indonesia maritime security cooperation' 2014, www.aspi.org.au/publications/waves-of-opportunity-enhancing-australia-indonesia-maritime-security-cooperation/SI79_Aus_Indon_maritime_cooperation.pdf.

¹⁰ Prashanth Parameswaran, 'Indonesia's Maritime Ambition: Can Jokowi Realise It?', *RSIS Commentary* No 44, 2015, S Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore, 2015, www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/rsis/co15044-indonesias-maritime-ambition-can-jokowi-realise-it/#.VZN2heta_dk.

¹¹ Adapted from Mahan's theory of sea power.

¹² Royal Navy, *British Maritime Doctrine* (BR1806), 3rd ed, TSO, 2004.

¹³ Effects based operations is the selection of the ends (the objectives), the ways (the options) and the means (capabilities) that collectively determine the effect that is to be delivered.

¹⁴ Andi Widjajanto, 'Indonesia's military doctrinal stagnation', *Strategic Review*, 1 May 2013, www.sr-indonesia.com/web-exclusives/view/indonesia-s-military-doctrinal-stagnation.

SOUNDINGS